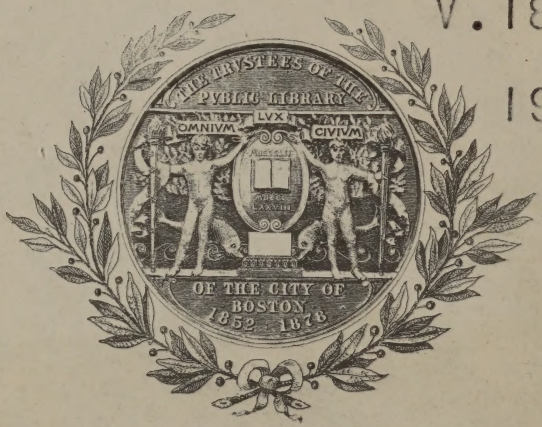
Boston Public Library
3 9999 10522 743 1

PER. RM
No. AP2.N7
V.182
1906



PERIODICAL ROOM.

Ninety-first Year. Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur. Vol. 182: No. 1.

THE

# NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

A 3113.2 f
182

EDITED BY GEORGE HARVEY.

January, 1906.

A Great Victory for Honest Politics . . WAYNE MACVEAGH

New York: Social Notes.—I. . . . . HENRY JAMES

The Organization of Scientific Research . . SIMON NEWCOMB

Mexico's Great Finance Minister . . . . . RAFAEL REYES,
*President of the United States of Colombia.*

The Indian's Yoke . . . . FRANCES CAMPBELL SPARHAWK

State Insurance in New Zealand . . . . . W. P. REEVES,
*High Commissioner of New Zealand in England.*

A Plea for an Engineer Corps in the Navy,
Rear-Admiral S. B. LUCE, U.S.N.

Congressional Rate-Making by Commission . . J. B. CESSNA

The Chinese Press of To-day . . ARCHIBALD R. COLQUHOUN

Industrial Progress in Porto Rico . . BEEKMAN WINTHROP,
*Governor of Porto Rico.*

The Hungarian Emigration Law . . Baron LOUIS DE LÉVAY,
*Royal Commissioner of Emigration.*

A Plan for Regulating the Trusts. . . . . J. F. CRONAN

American Democracy in the Far East: A Reply, JOHN FOREMAN

WORLD POLITICS

London; St. Petersburg; Paris; Washington

NEW YORK:
FRANKLIN SQUARE.

LONDON:
WM. HEINEMANN, 21 Bedford St., W. C.

PARIS:
BRENTANO'S, 37 Avenue de l'Opéra.

Single Number, 50c. Published Monthly. Per Annum, $5.

N. D. Edition.

# Harper's Magazine
## For 1906

*"The influence which the HARPER periodicals have exercised in every channel of improving thought and achievement can scarcely be measured; it has flowed continuously on, over vast areas, among millions of people, learned and unlearned, upon all of whom it has acted as an elevating, refining force."*—PHILADELPHIA LEDGER.

*"Too much cannot be said of HARPER'S MAGAZINE. It is difficult to speak of it in enthusiastic terms without passing the bounds of self-restraint. The reader who holds it in his hand for the first time, however, will realize the difficulty of doing the MAGAZINE justice. The fiction varies greatly in scene and motive, but is unvaried in excellence."*—BOSTON TRANSCRIPT.

*"From the 'Editor's Study' [among the last pages of HARPER'S MAGAZINE] comes the thought that cheers, illumines, inspires. Mr. Alden makes us see what was not plain before; he draws from a rich experience and a limitless fancy. Some of us begin to read the magazine backward, and often we get no further in our first reading than the 'Study' itself, but come away, gently closing the door, as one walks softly out of church after service, taking the thought we have found there to bedew arid plains withered by realism."*—From N. Y. TIMES.

THE outlook of HARPER'S MAGAZINE for 1906 is rich in its promises of notable literary and artistic features. The first great serial of the year will be a novel by Margaret Deland—a dramatic story of the awakening of a woman's soul. It will be followed by the long-awaited novel by Sir Gilbert Parker.

Mark Twain, who, with W. D. Howells, writes only for HARPER'S, has written a remarkable horse story. Booth Tarkington, Mary E. Wilkins, Maurice Hewlett, Jack London, Thomas A. Janvier, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, J. M. Forman, James Branch Cabell, and practically every other writer of note in America and England, will contribute to the list of short stories which will appear during the year.

The serious features of the year will be quite as attractive as the fiction. Professor Robert Kennedy Duncan, the distinguished scientist, has gone to Europe for the MAGAZINE to look into the great foreign laboratories—to see what new discoveries are being made, and how manufacturers are applying these scientific discoveries to their industries. Miss Agnes Laut will write of some dramatic periods in the history of one of the world's greatest and oldest leading institutions—the Hudson's Bay Company. Mr. H. W. Nevinson will continue his astounding revelations about the African slave-trade. Bishop Talbot will tell of his dangerous and humorous experiences as a bishop in the far West when the West was west.

One of the most distinguished of our statesmen—a man who has been constantly in public life since the days of Lincoln—will give his personal views of many of the great men whom he has known and of certain chapters of our more recent history.

Mr. Howard Pyle will paint for the MAGAZINE a group of pictures of characters from Thackeray, which will be printed in full color. Mr. Pyle, Edwin A. Abbey, and many of the other foremost painters and illustrators of the day will work exclusively for HARPER'S. There will be at least seven short stories in every number in addition to articles in every field of general interest, and each number will contain pictures in full color and tint. There will be nothing about graft, reforms, etc.

Copyright, 1905, by THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW PUBLISHING CO. All rights reserved.
Entered at the Post-Office at New York, and admitted for transmission through the mails, as second-class matter.

PERIODICAL ROOM.

# THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

VOL. CLXXXII.

THE

# NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

*EDITED BY GEORGE HARVEY.*

* 3+13.2
182

VOL. CLXXXII.

Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agêtur.

NOV 10 1964

NEW YORK:
FRANKLIN SQUARE,
1906.

Per. Dept
*AP2
.N7
vol. 182

Copyright, 1905, 1906, by The North American Review Publishing Co.

*All rights reserved.*

May 29 - 1906
without

# INDEX

TO THE

## ONE-HUNDRED-AND-EIGHTY-SECOND VOLUME

OF THE

# North American Review


Agriculture — Scientific Agriculture, 408; The International Institute of Agriculture, 651.
AMERICAN CITIZEN, AN. Our Navy, 321.
American Democracy in the Orient, 133.
American Imperialist, The First, 239.
AMERICUS. Some Phases of the Issues between the United States and Turkey, 689.
Anthony, Susan B.: The Woman and her Work, 604.
Appeal to our Millionaires, An, 801.
Aristocracy, Scions of, in America, 761.
Army—Is the United States Prepared for War? 161, 391.
Asceticism—Tolstoy as Prophet, 524.
Asphodel, The, 770.
Austria—World Politics, 629.

BACON, AUGUSTUS O. The Treaty-Making Power of the President and the Senate, 502.
Banks—Cause of the Recent Money Stringency, 274; Trust Company Reserves, 285.
BLACKMAR, FRANK W. The Mastery of the Desert, 676.
Books Reviewed—"Reason in Religion," by George Santayana, 582; "Evolution, the Master Key," by Dr. Saleeby, 585; "The Eternal Life," by Hugo Münsterberg, 586; "The Endless Life," by S. M. Crothers, 587; "Science and Immortality," by W. Osler, 587; "Individuality and Immortality," by W. Ostwald, 588; "The Art of Creation," by E. Carpenter, 589; "The Sin of David," and "Nero," by Stephen Phillips, 749; "Poems" and "The Firebringer," by W. V. Moody, 751-2; "Fenris, the Wolf," by Percy Mackaye, 753; "Alcestis," by Sara K. Wiley, 753; "Seléné," by Amélie Rives, 754; "Tristram and Isoult," by Martha W. Austin, 755; "Poems," by William Watson, 756; "In the Heights," by R. W. Gilder, 757; "A Shropshire Lad," by A. E. Housman, 757; "The Divine Vision," by A. E., 758; "In the Seven Woods," by W. B. Yeats, 758; "The Great Adventure," by George Cabot Lodge, 759; "The Wheel of Life," by Ellen Glasgow, 922; "The House of Mirth," by Edith Wharton, 922; "Sturmsee," by Henry Holt, 924; "The Jungle," by Upton Sinclair, 925; "The Conquest of Canaan," by Booth Tarkington, 926; "The Day Dreamer," by Jesse Lynch Williams, 927; "If Youth but Knew," by A. and E. Castle, 927; "The Evasion," by E. B. Frothingham, 927; "The Spirit of the Pines," by Margaret Morse, 927; "The Clammer," by W. J. Hopkins, 928; "My Lady Baltimore," by Owen Wister, 928; "The Lake," by George Moore, 928; "The Shadow of Life," by Anne D. Sedgwick, 929.
Boston, 333.
Brazil—The Phantom Peril of German Emigration and South-American Settlements, 641.
Brent, A Reply to the Rt. Rev. Bishop, 133.
BRIGGS, Professor C. A. Criticism and Dogma, 861.
BROWN, GEORGE STEWART. Municipal Ownership of Public Utilities, 701.
BUSH, EGBERT T. A Rural View of Rural Free Delivery, 381.

Canada—The Future of the British West Indies, 426; Canada's Tariff Mood towards the United States, 565.
Cause of the Recent Money Stringency, 374.
CESSNA, J. B. Congressional Rate-Making by Commission, 84.
Chatterton, Thomas, 256.
Children—Effect of School Life upon the Health of Children, 829.
China—The Chinese Press of To-day, 97; Our Missionaries and our Commerce, 886.
Christian Endeavor Movement, The, 194.

Clark, Rev. Francis E. What English Poetry Owes to Young People, 255.
Colquhoun, Archibald R. The Chinese Press of To-day, 97; Pan-Islam, 906.
Commerce, Our Missionaries and Our, 886.
Congress—Congressional Rate-Making by Commission, 84; Power of Congress to Reduce Representation, 228.
Congressional Rate-Making by Commission, 84.
Constitution — Congressional Rate-Making by Commission, 84; Elasticity of Written Constitutions, 204; Power of Congress to Reduce Representation, 228; The Treaty-Making Power of the President and the Senate, 502.
Consular Service, The Proposed Reorganization of the American, 356.
Content of the Modern Novel, The, 919.
Criticism and Dogma, 861.
Cronan, John F. A Plan for Regulating the Trusts, 123.

Davis, H. G. The Pan-American Railway: Its Business Side, 709.
Democracy, American, in the Orient, 133.
Desert, The Mastery of the, 676.
Dogma, Criticism and, 861.
Drama—On the Publishing of Plays, 414.

Eardley-Wilmot, Rear-Admiral S. A Plea for Steammanship in the Navy, 875.
Effect of School Life upon the Health of Children, 829.
Elasticity of Written Constitutions, 204.
Elder Statesmen of Japan, The, 215.
Electoral College, The Power of Congress to Reduce Representation in, 228.
Electoral Corruption in England in the Old Days, 275.
Emigration—The Hungarian Emigration Law, 115; The Phantom Peril of German Emigration and South-American Settlements, 641.
Engineer Corps in the Navy, A Plea for an, 74.
England—What English Poetry owes to Young People, 255; Electoral Corruption in England in the Old Days, 275; Scientific Agriculture, 408; The Future of the British West Indies, 426; Canada's Tariff Mood towards the United States, 565; World Politics, 136, 298, 456, 617, 777, 930.

Fleming, Walter L. "Forty Acres and a Mule," 721.
Foreman, John. American Democracy in the Orient, 133.
"Forty Acres and a Mule," 721.
France—World Politics, 149, 790.
Free Delivery, A Rural View of Rural, 381.
Future of the British West Indies, The, 426.

Gall, Richard, 262.
German Emigration and South-American Settlements, 641.
Germany—Most-Favored-Nation Relations between Germany and the United States, 433; The Phantom Peril of German Emigration and South-American Settlements, 641; World Politics, 470, 941.
Graduated Taxation of Incomes and Inheritances, The, 824.
Gray, David, 263.
Great Victory for Honest Politics, A, 1.
Griffis, Rev. William Elliott. The Elder Statesmen of Japan, 215.

Harper, Ida Husted. Susan B. Anthony: The Woman and her Work, 604.
Hepburn, A. B. Cause of the Recent Money Stringency, 374.
Huidekoper, Frederic Louis. Is the United States Prepared for War? 161, 391.
Humphrey, W. E. The Pending Shipping Legislation, 446.
Hungary—The Hungarian Emigration Law, 115; World Politics, 629.

Immigration—The Hungarian Emigration Law, 115; The Phantom Peril of German Emigration and South-American Settlements, 641.
Immortality, Recent Speculations upon, 579.
Imperialist, The First American, 239.
Incomes—An Appeal to our Millionaires, 801; The Graduated Taxation of Incomes and Inheritances, 824.
Indian's Yoke, The, 50.
Industrial Progress in Porto Rico, 105.
Inheritances—An Appeal to our Millionaires, 801; The Graduated Taxation of Incomes and Inheritances, 824.
Insurance—State Insurance in New Zealand, 62; Life-Insurance Legislation, 492.
International Institute of Agriculture, The, 651.
Is the United States Prepared for War? 161, 391.
Italy—The International Institute of Agriculture, 651.

James, Henry. New York: Social Notes, 19, 179; Boston, 333; Philadelphia, 542; Washington, 660, 896.
James, Thomas L. The United States a Parsimonious Employer, 266.
Japan — The Elder Statesmen of Japan, 215; The First American Imperialist, 239.
Jeffersonian Democrat, A. Whom will the Democrats next Nominate for President? 481.
Johnston, Dr. G. Woodruff. Effects of School Life upon the Health of Children, 829.

Keats, John, 260.
Keifer, Joseph Warren. Power of Congress to Reduce Representation, 228.
Kingsley, D. P. Safeguard the Life-Insurance Companies, 497.
Knowles, Herbert, 261.

Lee, Agnes. The Asphodel, 770.
Lee, Vernon. Tolstoy as Prophet, 524.
Levay, Baron Louis de. The Hungarian Emigration Law, 115.
Life-Insurance Legislation — Protect

the Policy-Holders, 492; Safeguard the Companies, 497.
Limantour, J. I.—Mexico's Great Finance Minister, 44.
Livingstone, W. P. The Future of the British West Indies, 426.
Loomis, Francis B. The Proposed Reorganization of the Consular Service, 356.
Luce, Rear-Admiral S. B. A Plea for an Engineer Corps in the Navy, 74.
Luzzatti, Luigi. The International Institute of Agriculture, 651.

Macfarland, Henry B. F. The Christian Endeavor Movement, 194.
Mac Veagh, Wayne. A Great Victory for Honest Politics, 1; The Graduated Taxation of Incomes and Inheritances, 824.
Markets and Misery, 591.
Mastery of the Desert, The, 676.
Matthews, Brander. On the Publishing of Plays, 414.
Merchant Marine—The Pending Shipping Legislation, 446.
Mexico's Great Finance Minister, 44.
Militia—Is the United States Prepared for War? 161, 391.
Millionaires, An Appeal to our, 801.
Missionaries—Some Phases of the Issues between the United States and Turkey, 689; Our Missionaries and Our Commerce, 886.
Mohammedanism—Pan-Islam, 906.
Money Stringency, Cause of the Recent, 374.
Morton, Paul. Life-Insurance Legislation, 492.
Most-Favored-Nation Relations between Germany and the United States, 433.
Municipal Ownership — Municipal Ownership of Public Utilities, 701; Some Arguments against Municipal Ownership, 853.

Navy—A Plea for an Engineer Corps in the Navy, 74; Our Navy, 321; A Plea for Steammanship in the Navy, 875.
Negro—Tuskegee: A Retrospect and a Prospect, 513; "Forty Acres and a Mule," 721.
Newcomb, Simon. The Organization of Scientific Research, 32.
New York: Social Notes, 19, 179.
New Zealand, State Insurance in, 62.
Nicoll, Robert, 262.
Novel, Modern, The Content of the, 919.

Organization of Scientific Research, The, 32.
Orient, American Democracy in the, 133.
Our Missionaries and Our Commerce, 886.
Our Navy, 321.

Pan-American Railway, The: Its Business Side, 709.
Pan-Islam, 906.
Pending Shipping Legislation, The, 446.
Perry, Matthew C.—The First American Imperialist, 239.
Philadelphia, 542.
Philippines—American Democracy in the Orient, 133.
Plan for Regulating the Trusts, A, 123.
Plays, On the Publishing of, 414.
Plea for an Engineer Corps in the Navy, A, 74.
Plea for Steammanship in the Navy, A, 875.
Poetry—What English Poetry Owes to Young People, 255; Some Recent Poetry, 747; The Asphodel, 770.
Politics—A Great Victory for Honest Politics, 1; Electoral Corruption in England in the Old Days, 275; Whom will the Democrats next Nominate for President? 481.
Porritt, Edward. Canada's Tariff Mood towards the United States, 565.
Porto Rico, Industrial Progress in, 105.
Portsmouth Treaty—The Elder Statesmen of Japan, 215.
Postal Service—A Rural View of Rural Free Delivery, 381.
Pottow, Arthur. Electoral Corruption in England in the Old Days, 275.
Power of Congress to Reduce Representation in Congress and in the Electoral College, 228.
President—Whom will the Democrats next Nominate for President? 481; The Treaty-Making Power of the President and the Senate, 502.
Press—The Chinese Press of To-day, 97.
Proposed Reorganization of the American Consular Service, The, 356.
Public Utilities, Municipal Ownership of, 701.
Publishing of Plays, On the, 414.

Railways—Congressional Rate-Making by Commission, 84; The Pan-American Railway: Its Business Side, 709.
Rate-Making — Congressional Rate-Making by Commission, 84.
Recent Speculations upon Immortality, 579.
Reeves, W. P. State Insurance in New Zealand, 62.
Reserves, Trust Company, 285.
Reyes, Rafael. Mexico's Great Finance Minister, 44.
Richardson, Hester Dorsey. Scions of Aristocracy in America, 761.
Rossiter, William S. The First American Imperialist, 239.
Rural Free Delivery, A Rural View of, 381.
Russia — The Elder Statesmen of Japan: The Power behind the Portsmouth Treaty, 215; World Politics, 142, 303, 461, 623, 783, 935.

School Life, The Effects of, upon the Health of Children, 829.
Scientific Agriculture, 408.
Scientific Research, The Organization of, 32.
Scions of Aristocracy in America, 761.
Senate, The Treaty-Making Power of the President and the, 502.
Shipping Legislation, The Pending, 446.
Sinclair, Upton. Markets and Misery, 591.
Social Ideals, 840.

Some Arguments against Municipal Ownership, 853.
Some Phases of the Issues between the United States and Turkey, 689.
Some Recent Poetry, 747.
South-America—The Phantom Peril of German Emigration, and South-American Settlements, 641; The Pan-American Railway, 709.
Spanish Treaty Claims, 738.
SPARHAWK, FRANCES CAMPBELL. The Indian's Yoke, 50.
State Insurance in New Zealand, 62.
Steammanship in the Navy, A Plea for, 875.
STERNBURG, Baron SPECK von. The Phantom Peril of German Emigration and South-American Settlements, 641.
STONE, N. I. Most-Favored-Nation Relations between Germany and the United States, 433.

Tariff—Most-Favored-Nation Relations between Germany and the United States, 433; Canada's Tariff Mood towards the United States, 565.
Taxation—An Appeal to our Millionaires, 801; The Graduated Taxation of Incomes and Inheritances, 824.
TAYLOR, HANNIS. Elasticity of Written Constitutions, 204; The Spanish Treaty Claims, 738.
THURBER, F. B. Some Arguments against Municipal Ownership, 853.
Tolstoy as Prophet, 524.
Treaty-Making Power of the President and the Senate, The, 502.
Trusts, A Plan for Regulating the, 123.
Trust Company Reserves, 285.
Turkey—Some Phases of the Issues between the United States and Turkey, 689; Our Missionaries and Our Commerce, 886; Pan-Islam, 906; World Politics, 310.
Tuskegee: A Retrospect and a Prospect, 513.

United States—A Great Victory for Honest Politics, 1; New York, Social Notes, 19, 179; The Indian's Yoke, 50; A Plea for an Engineer Corps in the Navy, 74; Congressional Rate-Making by Commission, 84; Industrial Progress in Porto Rico, 105; The Hungarian Emigration Law, 115; A Plan for Regulating the Trusts, 123; American Democracy in the Orient, 133; Is the United States Prepared for War? 161, 391; The Christian Endeavor Movement, 194; Elasticity of Written Constitutions, 204; Power of Congress to Reduce Representation, 228; The First American Imperialist, 239; The United States a Parsimonious Employer, 266; Trust Company Reserves, 285; Our Navy, 321; Boston, 333; The Proposed Reorganization of the American Consular Service, 356; Cause of the Recent Money Stringency, 374; A Rural View of Rural Free Delivery, 381; The Future of the British West Indies, 426; Most-Favored-Nation Relations between Germany and the United States, 433; The Pending Shipping Legislation, 446; Whom will the Democrats next Nominate for President? 481; Life-Insurance Legislation, 492; The Treaty-Making Power of the President and the Senate, 502; Tuskegee: A Retrospect and a Prospect, 513; Philadelphia, 542; Canada's Tariff Mood towards the United States, 565; Markets and Misery, 591; Susan B. Anthony: The Woman and her Work, 604: Washington, 660, 896; The Mastery of the Desert, 676; Some Phases of the Issues between the United States and Turkey, 689; Municipal Ownership of Public Utilities, 701; The Pan-American Railway: Its Business Side, 709; "Forty Acres and a Mule," 721; The Spanish Treaty Claims, 738; Scions of Aristocracy in America, 761; An Appeal to our Millionaires, 801; The Graduated Taxation of Incomes and Inheritances, 824; Effects of School Life on Children's Health, 829; A Plea for Steammanship in the Navy, 875; Our Missionaries and Our Commerce, 886; Social Ideals, 840; World Politics, 155, 316, 476, 636, 796, 947.

Virgin Birth, The—Criticism and Dogma, 861.
Volunteers—Is the United States Prepared for War? 161, 391.

WALDSTEIN, CHARLES. Social Ideals, 840.
War, Is the United States Prepared for? 161, 391.
WARWICK, Countess of. Scientific Agriculture, 408.
Washington, 660, 896.
WASHINGTON, BOOKER T. Tuskegee: A Retrospect and a Prospect, 513.
WEIGHTMAN, RICHARD. Our Missionaries and Our Commerce, 886.
West Indies, The Future of the British, 426.
What English Poetry Owes to Young People, 255.
White, Henry Kirke, 258.
Whom will the Democrats next Nominate for President? 481.
WILLCOX, LOUISE COLLIER. Recent Speculations upon Immortality, 579; Some Recent Poetry, 747; The Content of the Modern Novel, 919.
WILMOT, Rear-Admiral S. EARDLEY-. A Plea for Steammanship in the Navy, 875.
Wilson, Woodrow—Whom will the Democrats next Nominate for President? 481.
WINTHROP, BEEKMAN. Industrial Progress in Porto Rico, 105.
World-Politics—London, 136, 298, 456, 617, 777, 930; St. Petersburg, 142, 303, 461, 623, 783, 935; Paris, 149, 790; Washington, 155, 316, 476, 636, 796, 947; Constantinople, 310; Berlin, 470, 941; Vienna, 629.

YOUNG, GEORGE W. Trust Company Reserves: An Inquiry, 285.

X. An Appeal to Our Millionaires, 801.

## CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER.

---

Wayne MacVeagh

has been for many years a conspicuous figure in American public life. In 1863, he was chairman of the Republican State Committee of Pennsylvania, his native State. In 1870-71, he represented the United States at Constantinople, and in 1872 he was appointed a member of the Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention. He presided over the commission which was sent to Louisiana by President Hayes in 1877 for the purpose of amicably adjusting the disputes of the contending parties there. He sat in the Cabinet of President Garfield as Attorney-General, but on the accession of President Arthur he resigned his portfolio and resumed his law practice in Philadelphia. Mr. MacVeagh was United States Ambassador to Italy from 1893 to 1897, and he was one of the counsel who contested the claims of the Allied Powers before the Hague Tribunal in the Venezuelan arbitration.

Professor Simon Newcomb

is one of the most noted of living American men of science, and he has received the most liberal acknowledgment of the greatness of his accomplishments and of the value of his work from many of the leading universities of the United States and Europe. He has also had conferred upon him the Copley, the Huygens, the Royal Society and the Bruce medals; he was made an officer of the Legion of Honor, and he is the only American since Franklin who was elected an associate of the Institute of France. He has made many astronomical discoveries, which have been given to the world in over one hundred papers.

General R. Reyes

has taken a prominent part in the affairs of the United States of Colombia for many years. At the general election

held in 1904 he was elected President of the republic and his term of office will extend to 1910.

Frances Campbell Sparhawk

was born in Amesbury, Massachusetts, where she lived all her early days, her father having been the physician and friend of John Greenleaf Whittier. She organized and was secretary of the Indian Industries League, designed to promote industry and self-help among American Indians. She has contributed frequently to magazines and papers, and she is the author of a number of books, including "A Lazy Man's Work," "Miss West's Class in Geography," "Little Polly Blatchley," "Chronicle of Conquest," "Onoqua," "A Wedding Tangle," "Senator Intrigue and Inspector Noseby," "Fettered" and "Honor Dalton."

W. P. Reeves

is a native of Canterbury, New Zealand. He studied law and was admitted to the bar, but being attracted to journalism he edited the "Canterbury Times" and the "Lyttelton Times." He was elected a member of the Parliament of New Zealand in 1887 and retained his seat in that body till 1896. He became Minister of Education, Labor and Justice in 1891, but resigned his portfolio in 1896 to represent the interests of the colony in England as High Commissioner. He has published "State Experiments in Australia and New Zealand," "The Long White Cloud History of New Zealand," "An Introduction to the History of Communism and Socialism," and he has contributed to the supplementary volumes of the "Encyclopedia Britannica" and the "Dictionary of National Biography."

Rear-Admiral S. B. Luce, U. S. N.,

was appointed midshipman from New York in 1841; did duty on many stations and circumnavigated the globe. During the Mexican War he served on the Pacific coast. He was promoted to lieutenant in 1855, to lieutenant-commander in 1862, to commander in 1866, to captain in 1872, to commodore in 1881, and to rear-admiral in 1885. During the Civil War, he was lieutenant on the frigate "Wabash," and commander of the monitor "Nantucket," of the double-ender "Sonoma," of the "Canandaigua" and of the "Pontiac." He served in the North Atlantic blockading squadron. He was associate-editor of "Johnson's Universal Cyclopædia," naval editor of "The Standard Dictionary," and author of

"Naval Songs" and of "Seamanship," which is used as a text-book at the United States Naval Academy.

J. B. Cessna

graduated from the Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1864. A year later, he was admitted to the bar at Bedford, Pennsylvania. For a number of years, he prosecuted his profession with much success in the counties of his native State. In 1876, on the motion of Judge Jeremiah Black, he was admitted to practice before the Supreme Court of the United States. In 1885, he removed to Nebraska, and was soon recognized as one of the ablest lawyers in that State. Some time ago, he returned to the East. He has tried a number of important cases, and has lectured on legal and literary questions at various law-schools.

Archibald R. Colquhoun

has travelled in almost every quarter of the globe and given to the world the results of his observations and his reflections in a goodly library of most interesting and instructive volumes. In 1871, in his twenty-third year, he obtained an appointment in the Indian Public Works Department, and in 1879 he became secretary and second in command of the Government Mission to Siam and the Siamese Shan States. In 1881-82 he was engaged in exploring the region between Canton and Bhamo with a view to determining the best route for connecting Burmah and China by railway, and he was correspondent for "The Times" during the Franco-Chinese war in 1883-84. From 1885 to 1889, he was Deputy-Commissioner of Upper Burmah, and in 1890 he became Administrator of Mashonaland. In 1895, he visited Central America to examine the Nicaragua and Panama canal routes, and he went to China in the following year in connection with negotiations for railways. In 1898-99, he travelled through Siberia, Eastern Mongolia, and traversed China from north to south, and a year later he journeyed through the Dutch East Indies, Borneo, the Philippines and Japan, returning to England by way of Siberia. Among Mr. Colquhoun's writings are "China in Transformation" and "Russia against India."

Beekman Winthrop,

inaugurated as Governor of Porto Rico on July 4th, 1904, as successor to the Hon. W. H. Hunt, takes exception to the description of conditions in Porto Rico given in the article

by the late General Roy Stone published in the September number of the REVIEW, and presents a more hopeful view of the present situation in the island and its prospects for the future.

BARON LOUIS DE LEVAY

belongs to a distinguished Hungarian family. He was for some time a member of the Hungarian Parliament. On the passage of the law which was framed to regulate emigration from Hungary, he was appointed Royal Commissioner of Emigration to superintend its administration. His article is published at the instance and by the authority of the Hungarian Government.

J. F. CRONAN

is a native of Boston, Massachusetts. He is a graduate of the Boston University Law School, and he has practised law in his native city continuously since 1879. In 1894, he was elected a member of the Massachusetts Senate.

JOHN FOREMAN

is a British subject, who lived in the Philippines for a considerable period. He is the author of a book on these islands which has been characterized as containing "a larger amount of miscellaneous information on the subject than any other work in the English language."

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

No. DXC.

JANUARY, 1906.

# A GREAT VICTORY FOR HONEST POLITICS.

BY WAYNE MAC VEAGH.

THE years which bring the philosophic mind bring also a sense of proportion and a serenity of spirit which enable one to cast all personal ambitions and all personal animosities into "the limbo of forgotten things." In discussing, therefore, the subject of this paper, if any expressions which appear to be unduly strong find their way into it they are inspired not by ill-feeling towards individuals, but only by that hatred of political corruption which has had more or less complete possession of the writer all his life. There is not a person in any degree responsible for the evils which are herein strongly condemned whose political advancement, if honestly and fairly won, in an open field and a fair fight, would give rise to any criticism, except possibly upon the electors for the lack of wisdom in their choice. It is not the persons but the system which is the object of attack; and against the system the attack ought to be relentlessly maintained until the last vestige of it is driven out of American politics. "Bossism" has indeed been the curse of our politics for a long while past; and, if "government of the people by the people and for the people" is to continue, that evil system, leading to all abhorrent forms of debauchery, corruption, and degradation of the public service,



Copyright, 1905, by THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW PUBLISHING COMPANY. All Rights Reserved

must absolutely disappear. In striving for its disappearance, however, there is no need for undue condemnation of those who have been responsible for it, if they will abandon their evil ways and, placing themselves upon an equality with all other persons desiring to enter the public service, submit their qualifications to the impartial judgment of the voters; but, with less than that concession, no true friend of honest politics can ever be satisfied.

The reappearance of the moral law as an indispensable element in our system of government ought to be a source of great encouragement to all good citizens. The conflict between honest politics and dishonest politics, a conflict for the initiation of which we are largely indebted to Governor Folk of Missouri, has now been waged in many cities and States, with a resulting victory for the right in almost every instance; and the degrading and demoralizing system heretofore accepted has at last met the condemnation it so justly deserved and which by our cowardly acquiescence it has too long escaped.

And every real lover of his country, without regard to his previous condition of partisan servitude, ought to rejoice at the moral lesson so plainly taught by the elections of last November. For "the plain people," in Mr. Lincoln's phrase, saw through the disguises in which our political "bosses" have been disguising their schemes. But, while rejoicing at the result, we must not forget that we have only taken the first step—only drawn "the first blood" in what is likely to be a long and arduous struggle, unless the enemy sooner capitulates. Such victories won by an undisciplined army of enthusiastic reformers are sure to be followed by more or less specious efforts of dishonest schemers to erect a new system of "bossism" of their own on the ruins of the old and beaten system. Others temporarily allied with the good cause, but at heart intriguers and corruptionists, will endeavor to form alliances, open or secret, with such members of the defeated combination of plunderers as they can persuade to betray their old associates, in the hope of a continuance of their share of the plunder in a new association.

Another peril, perhaps equally grave, is likely to beset such a victory. Some men join in such a contest in the confident expectation, no matter what protestations to the contrary have been made, that, if victory follows, the spoils of office will be distributed among the victors. Possibly they are incapable of under-

standing that the triumph achieved in November was never intended to constitute a new tribe of spoilsmen, disposing of offices in the old way to new henchmen—that is to say, a mere change of the names of our "bosses." In Philadelphia, it meant just the contrary, a sheer, absolute and uncompromising divorce of all form of patronage and "pull" from the city government; and that such government should in the future be conducted solely and exclusively for the public advantage. Above the doorway of every official in the City Hall the people have inscribed this legend: "No man who assisted in subjecting Philadelphia and Pennsylvania to the corrupt system now overthrown need enter here"; and a conclusive test of the sincerity of any man professing to desire decent politics will be found in his willingness or unwillingness to join in political fellowship, in any shape or form whatever, with any member of the defeated combination which so long dishonored and robbed Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, with the object of restoring the old evils under a new name.

The brunt of the fight is still before us; and, in reforming our lines for the next assault, we need not regret if some half-hearted self-seekers fall out of the ranks, for, in such a time as the present, the room of such men is far more valuable than their company. The wise words of Secretary Taft, spoken just after the election, should never be forgotten: "Those who brought about the defeat of the machine cannot afford to lie back on their oars and think they have won a lasting victory. They have merely carried the first intrenchments. What is needed is the earnest attention and work of young men entering politics with the unselfish desire to make them better, and who will strive for open conventions and a free choice by the people of all candidates for office. Such a victory will not be completed for several years." All the same, the glad light of a new day was visible, all around the national horizon, on the morning of the eighth of November, and we are entitled to be glad and grateful for its promise that the Eighth Commandment will again take its proper place in our politics.

In Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, the word "organization" is a euphemism for a band of dishonest politicians herded together, with the single purpose of robbing the taxpayers, and it is used in that sense only in this article. In Boston, both "organizations" joined together and were overthrown by a candidate for the office of Prosecuting Attorney who entered the lists without a

nomination from either the Democratic or Republican machine; without a contribution from any corporation; without the support of any influential newspaper; while all these powerful political agencies united in supporting his opponent. Astonishing as it may seem, by going straight "back to the people" and asking for their suffrages without fear of those machines, their money, their organization, or their newspapers, he received a great majority of votes. This victory is the more remarkable because the successful candidate is not known to have commended himself to the electorate by any distinguished public service. It would, therefore, seem to be a simple assertion by the voters of Boston of their political independence—an assertion by them that they owned their own votes, and would cast them as they pleased without longer wearing around their necks a collar inscribed: "I am the serf of the 'bosses' of my party and will vote as they dictate."

In the City of New York, the proposal to the voters was of a very different character so far as the candidate was concerned, though the challenge to the voter to exercise his independence of both corrupt political organizations was the same. Mr. Jerome had attracted not only the attention but the confidence and the admiration of all men who hate corrupt politics without reference to the partisan label they might bear. His striking and attractive personality was, therefore, a very important element in the apparently hopeless contest upon which he entered, when he served a defiant and contemptuous notice upon the "bosses" of both the Democratic and Republican parties in the City of New York that he cared for no nomination either or both of them could give him, and that his appeal was only to the voters as citizens. The voters responded to his appeal with an alacrity and an enthusiasm which were a sure presage of the splendid victory he won, and any person disposed to take a cheerless view of the future of the Republic need only consider the results of these two canvasses, to have his faith in free government wholly and absolutely restored, and to be able to rejoice that he is a citizen of the United States and a sharer in the beneficent blessings of its republican institutions,—institutions based, as upon a rock, upon the principle that the will of the majority in all political questions not only must prevail, but ought to prevail, now and always.

In Ohio, a similar struggle proved that the voters of that State cherished the same contempt for political "bosses" as was enter-

tained by the voters of Boston and New York. They inflicted a most mortifying and overwhelming defeat upon the Republican "boss" of Cincinnati, and dragged down with him the Republican candidate for Governor because of a supposed alliance with the "boss"; and, in Maryland, the courageous attitude maintained for so many years by Secretary Bonaparte was finally justified by a like victory over the same evil system.

In Philadelphia, and throughout Pennsylvania, the same righteous battle was fought and a like splendid victory was won; but the conditions of the struggle there were far more discouraging than prevailed elsewhere. It is well known that the corrupt politicians of Philadelphia and Pittsburg, with their servile allies in the rural sections of the State, had been permitted to rob the public treasuries at their pleasure for more than a quarter of a century. These men called themselves Republicans, because the Republican party was in an overwhelming majority in both these cities as well as in the State, and corrupt politicians always manage to belong to the majority party, or constitute themselves a venal annex to it.

It followed, therefore, as inevitably as the day follows the night, that the persons engaged in "looting" the treasuries of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania would label themselves Republicans, and during the whole of their long, tortuous and criminal career they have worn that label. Many excellent reasons why Pennsylvania took her place in the Republican column in 1860 and remained there steadfastly ever since, and with a steadily increasing majority, could be given; and in the last election the majority for President Roosevelt and Vice-President Fairbanks reached the phenomenal figure of three hundred and fifty thousand votes. Their majority was returned as over five hundred thousand, but the discrepancy is accounted for by the fraudulent ballots placed in the ballot-boxes, apparently in mere wanton hatred of an honest election; and it was against such a colossal majority that any warfare for decent government had to be waged.

There were other odds against the men who began this apparently hopeless strife, equally appalling. A fund exceeding ten millions of dollars had been distributed for many years at each session of the legislature among the charities of the State. This great sum had been so manipulated that no charitable or educational institution, however deserving, could receive adequate aid

unless its representatives avowed themselves supporters of the "bosses" at whose behests the bounty was apportioned among them.

Another gigantic corruption fund possessed by the "organization" consisted of the vast deposits of the money of the taxpayers in favored banks and banking institutions. So reckless had its members become in the use of this source of corruption that they allowed the children of the State to lack instruction in the public schools, and the salaries of the teachers to remain unpaid, in order that they might divide among themselves and their henchmen the illegal profits they could gain from the use of these great sums deposited in the institutions they selected, which institutions in their turn contributed money to aid in debauching the electorate at each recurring election. The sums so kept on deposit beyond any necessity for doing so have exceeded in recent years ten millions of dollars. In addition to these sources of strength, the "bosses" owned, in absolute fee simple, every office-holder, however high or however low, in most of the considerable cities of the State and throughout the counties. Almost every mayor was their tool, and every man hired to run an elevator in a public building was their tool, as were all the office-holders between these two classes. The chief duty of policemen for many years, in Philadelphia and Pittsburg, has been of a twofold character—to protect the haunts of the most loathsome vice and crime from any interference, in order that politicians of higher or lower degree might receive an infamous revenue from them, and, in the second place, to secure such pretended returns from each election precinct as their masters for the time being demanded from them. This latter work was accomplished by assaulting or arresting any citizen who appeared at the polls demanding an opportunity to see that the votes were honestly cast and honestly counted, and by introducing into the boxes before the voting began an adequate number of fraudulent ballots or adding such pretended votes at the close, as were necessary to produce the majority required of them.

The courts had kindly decided that ballot-boxes thus filled by such men were too sacred to be opened to the light of day upon the sworn allegation that if opened they would disclose great numbers of fraudulent ballots. And, in almost every perpetration of such frauds, and they probably number now over a hundred,

which has been dragged to the light of a public trial at the bar of the criminal justice, some member of this corrupt combination has been found associated in one way or another with these crimes against the ballot.

The members of the Fire Department were in many instances used for the same base purposes, as was indeed the great majority of all the vast array of office-holders borne upon the pay-rolls of those cities. As if the exaction of such debasing services from men paid by the public to serve the public was not enough, they were required to pay into the treasury of their masters a considerable percentage of their salaries to create another large corruption fund.

In the cities of Philadelphia and Pittsburg, the "bosses" had also allied themselves with what are mistakenly called "Public Service Corporations." They had impudently given away to private promoters and speculators, without any return to the public, but doubtless with ample returns to themselves, the rights of the people in their own highways. They had poured fabulous wealth into the laps of a few men to whom they had handed over, as free gifts, franchises belonging to the people, and worth very many millions of dollars. Indeed, much of the ill-gotten wealth flaunted by these beneficiaries of the "bosses" in the faces of those they have despoiled can be directly traced, without a flaw in the chain of evidence, to this appropriation of property belonging to the people, and which ought in common justice to be returned to them. It was to be expected that all corporations, whose owners were thus fattening upon their ill-gotten spoils, should be ardent supporters of the "bosses," both with money and with votes, as they always have been.

Then, too, the larger business corporations, interested either in legislation at the State Capital or by the municipal legislatures of these great cities, or in the maintenance of protective duties at Washington, felt obliged to pour golden streams annually into the all-devouring maw of the "organization." It is currently repeated that an annual tribute, amounting to over a hundred thousand dollars, was paid to it even in off years, by a few corporations alone, upon the well-worn and now utterly exploded pretext that it was necessary to do so to protect the interests of their stockholders from marauders and blackmailers.

As if all these sources of great strength were not suffi-

cient, the National Government has drifted into a condition of practical alliance with these "bosses," because they have had practical control of almost all of the nominations for Congress, not only in Philadelphia and Pittsburg, but throughout the State; and at last, with unparalleled effrontery, they actually appointed a Senator, without even going through the form of consulting the Governor, or any member of the legislature, or any organ of public opinion, or any body of voters; but simply by their own edict. No matter how excellent may have been their choice, such a method of making Senators is a grotesque travesty of popular government. In this way, all the patronage of the National Government in Pennsylvania has been concentrated in their hands. Every postmaster, great and small; every revenue collector; every consul; every minister and ambassador pays tribute to them in one form or other—that is, by political services or by checks. It therefore happened that, when it was determined, notwithstanding all these sources of strength and support at their command, to wage war against them, the anomaly was presented that almost every person in Pennsylvania who had been honored with a commission bearing the signature of President Roosevelt was the avowed, persistent and reckless opponent of that decency and honesty in politics for which President Roosevelt has so courageously battled all his life, and in the struggle for which his name and personality have been of such inestimable value. The history of this alliance between the Executive Department of the National Government and the "bosses" cynically engaged in despoiling Philadelphia and Pennsylvania is only part of the same system which has spread its evil influence over many other States, and which President Roosevelt found in full operation when, in the shadow of a great national tragedy, he entered upon the many difficult duties of his office. It was unreasonable to expect that he could at once reverse the evil system which had grown up by gradual accretion for many years; but it is perhaps not too much to hope that, sooner or later, he will add to his other signal services to the cause of civic righteousness that of ending this ignoble use of the federal offices as spoils, whereby the appointments at the disposal of the President are used as props for the indefensible system we have been considering. No defence would seem to be possible for a policy which requires the President of the United States, in the appointment of federal officials,

to furnish at the expense of the taxpayers political workers and shouters for the particular person who happens for the time being to be a Senator or Representative in Congress. If two equally reputable citizens compete for an office, there is no excuse whatever, in good morals or in good politics, for President Roosevelt giving to the one competitor, at the expense of the taxpayers, because he happens to be holding the office, the great and often controlling advantage of political agents, advocates and contributors of cash, to assist the occupant of the office to defeat his competitor. It happened some years ago that, in a single contest in Pennsylvania between an utterly discredited and dishonest politician who was seeking re-election to Congress and an honest and capable representative whom the honest Republicans sought to put in his place, the taxpayers were supplying the incompetent and dishonest man with more than fifty national, State and municipal office-holders, to defeat the competent and honest candidate they preferred, and the defeat naturally followed. The Constitution says: *The President shall nominate,* and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, appoint certain officials; but, in the gradual growth of the spoils system and of the class of politicians such a system inevitably produces, those plain and unmistakable words have been construed as if the provision read: "The Senators and Representatives in Congress of the same political faith as the President shall, in all cases, nominate the officers whose jurisdiction is coextensive with the State or district they happen to represent." A more indefensible perversion of the plain language and meaning of a constitutional mandate can hardly be conceived; and yet, every day, such perversion is acted upon and it seems now taken for granted, both by the Executive Department and the Legislative Department, that such perversion is the actual reading of the clause in question. The plain truth is that appointment under the Constitution is an exclusively Executive act, while confirmation under the same instrument is exclusively a Legislative act, and it is the duty of each department to confine itself to its own duty, without interference with the duty of the other.

It is difficult to estimate the number of active supporters the "bosses" were thus enabled to maintain at the expense of the taxpayers to assist in despoiling them. The policemen, the firemen, the clerks, the hangers-on, and all the other receivers of pay from

the city treasuries, including even the tipstaves of the courts, when swollen by all the keepers of saloons and brothels, and all others requiring licenses or protection from the city, or favors of any sort, were in themselves a very considerable army. To them were to be added all contractors, subcontractors, and workmen at work for the city, and all the persons employed by the so-called Public Service Corporations, constituting another considerable army of retainers, equally though less directly supplied to the "bosses" at the public expense, and all of President Roosevelt's office-holders. These forces, when added together, aggregated a compact and obedient army of at least thirty thousand men ready for any service demanded of them, from filling a ballot-box to assaulting a reformer.

The existence of these compact cohorts had long been known in a general way; the crimes they had committed, especially their crimes at elections, were familiar to everybody; but, in the course of the struggle, under the masterly management of Judge Gordon as counsel for Mayor Weaver, full, distinct and conclusive proof was given, by the production of the original written agreement, and the sworn testimony of one of the parties to it, that "the peerless leader" of the "organization," who was Governor Pennypacker's Commissioner of Insurance, and whom he had recently eulogized in an executive document, owned a large share of the notorious filtration contracts, which Major Gillette of the United States Army has recently reported to involve plunder exceeding six millions of dollars. A partner of this "peerless leader" was the wife of another leader only a shade less "peerless" than his chief; and other revelations, almost equally appalling, were made in other prosecutions. In most communities, even the victims of "money madness,"—that is, the men engaged in the ardent pursuit of money belonging to other people ("convey, the wise it call")—would have been shocked when proof was followed by proof of such flagrant debauchery of the public service; but it was the most distressing feature of the struggle in Philadelphia that, in addition to all other sources of strength, the "organization" possessed, it could securely rely upon the active sympathy and support of what are generally called the "financial interests." From the beginning of this great moral battle to the end, even to the very eve of the election, and after all these shocking revelations, most of the representatives of the banking and

financial institutions of Philadelphia were massed in solid column behind "the corrupt and criminal combination" which the honest citizens were about to signally overthrow. No proofs of crime affected these gentlemen. From beginning to end, many hundreds of the wealthy and otherwise reputable citizens of Philadelphia were the open or secret allies of its plunderers; and yet they wonder at the growing hatred of aggregated wealth.

Then, too, the Philadelphia Bar proved itself unworthy of its great and honorable reputation. Many of its leading members, though there were here also honorable exceptions, accepted retainers from the so-called "vested interests," so as to disqualify themselves from assisting honest citizens, striving for better government, with their professional counsel and guidance. Perhaps this moral paralysis of the leaders of the Bar was partly due to the known attitude of some of the judges on the Bench; for what Mr. Jerome has recently said of some of the judges of New York is eminently true of some of the judges of Philadelphia and throughout Pennsylvania, in all the grades of our judiciary.

And yet such confederates of the evil system we are considering ought not to be too severely blamed. The long condition of base and degrading political bondage had been slowly doing its evil work upon their character. As has already been said, such bondage had existed for more than a quarter of a century. It had of course grown by what it fed upon. Its demoralizing influence had spread into every hamlet of the commonwealth, for everywhere could be found some person more or less influential, who was a beneficiary, or hoped to be a beneficiary in one way or another, of this powerful combination; while the country press was generally subsidized by it, so that it seemed chimerical to imagine that men no longer young, and tired of the strifes and antagonisms of life, would live to witness the redemption of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania from their low-minded and craven-hearted servitude.

Then came a wholly unexpected change in the situation. Some especially flagrant attack upon their rights of property seems to have been needed to arouse the citizens of Philadelphia to that white heat of anger which was essential alike to the inception and the prosecution of the great struggle which awaited them; and when it was clearly seen that the "organization" proposed, in addition to all its other outrages, to take from the people their invaluable Gas Works with their exclusive franchises and to hand

over these great properties for the lifetime of three generations to a private corporation, upon terms which were popularly believed to be equivalent to the "stealing" of them, the wrath of the plain people knew no bounds and was easily and swiftly transformed into what proved to be a resistless political movement.

The most controlling factor, however, was the fact that man is a moral animal; and there is no more interesting, and certainly no more instructive and inspiring, study in the history of the world than the gradual development of the moral sense among men. Its growth from Epicurus to Christ has been recently portrayed; but, long before Epicurus, the seminal idea is discernible. Indeed, it is discernible the very first time we come face to face with man living in anything which can be called an approach to a civilized environment. As soon as he is shown in contact with his neighbor, the idea of duty towards that neighbor is seen emerging, and, slowly but surely, more and more governs his conduct and his life; and, since Christ came, it is a commonplace of history that the moral sense has with far greater rapidity come to dominate his actions. It was overlooked that, in the hearts of multitudes of men and women in Philadelphia and Pittsburg, and in every county of Pennsylvania, the faith, though dormant, still existed that the Eighth Commandment was of vital obligation in politics, and that an honest and straightforward appeal to that faith was reasonably sure of an answer.

The persons best qualified to make that appeal were, of course, the teachers of religion, and they were quick to see their opportunity and to seize upon it. Every religious denomination, without exception, became an advocate of civic righteousness, and almost every clergyman threw himself, heart and soul, into the contest, as soon as the moral and religious character of it became clear to him. In season and out of season; in their convocations; in their prayer-meetings; from their pulpits, they kept repeating over and over again that the modern reading of the Eighth Commandment is not the true one. They insisted it does not read: "Thou shalt not steal, unless thou art a politician; but, if a politician, steal all thou canst"; but that it reads plainly and unequivocally, "Thou shalt not steal." It is difficult to overestimate the influence of this steady continuous, eloquent preaching of this simple truth to the voters. For the first time, they saw themselves confronted with the duty of voting honestly as citizens, or worshipping hypocritic-

ally as Christians; and a great majority of them chose to vote honestly and to worship God in sincerity and in truth.

Then, too, was witnessed the amazing power of an untrammelled and independent press. The great journals which owed no allegiance to this "corrupt and criminal combination," whose owners and editors had never been upon its pay-rolls, and who were in no danger of going upon them, began their effective work of moral propagandism. They taught, from the beginning of the struggle to the end, in words often tipped as it were with fire, that the privilege of the ballot was a consecrated privilege, and that no man had any more right to prostitute it to his own wicked and selfish purposes when he approached the polls than to so prostitute himself in any other relation in life. In every form of pathetic entreaty and in every form of eloquent appeal, these great newspapers made their way to the consciences of the people, and any attempt to state the extent of their influence, or their share in the great victory which was achieved, would only lead to the use of words which might be thought to be exaggeration. It is enough to say that every friend of decent government throughout the land, North, South, East and West, owes them a debt of lasting gratitude.

In addition to all these forces on the right side, there was another of a value which can be truly said to be quite beyond calculation. There happened to be sitting in the Mayor's chair in Philadelphia a singular personage. He was a self-made man, still young, who had been born in England, and coming here in his youth had struggled upward day by day until he attained a very respectable position at the Bar of Philadelphia, from which he was promoted by the "bosses" themselves, first to be the Prosecuting Attorney of the city, and afterwards to be its Mayor, for they believed they had in him a useful and pliant tool. The years bring with them great compensations; but, like all earthly blessings, they bring some abatements in their train, so that it required some time to persuade oneself that John Weaver really was the kind of man he has now conclusively proven himself to be: a growing man, dominated absolutely by his conscience in all his public actions, brave to the verge of rashness in any line of conduct he has persuaded himself is right, and incapable of betraying the people. Given such a man in such a place, and the whole aspect of the struggle was changed as in a moment. The good people of

Philadelphia all said in the beginning, "If only the Mayor remains true"; and soon they were all saying, "Now that we know that the Mayor will remain true, the chances of the great battle have turned in our favor." Each day endeared him more and more to those who care for pure and honest politics. To-day, no office-holder of the city of Philadelphia, high or low, is taxed a penny of his salary for any cause whatever; no such office-holder, high or low, is allowed to interfere with the exercise of the sacred right of the ballot by any voter; no such office-holder is allowed to spend the time for which the taxpayers pay him in the service of their plunderers, although he may have originally owed his appointment to them. The law establishing a civil service for Philadelphia has been rescued from the contemptuous disregard of it always heretofore shown, into an active, energetic and impartial administration of its provisions, so that to-day every applicant for employment, in any department of the municipal government, is absolutely sure of a "square deal." "Pull" has been abolished and merit has been substituted through every grade of employment. Mayor Weaver has also developed into a most effective popular orator. His directness of appeal, his manly and fervent insistence upon morality in politics, and his evident sincerity made a profound impression upon every audience he was persuaded to address.

His co-workers were pure-minded, high-spirited, fearless citizens, having no aim in their political activity but the public welfare. It would be invidious to name them, but there is no danger that a grateful community will ever forget their arduous, unselfish and effective labors, especially as those labors have been crowned with such a brilliant success. They came from their counting-houses; from their great manufacturing establishments; from their offices; from all the pursuits of a varied business community like Philadelphia; and they gave ungrudgingly of their money and their time and their intelligence in support of the noble cause of which they voluntarily constituted themselves the champions. The roll of honor on which their names are legibly inscribed will not be permitted to fade from the sight of the people they helped to rescue from a bondage worse than death.

And it sometimes seemed as if the stars in their courses were fighting for the friends of pure government. At a critical moment in the battle, a number of the members of the Union League saw

fit to range themselves on the side of the "bosses" and demanded that the warfare against them should cease. Such a wanton betrayal of the cause of honest politics, by such men at such a time, might have had a disastrous effect; but, in truth, it only served to show the undaunted courage of the hosts of reform. Such as were members of the Union League indignantly denied the right of anybody to dishonor its name by such association, and all, as honest citizens seeking honest government, trampled the appeal beneath their feet.

But some weaker brethren were in danger of being misled by the cry of "reform within the party." It was said that the "organization," however bad, was in control of the Republican party in the city and in the State, and that those who struck at it were striking, not only at the Republican party, but at President Roosevelt and his administration. The situation was unsatisfactory, and even good men were saying, "We must not go too far, you know." And then one morning we all read these inspiring words of cheer to Mayor Weaver from Mr. Root, who had just accepted the place of Secretary of State:

"I have acquired absolute confidence in the sincerity of your purpose and in your pluck and persistency, and I have a strong desire that the city of Philadelphia, whose history and good name are so dear to every American, shall be relieved from the strain which a corrupt and criminal combination, masquerading under the name of Republicans, have put upon her. I wish you Godspeed in your future efforts."

The ringing phrases of this now historic letter, which came "like a bolt from the blue," were at once upon all lips and reappeared in a thousand forms thenceforward to the end of the canvass. From the day of its publication, all doubt of the result in Philadelphia disappeared, leaving only the question of the size of the majority, which proved to be larger than even the most sanguine friends of the cause expected.

As if this triumph in the city was not glory enough for one campaign, a victory, possibly pregnant with even more beneficent results, was achieved in the State, transforming the majority of 350,000 votes for the Republican candidates last year into a majority of almost 90,000 votes for the reform candidate this year. At the opening of the canvass, the prospect of redeeming the State was certainly not brilliant. While everybody who

knew Mr. Berry spoke most favorably of him, he was then holding the unimportant office of Mayor of the city of Chester. He was the nominee of the Prohibition party, and Prohibition is not very popular in Pennsylvania. He was the nominee of the Democratic party, and the Democratic party has for nearly fifty years been extremely unpopular in Pennsylvania, and never more so than a year ago; but, as the canvass progressed, he more and more impressed the voters with his absolute honesty. They saw in him a man who, if elected, would change the administration of the finances of the State from that of a great corruption fund, farmed out to favored politicians, into a system in which the interests and the true financial advantage of the commonwealth would be the only consideration. His opponent fortunately represented every evil attribute of the "organization"; so that, as the canvass progressed, it was seen that the division throughout the State would largely be upon the same lines as in Philadelphia—those who believed in corrupt politics would vote for the candidate of the "organization," while most of those who believed in honest politics would vote for Mr. Berry, although it was also known that the candidate of the "organization" would receive the votes of many honest and well-meaning men who were the slaves of the party name, for the "organization" had so manipulated the legislature and the courts that it alone was permitted to use the word Republican, no other citizens being allowed to use it, no matter how clearly and emphatically they distinguished it by other words from the use made of it by the "organization" itself. Honest Republicans were, therefore, driven to the use of an entirely new name, which is always a great disadvantage if adopted immediately before an election.

And now the stars in their courses seemed to be fighting for the cause of reform in the State also, for, while thousands of voters were halting between two opinions, doubting if all the assertions of the corrupt manipulation of the State Treasury could be true, the news was flashed into every corner of the commonwealth that a Pittsburg bank, having on deposit more than a million dollars of the money of the taxpayers, was bankrupt because it had used the money to build up schemes of politicians more or less closely affiliated with the "organization," and that in an agony of shame and despair the cashier had killed himself. His death completed a trilogy of awful tragedies, all traceable beyond question

to the same cause. The cashier of the State Treasury at the State capital had killed himself in a like agony of shame and despair, because the then leaders of the "organization" had robbed it of its last dollar, and discovery was at the door. The cashier of the People's Bank in Philadelphia, lending its State deposits to one of the same leaders on his promise to "shake the plum-tree," upon seeing as in a vision the doors of the penitentiary opening for him, had also killed himself. These three graves, these three desolate and dishonored homes, these three widows and their fatherless children, all chargeable to the same abhorrent dishonesty and all thus grouped together, brought the consequences of misrule home to the conscience of the voters as never before, and thenceforth the election of Mr. Berry was assured.

The Lincoln Party, born in a night, was offered to the Republican voters as their only way of escape from a repetition of such horrors, and was eagerly accepted by them; and by placing the name of Mr. Berry at the head of its ticket, it succeeded, with the other organizations supporting him, in securing his election by the great majority already mentioned. It is therefore entirely accurate to say that the battle of last November, both in Philadelphia and in Pennsylvania, was fought out distinctly and unmistakably upon the issue, Shall or shall not the Eighth Commandment be applied to politics? Philadelphia has answered, Yes; Pennsylvania has answered, Yes; and both in unmistakable tones. Such results offer reasonable grounds for great and sincere rejoicing; but the men who have waged this great warfare know that the struggle is not over, but is really only beginning. It is to be hoped they will continue it, with renewed courage and renewed hope, until they have actually redeemed the cities of the State, as well as the State itself, from "the corrupt and criminal combination masquerading as Republicans" which has so long plundered and dishonored them. Full and conclusive proofs have now been laid before the people. They know the crimes which have been committed, and who committed them. They are now familiar with the long and loathsome story of the degradation of our public life, chargeable to the "organization." If henceforth they are not on the right side it can only be because they prefer corruption and dishonesty.

Honest politics need just now, as never before, the support of all good men, and especially young men, for to them belong

the duty and the glory of carrying on this warfare until all graft and all grafters are driven from every department of our public life; but they must bring to the work a spirit of absolute consecration. If they are asked to ally themselves with any corruptionist who has left the sinking ship of his old associates only because it was sinking, they should treat the suggestion as one of personal dishonor,—nor must they serve such a cause only in hope of compensation for their service. They must be in politics, not for what they can get, but for what they can do. They must be pure in spirit and self-denying in sacrifice, and aflame with devotion to two symbols—that of duty and that of country. Inspired by such motives, sooner or later they will restore our politics to their old standards of dignity and honor, and rest them again, as of old, upon true religion and true patriotism. Such service is worthy of the noblest ambition. It is the service in which Warren fell at Bunker Hill and Shaw at Fort Wagner, and it ennobles all its true and faithful soldiers, living and dead, in peace as in war, for they are all defenders of the best form of government—in spite of all its imperfections, and there are many and grave—ever known, that of the American Democracy.

WAYNE MAC VEAGH.

# NEW YORK: SOCIAL NOTES.—I.

BY HENRY JAMES.

## I.

WERE I not afraid of appearing to strike to excess the so-called pessimistic note, I should really make much of the interesting, appealing, touching vision of waste—I know not how else to name it—that flung its odd melancholy mantle even over one's walks through the parts of the town supposedly noblest and fairest. For it proceeded, the vision, I think, from a source or two still deeper than the most obvious, the constant shocked sense of houses and rows, of recent expensive construction (that had cost thought as well as money, that had taken birth presumably as a *serious* demonstration, and that were thereby just beginning to live into history) marked for removal, for extinction, in their prime, and awaiting it with their handsome faces so fresh and yet so wan and so anxious. The most tragic element in the French Revolution, and thence surely the most tragic in human annals, was the so frequent case of the very young sent to the scaffold—the youths and maidens, all bewildered and stainless, lately born into a world decked for them socially with flowers, and for whom, none the less, suddenly, the horror of horrors uprose. They were literally the victims I thought of, absurd as it may seem, under the shock in question; in spite of which, however, even this is not what I mean by my impression of the squandered effort. I have had occasion to speak—and one can only speak with sympathy—of the really human, the communicative, side of that vivid show of a society trying to build itself, with every elaboration, into some coherent sense *of* itself, and literally putting forth interrogative feelers, as it goes, into the ambient air; literally reaching out (say, to the charmed beholder) for some measure and some test of its success. This

effect of certain of the manifestations of wealth in New York is, so far as I know, unique: nowhere else does pecuniary power so beat its wings in the void, and so look round it for the charity of some hint as to the possible awkwardness or possible grace of its motion, some sign of whether it be flying, for good taste, too high or too low. In the other American cities, on the one hand, the flights are as yet less numerous—though already promising no small diversion; and amid the older congregations of men, in the proportionately rich cities of Europe, on the other hand, good taste is present, for reference and comparison, in a hundred embodied and consecrated forms. Which is why, to repeat, I found myself recognizing in the New York predicament a particular character and a particular pathos. The whole costly up-town demonstration was a record, in the last analysis, of individual loneliness; whence came, precisely, its insistent testimony to waste—waste of the still wider sort than the mere game of rebuilding.

That quite different admonition of the general European spectacle, the effect, in the picture of things, as of a large, consummate economy, traditionally practised, springs from the fact that old societies, old, and even new, aristocracies, are arranged exactly to supply functions, forms, the whole element of custom and perpetuity, to any massiveness of private ease, however great. Massive private ease attended with no force of assertion beyond the hour is an anomaly rarely encountered, therefore, in countries where the social arrangements strike one as undertaking, by their very nature and pretension, to make the future as interesting as the past. These conditions, the romantic ones for the picture-seeker, are generally menaced, one is reminded; they tend to alter everywhere, partly by the very force of the American example, and it may be said that in France, for instance, they have done nothing but alter for a hundred years. It none the less remains true that for once that we ask ourselves "in Europe" what is going to become of a given piece of property, whether family "situation," or else palace, castle, picture, *parure,* other attribute of wealth, we indulge in the question twenty times in the United States—so scant an engagement does the visible order strike us as taking to provide for it. There comes in the note of loneliness on the part of these loose values—deep as the look in the eyes of dogs who plead against a change

of masters. The visible order among ourselves undertakes at the most that they shall change hands, and the meagreness and indignity of this doom affect them as a betrayal just in proportion as they have grown great. Uppermost Fifth Avenue, for example, is lined with dwellings the very intention both of the spread and of the finish of which would seem to be to imply that they are "entailed" as majestically as red tape can entail them. But we know how little they enjoy any such courtesy or security; and, but for our tender heart and our charming imagination, we would blight them in their bloom with our restless analysis. "It's all very well for you to look as if, since you've had no past, you're going in, as the next best thing, for a magnificent compensatory future. What are you going to make your future *of*, for all your airs, we want to know?—what elements of a future, as futures have gone in the great world, are at all assured to you? Do what you will, you sit here only in the lurid light of 'business,' and you know, without our reminding you, what guarantees, what majestic continuity and heredity, *that* represents. Where are not only your eldest son and *his* eldest son, those prime indispensables for any real *projection* of your estate, unable as they would be to get rid of you even if they should wish; but where even is the old family stocking, properly stuffed and hanging so heavy as not to stir, some dreadful day, in the cold breath of Wall Street? No, what you are reduced to for 'importance' is the present, pure and simple, squaring itself between an absent future and an absent past as solidly as it can. You overdo it for what you are—you overdo it still more for what you may be; and don't pretend, above all, with the object-lesson supplied you, close at hand, by the queer case of Newport, don't pretend, we say, not to know what we mean."

"We say," I put it, but the point is that we say nothing, and it is that very small matter of Newport exactly that keeps us compassionately silent. The present state of Newport shall be a chapter by itself, which I long to take in hand, but which must wait its turn; so that I may mention it here only for the supreme support it gives to this reading of the conditions of New York opulence. The show of the case to-day—oh, so vividly and pathetically!—is that New York and other opulence, creating the place, for a series of years, as part of the effort of "American society" to find out, by experiment, what it would be at,

now has no further use for it—has only learned from it, at an immense expenditure, how to get rid of an illusion. "We've found out, after all, (since it's a question of what we would be 'at') that we wouldn't be at Newport—if we can possibly be anywhere else; which, with our means, we indubitably *can* be: so that we leave poor dear Newport just ruefully to show it." That remark is written now over the face of the scene, and I can think nowhere of a mistake confessed to so promptly, yet in terms so exquisite, so charmingly cynical; the terms of beautiful houses and delicate grounds closed, condemned and forsaken, yet so "kept up," at the same time, as to cover the retreat of their projectors. The very air and light, soft and discreet, seem to speak, in tactful fashion, for people who would be embarrassed to be there—as if it might shame them to see it proved against them that they could once have been so artless and so bourgeois. The point is that they have learned not to be, by the rather terrible process of exhausting the list of mistakes. Newport, for them—or for us others—is only one of these mistakes; and we feel no confidence that the pompous New York houses, most of them so flagrantly tentative, and tentative only, bristling with friezes and pinnacles, but discernibly deficient in reasons, shall not collectively form another. It is the hard fate of new aristocracies that the element of error, with them, has to be contemporary—not relegated to the dimness of the past, but receiving the full modern glare, a light fatal to the fond theory that the best society, everywhere, has grown, in all sorts of ways, in spite of itself. We see it in New York trying, trying its very hardest, to grow, yet not knowing (by so many indications) what to grow *on*.

There comes back to me again and again, for many reasons, a particular impression of this interesting struggle in the void—a constituted image of the upper social organism floundering there all helplessly, more or less floated by its immense good-will and the splendor of its immediate environment, but betrayed by its paucity of real resource. The occasion I allude to was simply a dinner-party, of the most genial intention, but at which the note of high ornament, of the general uplifted situation, was so consistently struck that it presented itself, on the page of New York life, as a purple patch without a possible context—as consciously, almost painfully, unaccompanied by passages in any-

thing like the same key. The scene of our feast was a palace and the perfection of setting and service absolute; the ladies, beautiful, gracious and glittering with gems, were in tiaras and a semblance of court trains, a sort of prescribed official magnificence; but it was impossible not to ask one's self with what, in the wide American frame, such great matters might be supposed to consort or to rhyme. The material pitch was so high that it carried with it really no social sequence, no application, and that, as a tribute to the ideal, to the exquisite, it wanted company, support, some sort of consecration. The difficulty, the irony, of the hour was that so many of the implications of completeness, that is of a sustaining social order, were absent. There was nothing for us to do, at eleven o'clock—or for the ladies at least—but to scatter and go to bed. There was nothing, as in London or in Paris, to go "on" to; the going "on" is, for the New York aspiration, always the stumbling-block. A great court-function would alone have met the strain, met the terms of the case—would alone properly have crowned the hour. When I speak of the terms of the case, I must remind myself indeed that they were not all of one complexion; which is but another sign, however, of the inevitable jaggedness of the purple patch in great commercial democracies. The high color required could be drawn in abundance from the ladies, but in a very minor degree, one easily perceived, from the men. The impression was singular, but it was there: had there been a court-function the ladies must have gone on to it alone, trusting to have the proper partners and mates supplied them on the premises—supplied, say, with the checks for recovery of their cloaks. The high pitch, all the exalted reference, was of the palatial house, the would-be harmonious women, the tiaras and the trains; it was not of the amiable gentlemen, delightful in their way, in whose so often quaint presence, yet without whose immediate aid, the effort of American society to arrive at the "best" consciousness goes forward.

This failure of the sexes to keep step socially is to be noted, in the United States, at every turn, and is perhaps more suggestive of interesting "drama," as I have already hinted, than anything else in the country. But it illustrates further that foredoomed *grope* of wealth, in the conquest of the amenities—the strange necessity under which the social interest labors of find-

ing out for itself, as a preliminary, what civilization really *is*. If the men are not to be taken as contributing to it, but only the women, what new case is *that*, under the sun, and under what strange aggravations of difficulty therefore is the problem not presented? We should call any such treatment of a different order of question the empirical treatment—the limitations and aberrations of which crop up, for the restless analyst, in the most illustrative way. Its presence is felt unmistakably, for instance, in the general extravagant insistence on the Opera, which plays its part as the great vessel of social salvation, the comprehensive substitute for all other conceivable vessels; the *whole* social consciousness thus clambering into it, under stress, as the whole community crams into the other public receptacles, the desperate cars of the Subway or the vast elevators of the tall buildings. The Opera, indeed, as New York enjoys it, one promptly perceives, is worthy, musically and picturesquely, of its immense function; the effect of it is splendid, but one has none the less the oddest sense of hearing it, as an institution, groan and creak, positively almost split and crack, with the extra weight thrown upon it—the weight that in worlds otherwise arranged is artfully scattered, distributed over all the ground. In default of a court-function, our ladies of the tiaras and court trains might have gone on to the opera-function, these occasions offering the only approach to the implication of the tiara known, so to speak, to the American law. Yet even here there would have been no one for them, in congruity and consistency, to curtsy to—their only possible course becoming thus, it would seem, to make obeisance, clingingly, to each other. This truth points again the effect of a picture poor in the male presence; for to what male presence of native growth is it thinkable that the wearer of an American tiara *should* curtsy? Such a vision gives the measure of the degree in which we see the social empiricism in question putting, perforce, the cart before the horse. In worlds otherwise arranged, besides there being, always, plenty of subjects for genuflexion, the occasion itself, with its character fully turned on, produces the tiara. In New York this symbol has, by an arduous extension of its virtue, to produce the occasion.

I found it interesting to note, I may add, that the very Clubs, on whose behalf, if anywhere, expert tradition might have operated, betrayed with a *bonhomie* touching in the midst of their

magnificence the empirical character. Was not their admirable, their unique, hospitality, for that matter, an empirical note—a departure from the consecrated collective egoism governing such institutions in worlds, as I have said, otherwise arranged? Let the hospitality, in this case at least, stand for the prospective discovery of a new and better law, under which the consecrated egoism itself will have become the "provincial" sign. Endless at all events, the power of one or two of these splendid structures to testify to the state of manners—of manners undiscourageably seeking the superior stable equilibrium. There had remained with me as illuminating, from years before, the confidential word of a friend on whom, after a long absence from New York, the privilege of one of the largest clubs had been conferred. "The place is a palace, for scale and decoration, but there is only one kind of letter-paper." There would be more kinds of letter-paper now, I take it—though the American club struck me everywhere, oddly, considering the busy people that employ it, as much less an institution for attending to one's correspondence than others I had had knowledge of; generally destitute, in fact, of copious and various appliances for that purpose. There is such a thing as the imagination of the writing-table, and I nowhere, save in a few private houses, came upon its fruits; to which I must add that this is the one connection in which the provision for ease has not an extraordinary amplitude, an amplitude unequalled anywhere else. One emphatic reservation, throughout the country, the restored absentee finds himself continually making, but the universal custom of the house with almost no one of its indoor parts distinguishable from any other is an affliction against which he has to learn betimes to brace himself. This diffused vagueness of separation between apartments, between hall and room, between one room and another, between the one you are in and the one you are not in, between place of passage and place of privacy, is a provocation to despair which the public institution shares impartially with the luxurious "home." To the spirit attuned to a different practice these dispositions can only appear a strange perversity, an extravagant aberration of taste; but I may here touch on them scarce further than to mark their value for the characterization of manners.

They testify at every turn, then, to those of the American people, to the prevailing "conception of life"; they correspond,

withindoors, to the as inveterate suppression of almost every outward exclusory arrangement. The instinct is throughout, as we catch it at play, that of minimizing, for any "interior," the guilt or odium or responsibility, whatever these may appear, of its *being* an interior. The custom rages like a conspiracy for nipping the interior in the bud, for denying its right to exist, for ignoring and defeating it in every possible way, for wiping out successively each sign by which it may be known from an *ex*terior. The effacement of the difference has been marvellously, triumphantly, brought about; and, with all the ingenuity of young, fresh, frolicsome architecture aiding and abetting, has been made to flourish, alike in the small structure and the great, as the very law of the structural fact. Thus we have the law fulfilled that every part of every house shall be, as nearly as may be, visible, visitable, penetrable, not only from every other part, but from as many parts of as many other houses as possible, if they only be near enough. Thus we see systematized the indefinite extension of all spaces and the definite merging of all functions; the enlargement of every opening, the exaggeration of every passage, the substitution of gaping arches and far perspectives and resounding voids for enclosing walls, for practicable doors, for controllable windows, for all the rest of the essence of the room-character, that room-suggestion which is so indispensable not only to occupation and concentration, but to conversation itself, to the play of the social relation at any other pitch than the pitch of a shriek or a shout. This comprehensive canon has so succeeded in imposing itself that it strikes you as reflecting inordinately, as positively serving you up for convenient inspection, under a clear glass cover, the social tone that has dictated it. But I must confine myself to recording, for the moment, that it takes a whole new discipline to put the visitor at his ease in so merciless a medium; he finds himself looking round for a background or a limit, some localizing fact or two, in the interest of talk, of that "good" talk which always falters before the complete proscription of privacy. He sees only doorless apertures, vainly festooned, which decline to tell him where he is, which make him still a homeless wanderer, which show him other apertures, corridors, staircases, yawning, expanding, ascending, descending, and all as for the purpose of giving his presence "away," of reminding him that what he says must be

said for the house. He is beguiled in a measure by reading into these phenomena, ever so sharply, the reason of many another impression; he is beguiled by remembering how many of the things said in America *are* said for the house; so that if all that he wants is to keep catching the finer harmony of effect and cause, of explanation and implication, the cup of his perception is full to overflowing.

That satisfaction does represent, certainly, much of his quest; all the more that what he misses, in the place—the comfort and support, for instance, of windows, porches, verandas, lawns, gardens, "grounds," that, by not taking the whole world into their confidence, have not the whole world's confidence to take in return—ranges itself for him in that large body of American idiosyncrasy which contains, unmistakably, a precious principle of future reaction. The desire to rake and be raked has, doubtless, he makes out, a long day before it still; but there are too many reasons why it should not be the last word of *any* social evolution—the social idea has too inevitably secrets in store, quite other constructive principles, quite other refinements on the idea of intercourse, with which it must eventually reckon. It will be certain at a given moment, I think, to head in a different direction altogether; though, obviously, many other remarkable things, changes of ideal, of habit, of key, will have to take place first. The conception of the home, and *a fortiori* of the club, as a combination of the hall of echoes and the toy "transparency" held against the light, will meanwhile sufficiently prevail to have made my reference to it not quite futile. Yet I must after all remember that the reservation on the ground of comfort to which I just alluded applies with its smallest force to the interchangeability of club-compartments, to the omnipresence of the majestic open arch in club conditions. Such conditions more or less prescribe that feature, and criticism begins only when private houses emulate the form of clubs. What I had mainly in mind was another of these so inexhaustible values of my subject; with which the question of rigor of comfort has nothing to do. I cherish certain remembered aspects for their general vivid eloquence—for the sake of my impression of the type of great generous club-establishments in which the "empiricism" of that already-observed idea of the conquest of splendor could richly and irresponsibly flower. It is of extreme

interest to be reminded, at many a turn of such an exhibition, that it takes an endless amount of history to make even a little tradition, and an endless amount of tradition to make even a little taste, and an endless amount of taste, by the same token, to make even a little tranquillity. Tranquillity results, largely, from taste tactfully applied, taste lighted above all by experience and possessed of a clue for its labyrinth. There is no such clue, for club-felicity, as some view of congruities and harmonies, completeness of correspondence between aspects and uses. A sense for that completeness is a thing of slow growth, one of the flowers of tradition precisely; of the good conservative tradition that walks apart from the extravagant use of money and the unregulated appeal to "style"—passes in fact, at its best, quite on the other side of the way. This discrimination occurs, when the ground has the good fortune to be already held by some definite, some transmitted, conception of the adornments and enhancements that consort, and that do not consort, with the presence, the habits, the tone, of lounging, gossiping, smoking, newspaper-reading, bridge-playing, cocktail-imbibing men. The club-developments of New York read here and there the lesson of the strange deserts in which the appeal to style may lose itself, may wildly and wantonly stray, without a certain light of fine old gentlemanly prejudice to guide it.

## II.

But I should omit half my small story were I not meanwhile to make due record of the numerous hours at which one ceased consciously to discriminate, just suffering one's sense to be flooded with the large clean light and with that suggestion of a crowded "party" of young persons which lurked in the general aspect of the handsomer regions—a great circle of brilliant and dowered débutantes and impatient youths, expert in the cotillion, waiting together for the first bars of some wonderful imminent dance-music, something "wilder" than any ever yet. It is such a wait for something more, these innocents scarce know what, it is this, distinctly, that the upper New York picture seems to cause to play before us; but the wait is just that collective alertness of bright-eyed, light-limbed, clear-voiced youth, without a doubt in the world and without a conviction; which last, however, always, may perfectly be absent without prejudice to confi-

dence. The confidence and the innocence are those of children whose world has ever been practically a safe one, and the party so imaged is thus really even a child's party, enormously attended, but in which the united ages of the company make up no formidable sum. In the light of that analogy, the New York social movement of the day, I think, always shines—as the whole show of the so-called social life of the country does, for that matter; since it comes home to the restless analyst everywhere that this "childish" explanation is the one that meets the greatest number of the social appearances. To arrive—and with tolerable promptitude—at that generalization is to find it, right and left, immensely convenient, and thereby quite to cling to it: the newspapers alone, for instance, doing so much to feed it, from day to day, as with their huge playfully brandished wooden spoon. We seem at moments to see the incoherence and volatility of childhood, its living but in the sense of its hour and in the immediacy of its want, its instinctive refusal to be brought to book, its boundless liability to contagion and boundless incapacity for attention, its ingenuous blankness to-day over the appetites and clamors of yesterday, its chronic state of besprinklement with the sawdust of its ripped-up dolls, which it scarce goes even through the form of shaking out of its hair—we seem at moments to see these things, I say, twinkle in the very air, as by reflection of the movement of a great, sunny playroom floor. The immensity of the native accommodation, socially speaking, for the childish life, is not that exactly the key of much of the spectacle? —the safety of the vast flat expanse where every margin abounds and nothing too untoward need happen. The question is interesting, but I remember quickly that I am concerned with it only so far as it is part of the light of New York.

It appeared at all events, on the late days of spring, just a response to the facility of things and so much of their juvenile pleasantry, to find one's self "liking," without more ado, and very much even at the risk of one's life, the heterogeneous, miscellaneous apology for a Square marking the spot at which the main entrance, as I suppose it may be called, to the Park opens toward Fifth Avenue; opens toward the glittering monument to Sherman, toward the most death-dealing, perhaps, of all the climaxes of electric car cross-currents, toward the loosest of all the loose distributions of the overtopping "apartment" and other

hotels, toward the most jovial of all the sacrifices of preconsidered composition, toward the finest of all the reckless revelations, in short, of the brave New York humor. The best thing in the picture, obviously, is Saint Gaudens's great group, splendid in its golden elegance and doing more for the scene (by thus giving the beholder a point of such dignity for his orientation) than all its other elements together. Strange and seductive for any lover of the reasons of things this inordinate value, on the spot, of the dauntless refinement of the Sherman image; the comparative vulgarity of the environment drinking it up, on one side, like an insatiable sponge, and yet failing at the same time sensibly to impair its virtue. The refinement prevails and, as it were, succeeds; holds its own in the medley of accidents, where nothing else is refined, unless it be the amplitude of the "quiet" note in the front of the Metropolitan Club, amuses itself, in short, with being as extravagantly "intellectual" as it likes. Why, therefore, given the surrounding medium, does it so triumphantly impose itself, and impose itself not insidiously and gradually, but immediately and with force? Why does it not pay the penalty of expressing an idea and being founded on one? —such scant impunity seeming usually to be enjoyed among us, at this hour, by any artistic intention of the finer strain? But I put these questions only to give them up—for what I feel beyond anything else is that Mr. Saint Gaudens somehow takes care of himself.

To what measureless extent he does this on occasion one was to learn, in due course, from his magnificent Lincoln at Chicago—the lesson there being simply that of a mystery exquisite, the absolute inscrutable; one of the happiest cases known to our time, known doubtless to any time, of the combination of intensity of effect with dissimulation, with deep disavowal, of process. After seeing the Lincoln one consents for its author, to the drop of questions—that is the lame truth; a truth in the absence of which I should have risked another word or two, have addressed perhaps even a brief challenge to a certain ambiguity in the Sherman. Its idea, to which I have alluded, strikes me as equivocal, or more exactly as double; the image being, on the one side, and splendidly rendered, that of an overwhelming military Advance, an irresistible march into an Enemy's country—the strain forward, the very inflation of drapery with the rush, sym-

bolizing the very breath of the Destroyer. But the idea is at the same time—which part of it is also admirably expressed—that the Destroyer is a messenger of peace, with the olive branch too waved in the blast, and with embodied grace, in the form of a beautiful American Girl, attending his business. And I confess to a lapse of satisfaction in the presence of this interweaving—the result doubtless of a sharp suspicion of all attempts, however glittering and golden, to confound destroyers with benefactors. The military monument in the city square responds evidently, wherever a pretext can be found for it, to a desire of men's hearts; but I would have it always as military as possible, and I would have the Destroyer, in intention at least, not docked of one of his bristles. I would have him deadly and terrible, and, if he be wanted beautiful, beautiful only as a war god and crested not with peace, but with snakes. Peace is a long way round from him, and blood and ashes in between. So, with a less intimate perversity, I think, than that of Mr. Saint Gaudens's brilliant scheme, I would have had a Sherman of the terrible March (the "immortal" march, in all abundance, if that be the needed note), not irradiating benevolence, but signifying, by every ingenious device, the misery, the ruin and the vengeance of his track. It is not one's affair to attempt to teach an artist how such horrors may *be* monumentally signified; it is enough that their having been perpetrated is the very ground of the monument. And monuments should always have a clean, clear meaning.

HENRY JAMES.

*(To be continued.)*

# THE ORGANIZATION OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH.

BY SIMON NEWCOMB, LL.D., UNITED STATES NAVY.

THE claims of scientific research on the public were never more forcibly urged than in Professor Ray Lankester's recent Romanes Lecture before the University of Oxford. Man is here eloquently pictured as Nature's rebel, who, under conditions where his great superior commands "Thou shalt die," replies "I will live." In pursuance of this determination, civilized man has proceeded so far in his interference with the regular course of Nature that he must either go on and acquire firmer control of the conditions, or perish miserably by the vengeance certain to be inflicted on the half-hearted meddler in great affairs. This rebel by every step forward renders himself liable to greater and greater penalties, and so cannot afford to pause or fail in one single step. One of Nature's most powerful agencies in thwarting his determination to live is found in disease-producing parasites. "Where there is one man of first-rate intelligence now employed in gaining knowledge of this agency, there should be a thousand. It should be as much the purpose of civilized nations to protect their citizens in this respect as it is to provide defence against human aggression."

It was no part of the function of the lecturer to devise a plan for carrying on the great war he proposes to wage. The object of the present article is to contribute some suggestions in this direction; with especial reference to conditions in our own country; and no better text can be found for a discourse on the subject than the preceding quotation. In saying that there should be a thousand investigators of disease where there is now one, I believe that Professor Lankester would be the first to admit that this statement was that of an ideal to be aimed at, rather

than of an end to be practically reached. Every careful thinker will agree that to gather a body of men, young or old, supply them with laboratories and microscopes, and tell them to investigate disease, would be much like sending out an army without trained leaders to invade an enemy's country.

There is at least one condition of success in this line which is better fulfilled in our own country than in any other; and that is liberality of support on the part of munificent citizens, desirous of so employing their wealth as to promote the public good. Combining this instrumentality with the general public spirit of our people, it must be admitted that, with all the disadvantages under which scientific research among us has hitherto labored, there is still no country to which we can look more hopefully than to our own as the field in which the ideal set forth by Professor Lankester is to be pursued. Some thoughts on the question how scientific research may be most effectively promoted in our own country through organized effort may therefore be of interest. Our first step will be to inquire what general lessons are to be learned from the experience of the past.

The first and most important of these lessons is that research has never reached its highest development except at centres where bodies of men engaged in it have been brought together, and stimulated to action by mutual sympathy and support. We must call to mind that, although the beginnings of modern science were laid by such men as Copernicus, Galileo, Leonardo da Vinci and Torricelli before the middle of the seventeenth century, unbroken activity and progress date from the foundations of the Academy of Sciences of Paris and the Royal Society of London at that time. The historic fact that the bringing of men together, and their support by an intelligent and interested community, is the first requirement to be kept in view can easily be explained. Effective research involves so intricate a network of problems and considerations that no one engaged in it can fail to profit by the suggestions of kindred spirits, even if less acquainted with the subject than he is himself. Intelligent discussion suggests new ideas and continually carries the mind to a higher level of thought. We must not regard the typical scientific worker, even of the highest class, as one who, having chosen his special field and met with success in cultivating it, has only to be supplied with the facilities he may be supposed to need in

order to continue his work in the most efficient way. What we have to deal with is not a fixed and permanent body of learned men, each knowing all about the field of work in which he is engaged, but a changing and growing class, constantly recruited by beginners at the bottom of the scale, and constantly depleted by dropping away at the top. No view of the subject is complete which does not embrace the entire activity of the investigator, from the tyro to the leader. The leader, himself, unless engaged in the prosecution of some narrow specialty, can rarely be so completely acquainted with his field as not to need information from others. Without this, he is constantly liable to be repeating what has already been better done than he can do it himself, of following lines which are known to lead to no result, and of adopting methods shown by the experience of others not to be the best. Even the books and published researches to which he must have access may be so voluminous that he cannot find time to completely examine them for himself; or may be inaccessible. All this will make it clear that, with an occasional exception, the best results of research are not to be expected except at centres where large bodies of men are brought into close personal contact.

In addition to the power and facility acquired by frequent discussion with his fellows, the appreciation and support of an intelligent community, to whom the investigator may, from time to time, make known his thoughts and the results of his work, add a most effective stimulus. The greater the number of men of like minds that can be brought together and the larger the community which interests itself in what they are doing, the more rapid will be the advance and the more effective the work carried on. It is thus that London, with its munificently supported institutions, and Paris and Berlin, with their bodies of investigators supported either by the Government or by various foundations, have been for more than three centuries the great centres where we find scientific activity most active and most effective. Looking at this undoubted fact, which has asserted itself through so long a period—to-day more strongly than ever—the writer conceives that there can be no question as to one proposition. If we aim at the single object of promoting the advance of knowledge in the most effective way, and making our own country the leading one in research, our efforts should be devoted toward bringing together as many scientific workers as pos-

sible at a single centre, where they can profit in the highest degree by mutual help, support and sympathy.

In thus strongly setting forth what must seem an indisputable conclusion, the writer does not deny that there are drawbacks to such a policy, as there are to every policy that can be devised aiming at a good result. Nature offers to society no good that she does not accompany by a greater or less measure of evil. The only question is whether the good outweighs the evil. In the present case, the seeming evil, whether real or not, is that of centralization. A policy tending in this direction is held to be contrary to the best interests of science in quarters entitled to so much respect that we must inquire into the soundness of the objection.

It would be idle to discuss so extreme a question as whether we shall take all the best scientific investigators of our country from their several seats of learning and attract them to some one point. We know that this cannot be done, even were it granted that success would be productive of great results. The most that can be done is to choose some existing centre of learning, population, wealth and influence, and do what we can to foster the growth of science at that centre by attracting thither the greatest possible number of scientific investigators, especially of the younger class, and making it possible for them to pursue their researches in the most effective way. This policy would not result in the slightest harm to any institution or community situated elsewhere. It would not be even like building up a university to outrank all the others of our country; because the functions of the new institution, if such should be founded, would in its relations to the country be radically different from those of a university. Its primary object would not be the education of youth, but the increase of knowledge. So far as the interests of any community or of the world-at-large are concerned, it is quite indifferent where knowledge may be acquired, because, when once acquired and made public, it is free to the world. The drawbacks suffered by other centres would be no greater than those suffered by our Western cities because all the great departments of the Government are situated at a single distant point. Strong arguments could doubtless be made for locating some of these departments in the Far West, in the Mississippi Valley, or in various cities of the Atlantic coast; but every one knows that any

local advantages thus gained would be of no importance compared with the loss of that administrative efficiency which is essential to the whole country.

There is, therefore, no real danger from centralization. The actual danger is rather in the opposite direction; that the sentiment against concentrating research will prove to operate too strongly. There is a feeling that it is rather better to leave every investigator where he chances to be at the moment, a feeling which sometimes finds expression in the apothegm that we cannot transplant a genius. That such a proposition should find acceptance affords a striking example of the readiness of men to accept a euphonious phrase without inquiring whether the facts support it. The fact is that many, perhaps the majority, of the great scientific investigators of this and of former times have done their best work through being transplanted. As soon as the enlightened monarchs of Europe felt the importance of making their capitals great centres of learning, they began to attract eminent men of other countries to their own. Lagrange was an Italian transplanted to Paris, as a member of the Academy of Sciences, after he had shown his powers in his native country. His great contemporary, Euler, was a Swiss, transplanted first to Saint Petersburg, then invited by Frederick the Great to become a member of the Berlin Academy, then again attracted to Saint Petersburg. Huyghens was transplanted from his native country to Paris. Agassiz was an exotic, brought among us from Switzerland, whose activity during the generation he passed among us was as great and effective as at any time of his life. On the Continent, outside of France, the most eminent professors in the universities have been and still are brought from distant points. So numerous are the cases of which these are examples that it would be more in accord with the facts to claim that it is only by transplanting a genius that we stimulate him to his best work.

Having shown that the best results can be expected only by bringing into contact as many scientific investigators as possible, the next question which arises is that of their relations to each other. It may be asked whether we shall aim at individualism or collectivism. Shall our ideal be an organized system of directors, professors, associates, assistants, fellows; or shall it be a collection of individual workers, each pursuing his own task in the way he deems best, untrammelled by authority?

The reply to this question is that there is in this special case no antagonism between the two ideas. The most effective organization will aim both at the promotion of individual effort, and at subordination and cooperation. It would be a serious error to formulate any general rule by which all cases should be governed. The experience of the past should be our guide, so far as it applies to present and future conditions; but, in availing ourselves of it, we must remember that conditions are constantly changing, and must adapt our policy to the problems of the future. In doing this, we shall find that different fields of research require very different policies as regards cooperation and subordination. It will be profitable to point out those special differences, because we shall thereby gain a more luminous insight into the problems which now confront the scientific investigator, and better appreciate their variety, and the necessity of different methods of dealing with them.

At one extreme, we have the field of normative science, work in which is of necessity that of the individual mind alone. This embraces pure mathematics and the methods of science in their widest range. The common interests of science require that these methods shall be worked out and formulated for the guidance of investigators generally, and this work is necessarily that of the individual brain.

At the other extreme, we have the great and growing body of sciences of observation. Through the whole nineteenth century, to say nothing of previous centuries, organizations, and even individuals, have been engaged in recording the innumerable phases of the course of nature, hoping to accumulate material that posterity shall be able to utilize for its benefit. We have observations astronomical, meteorological, magnetic, and social, accumulating in constantly increasing volume, the mass of which is so unmanageable with our present organizations that the question might well arise whether almost the whole of it will not have to be consigned to oblivion. Such a conclusion should not be entertained until we have made a vigorous effort to find what pure metal of value can be extracted from the mass of ore. To do this requires the cooperation of minds of various orders, quite akin in their relations to those necessary in a mine or great manufacturing establishment. Laborers whose duties are in a large measure matters of routine must be guided by the skill of a class higher

in quality and smaller in number than their own, and these again by the technical knowledge of leaders in research. Between these extremes we have a great variety of systems of cooperation.

There is another feature of modern research the apprehension of which is necessary to the completeness of our view. A cursory survey of the field of science conveys the impression that it embraces only a constantly increasing number of disconnected specialties, in which each cultivator knows little or nothing of what is being done by others. Measured by its bulk, the published mass of scientific research is increasing in more than a geometrical ratio. Not only do the publications of nearly every scientific society increase in number and volume, but new and vigorous societies are constantly organized to add to the sum total. The stately quartos issued from the presses of the leading Academies of Europe are, in most cases, to be counted by hundreds. The Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society already number about two hundred volumes, and the time when the Memoirs of the French Academy of Sciences shall reach the thousand mark does not belong to the very remote future. Besides such large volumes, these and other societies publish smaller ones in a constantly growing number. In addition to the publications of learned societies, there are journals devoted to each scientific specialty, which seem to propagate their species by subdivision in much the same way as some of the lower orders of animal life. Every new publication of the kind is suggested by the wants of a body of specialists, who require a new medium for their researches and communications. The time has already come when we cannot assume that any specialist is acquainted with all that is being done even in his own line. To keep the run of this may well be beyond his own powers; more he can rarely attempt.

What is the science of the future to do when this huge mass outgrows the space that can be found for it in the libraries, and what are we to say of the value of it all? Are all these scientific researches to be classed as really valuable contributions to knowledge, or have we only a pile in which nuggets of gold are here and there to be sought for? One encouraging answer to such a question is that, taking the interests of the world as a whole, scientific investigation has paid for itself in benefits to humanity a thousand times over, and that all that is known to-day is but an insignificant

fraction of what nature has to show us. Apart from this, another feature of the science of our time demands attention. While we cannot hope that the multiplication of specialties will cease, we find that upon the process of differentiation and subdivision is now being superposed a form of evolution, tending toward the general unity of all the sciences, of which some examples may be pointed out.

Biological science, which, a generation ago, was supposed to be at the antipodes of exact science, is becoming more and more exact, and is cultivated by methods which are developed and taught by mathematicians. Psychophysics—the study of the operations of the mind by physical apparatus of the same general nature as that used by the chemist and physicist—is now an established branch of research. A natural science which, if any comparisons are possible, may outweigh all others in importance to the race, is the rising one of "eugenics,"—the improvement of the human race by controlling the production of its offspring. No better example of the drawbacks which our country suffers as a seat of science can be given than the fact that the beginning of such a science has been possible only at the seat of a larger body of cultivated men than our land has yet been able to bring together. Generations may elapse before the seed sown by Mr. Francis Galton, from which grew the Eugenic Society, shall bear full fruit in the adoption of those individual efforts and social regulations necessary to the propagation of sound and healthy offspring on the part of the human family. But when this comes about, then indeed will Professor Lankester's "rebel against Nature" find his independence acknowledged by the hitherto merciless despot that has decreed punishment for his treason.

This new branch of science from which so much may be expected is the offshoot of another, the rapid growth of which illustrates the rapid invasion of the most important fields of thought by the methods of exact science. It is only a few years since it was remarked of Professor Karl Pearson's mathematical investigations into the laws of heredity, and the biological questions associated with these laws, that he was working almost alone, because the biologists did not understand his mathematics, while the mathematicians were not interested in his biology. Had he not lived at a great centre of active thought, within the sphere of influence of the two great universities of England, it is quite

likely that this condition of isolation would have been his to the end. But, one by one, men were found possessing the skill and interest in the subject necessary to unite in his work, which now has not only a journal of its own, but is growing in a way which, though slow, has all the marks of healthy progress toward an end the importance of which has scarcely dawned upon the public mind.

Admitting that an organized association of investigators is of the first necessity to secure the best results in the scientific work of the future, we meet the question of the conditions and auspices under which they are to be brought together. The first thought to strike us at this point may well be that we have, in our great universities, organizations which include most of the leading men now engaged in scientific research, whose personnel and facilities we should utilize. Admitting, as we all do, that there are already too many universities, and that better work would be done by a consolidation of the smaller ones, a natural conclusion is that the end in view will be best reached through existing organizations. But it would be a great mistake to jump at this conclusion without a careful study of the conditions. The brief argument—there are already too many institutions—instead of having more we should strengthen those we have—should not be accepted without examination. Had it been accepted thirty years ago, there are at least two great American universities of to-day which would not have come into being, the means devoted to their support having been divided among others. These are the Johns Hopkins and the University of Chicago. What would have been gained by applying the argument in these cases? The advantage would have been that, instead of 146 so-called universities which appear to-day in the Annual Report of the Bureau of Education, we should have had only 144. The work of these 144 would have been strengthened by an addition to their resources, represented by the endowments of Baltimore and Chicago, and sufficient to add perhaps one professor to the staff of each. Would the result have been better than it actually has been? Have we not gained anything by allowing the argument to be forgotten in the cases of these two institutions? I do not believe that any who carefully look at the subject will hesitate in answering this question in the affirmative. The essential point is that the Johns Hopkins University did not merely add one to an already over-

crowded list, but that it undertook a mission which none of the others was then adequately carrying out. If it did not plant the university idea in American soil, it at least gave it an impetus which has now made it the dominant one in the higher education of almost every State.

The question whether the country at large would have reaped a greater benefit, had the professors of the University of Chicago, with the appliances they now command, been distributed among fifty or a hundred institutions in every quarter of the land, than it has actually reaped from that University, is one which answers itself. Our two youngest universities have attained success, not because two have thus been added to the number of American institutions of learning, but because they had a special mission, required by the advance of the age, for which existing institutions were not adequate.

The conclusion to which these considerations lead is simple. No new institution is needed to pursue work on traditional lines, guided by traditional ideas. But, if a new idea is to be vigorously prosecuted, then a young and vigorous institution, specially organized to put the idea into effect, is necessary. The project of building up in our midst, at the most appropriate point, an organization of leading scientific investigators, for the single purpose of giving a new impetus to American science and, if possible, elevating the thought of the country and of the world to a higher plane, involves a new idea, which can best be realized by an institution organized for the special purpose. While this purpose is quite in line with that of the leading universities, it goes too far beyond them to admit of its complete attainment through their instrumentality. The first object of a university is the training of the growing individual for the highest duties of life. Additions to the mass of knowledge have not been its principal function, nor even an important function in our own country, until a recent time. The primary object of the proposed institution is the advance of knowledge and the opening up of new lines of thought, which, it may be hoped, are to prove of great import to humanity. It does not follow that the function of teaching shall be wholly foreign to its activities. It must take up the best young men at the point where universities leave them, and train them in the arts of thinking and investigating. But this training will be beyond that which any regular university is carrying out.

In pursuing our theme the question next arises as to the special features of the proposed association. The leading requirement is one that cannot be too highly emphasized. How clearly soever the organizers may have in their minds' eye the end in view, they must recognize the fact that it cannot be attained in a day. In every branch of work which is undertaken, there must be a single leader, and he must be the best that the country, perhaps even the world, can produce. The required man is not to be found without careful inquiry; in many branches he may be unattainable for years. When such is the case, wait patiently till he appears. Prudence requires that the fewest possible risks would be taken, and that no leader should be chosen except one of tried experience and world-wide reputation. Yet we should not leave wholly out of sight the success of the Johns Hopkins University in selecting, at its very foundation, young men who were to prove themselves the leaders of the future. This experience may admit of being repeated, if it be carefully borne in mind that young men of promise are to be avoided and young men of performance only to be considered. The performance need not be striking: *ex pede Herculem* may be possible; but we must be sure of the soundness of our judgment before accepting our Hercules. This requires a master. Clerk-Maxwell, who never left his native island to visit our shores, is entitled to honor as a promoter of American science for seeing the lion's paw in the early efforts of Rowland, for which the latter was unable to find a medium of publication in his own country. It must also be admitted that the task is more serious now than it was then, because, from the constantly increasing specialization of science, it has become difficult for a specialist in one line to ascertain the soundness of work in another.

With all the risks that may be involved in the proceeding, it will be quite possible to select an effective body of leaders, young and old, with whom an institution can begin. The wants of these men will be of the most varied kind. One needs scarcely more than a study and library; another must have small pieces of apparatus which he can perhaps design and make for himself. Another may need apparatus and appliances so expensive that only an institution at least as wealthy as an ordinary university would be able to supply them. The apparatus required by others will be very largely human—assistants of every grade,

from university graduates of the highest standing down to routine drudges and day-laborers. Workrooms there must be; but it is hardly probable that buildings and laboratories of a highly specialized character will be required at the outset. The best counsel will be necessary at every step and in this respect the institution must start from simple beginnings and grow slowly. Leaders must be added one by one, each being judged by those who have preceded him before becoming in his turn a member of the body. As the body grows its members must be kept in personal touch, talk together, pull together, and act together.

The author submits these views to the great body of his fellow citizens interested in the promotion of American science with the feeling that, though his conclusions may need amendment in details, they rest upon facts of the past and present which have not received the consideration which they merit. What he most strongly urges is that the whole subject of the most efficient method of promoting research upon a higher plane shall be considered with special reference to conditions in our own country; and that the lessons taught by the history and progress of scientific research in all countries shall be fully weighed and discussed by those most interested in making this form of effort a more important feature of our national life. When this is done, he will feel that his purpose in inviting special consideration to his individual views has been in great measure reached.

SIMON NEWCOMB.

# MEXICO'S GREAT FINANCE MINISTER.

BY RAFAEL REYES, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF COLOMBIA.

---

Jose Ives Limantour, Minister of Finance of Mexico, is one of the ablest financiers in the world. By this we mean that he is not only the equal of the foremost statesmen of Europe and America, but in many instances he is superior to some of those financiers, when their respective plans and works are examined from the standpoint of efficacy and success in practice.

This statement is neither the natural outcome of that legitimate racial pride we are prone to feel whenever the sons of Spanish America succeed in outranking all others in any of the branches of human activity, nor yet is it one of those hyberboles of which we are so fond because of our atavic predisposition, since the same blood flows in our veins which gave life to the immortal hero of Cervantes.

Europe and the United States, even before Spanish America, have sung the praises of the enlightened and able collaborator of Porfirio Diaz, Mexico's great President, whose fame is world-wide. Tolstoi, the eminent Russian writer, has recently stated that he considers the regenerator of Mexico a genius.

That isolation of the countries of Spanish America among themselves in which they lived as Colonies first, and, later on, as independent nations, has not only been injurious to the effective union which should have existed among them from the day of their emancipation, in order to preserve their integrity, but has also been detrimental to their interchange of thought. The contemporary states of Spanish America are mutually unknown to each other. Only a few of their men are known outside of their own country, these being military men, revolutionists, reformers and men who have held the highest position in their respective

countries. Whereas financiers, for instance, and all such men as devote themselves with perseverance to successfully promote public welfare, those silent, constant workers who by the side of the Chief Executive solve the greatest administrative and political problems, and social, industrial and financial questions, are generally unknown beyond the boundaries of their respective countries. The same may be said of their literary men and artists.

This is, undoubtedly, a drawback to the brotherhood and development of countries having a common origin, speaking the same language, whose sociological conditions are more or less identical, which have the same problems to solve, and which could profit by the lessons taught them by experience, applying these lessons to a number of similar cases which have to be dealt with every day. These lessons might well be taught by them to more advanced countries, which have succeeded in establishing themselves on a solid basis.

With this object in view, and within the limits of an article, we shall endeavor to give a brief sketch of the work done by José Ives Limantour in Mexico. He is better known in Europe and in the United States than in South America, and is frequently quoted as an authority on financial matters. His reputation as a financier is equal to that of Rouvier, Harcourt, De Witte, Villaverde, and Magliani, foremost financiers of the Old World, whose names, far from being unknown, are household words. Limantour adds to a theoretical knowledge of the science of Leroy-Beaulieu the practical knowledge, the tact, the accurate judgment, which enable him to apply his theoretical knowledge in a fitting manner to bare facts so as to elicit their significance. He is the possessor, in a high degree, of the virtues which are lacking in the restless and turbulent Spanish-American mind, patience and constancy.

Limantour began to direct Mexico's finances under the most unfavorable circumstances. The national currency, the silver peso, had declined to 64 cents, while the exchange rose in proportion. The principal export article of the country being silver, it is easy to understand how deeply this financial depression affected its commercial value. These conditions were similar to those which are affecting Colombia at present, because of the fall in the price of coffee. Mexico's crisis was as critical as it was alarming. It was necessary to solve the monetary problem as well

as the problem of production. What was the destiny which the future held for Mexico? Should Mexico become an agricultural or a manufacturing country, or both agricultural and manufacturing at one and the same time? The solution of these vital problems fell to Mr. Matias Romero, one of the most eminent Mexicans, a companion of Juarez, and upon his Assistant Secretary, Mr. José Ives Limantour, who took charge of the finances of the Mexican Government in May, 1892.

Limantour was subsequently left in full control of the most important branch of the public service for twelve uninterrupted years, and the success of his work has been even beyond the high reputation that he enjoys at present as a financier. His work, we may well say, has been crowned with success and has indeed been a portentous one. It has been the result of untiring labor and the union, in a loyal and honest bond, of two superior minds devoted exclusively to the good and glory of their fatherland. These great minds are Porfirio Diaz and Limantour. The latter has understood and complemented the genius of his illustrious chief. During the last year Limantour has fittingly crowned his work, the financial regeneration of Mexico, with a series of acts the results and scope of which are not only favorable to his own country, but to all Spanish America as well.

We recommend thinking men, and especially statesmen, to study in this connection the work of Mr. P. Macedo, under the title of "*Tres Monografias*" (Three Monographs), the reading of which led us to write these lines. Among the most signal services of Limantour was the purchase by the State of railroads, in order to save the interests of commerce menaced, as they were, by high tariffs. For this purpose he had to disburse $30,000,000 and contract a loan of $40,000,000, under conditions as advantageous as those which might be granted to England, France and the United States. This is a feat without precedent in the financial history of Spanish America, being, besides, of immense importance for all its countries, as a most eloquent proof that they may obtain as good credit as that of any of the greatest Powers in the world. The most important task of Limantour, however, was the great reform brought about in the old monetary system, the depreciation of which we have shown above. A study of such intricate questions requires more than the space allowed by an article, and that is why we refer our readers to Mr. Macedo's work.

Mr. Limantour is not only a great financier, but also a man of classical and scholarly education; he is proficient in dead and foreign languages, speaking the latter as if they were his mother tongue; he is a jurist of remarkable ability, having made a profound study of comparative legislation. He is a worker of the school of Porfirio Diaz, that school where one works while the majority of men either sleep or amuse themselves. Notwithstanding the fact that he has inherited from his parents one of the largest fortunes in the country, he has been from his youth, and still continues to be,—now that he is in the plenitude of life and strength, not having yet reached his fiftieth year,—an indefatigable worker, of the kind that like to fight with their own weapons in the struggle for life.

To the school of Diaz and Limantour belong also their fellow countrymen Ramón Corral, the present Vice-President; Joaquín Casasus, a jurist, statesman, poet and famous Latin scholar; Luis Camacho, Fiscal Agent in London; Pablo Macedo, Alfredo Chavero, Sanchez Marmol, Fernando Pimentel y Creel, bankers; Sebastian de Mier, Minister to France, and many others whose names escape our recollection. But far above them all towers the personality of Porfirio Diaz, the illustrious statesman, who after many years of devoted and heroic services has succeeded in transforming his fatherland, which he found exhausted, impoverished and bleeding through civil war and brigandage, harassed by political anarchy, weakened by disorder, its territory curtailed, without credit abroad, its agriculture and industrial wealth in their cradle, and having an insignificant railroad mileage. At the present day, the railroad lines have a length of 20,000 kilometers. Mexico at that time presented the appearance of a splendid tropical forest devastated and consumed by fire. But as the earth gratefully receives, after the flames have scorched it, the seed that will fertilize it, so Mexico, after a series of great mistakes and faults, found its redemption in Porfirio Diaz, who, with a sure, just and firm hand, has weeded the land, preparing it to receive and properly develop the seed of civilization.

The example of Mexico is and should be a model to be copied by those Spanish-American nations which have not succeeded so far in solving in a stable and permanent manner the problem of public peace, which of necessity is linked to the economic and

financial problem. The truths contained in both of these assertions are correlative, viz.: "Give me a sound policy, and I will give you sound finances;" or "Give me sound finances, and I will give you a sound policy." The goal, the main ideal, of the Chief Executives of the Spanish-American states should be the preservation of peace. Political disturbances which ultimately degenerate into armed revolutions prevent the development and growth of those social organisms which are called upon to play such an important rôle in the destinies of humanity. President Diaz's work is not the work of an ordinary soldier, as claimed by the extreme radicals and the flashy rhetoric of inveterate agitators. On the contrary, it is preeminently a work of civilization and progress, based upon justice, and staunchly maintained by a large group of distinguished men who will continue it the day Porfirio Diaz ceases to be President. Such is the conviction held in the political and financial centres of Europe and the United States. Otherwise, they would not have made the loan of $40,000,000, knowing that Porfirio Diaz is seventy-five years old.

Credit is the surest barometer to measure the degree of responsibility and solidity of nations. For this reason, all countries, with the exception of those eagerly engaged in the sport of civil wars, endeavor to maintain their national credit as zealously as their national honor.

It was thus understood by the author of this article; and that explains why, in the midst of the greatest economical and financial crisis ever experienced in Colombia during that country's hazardous and restless independent life, the Government over which he presides reassumed, and guaranteed for five years, the payment of the overdue interest on the Colombian Foreign Debt, which had been in arrears for over twenty years. This was accomplished by him in his capacity as President of the Republic, using the country's own resources, without having had recourse to credit, as credit, before being used, should be established on a sound basis of order, good administration and an honest financial policy.

As in the case of Mexico, credit will come in due course, because credit, like all other moral agents, cannot be suddenly or violently established, but must be attained through a continued orderly and intelligent exercise of the national virtues called honesty, application, faithful discharge of contracted obligations, respect

for the pledged word of the nation through its government, and, above all, justice.

But, as in the case of Mexico, which, after long years of civil wars resulting in such a state of anarchy that it even appealed to a foreign ruler and lost for a time a portion of the country's territory, was able to crown last year its financial regeneration, while its political regeneration was accomplished some time ago, so Colombia must expect to attain, in some future day, the goal toward which the country now earnestly strives. We have a right to expect it, as the work which the author of this article has undertaken, as President of Colombia since August 7th, 1904, is neither solely his own work, nor yet that of any political party, but the work of all Colombians who, tired of fratricidal wars, having before their eyes the lesson of the dismemberment of the fatherland, have had the good sense and the civil courage to break away from the nefarious traditions of party hatred, in order to unite all in aiding in the reconstruction of the home country. We must, however, have both faith and constancy. We must be convinced that such high ends cannot be attained in a day, and that social as well as individual organisms must perforce go through a critical period before entering into the full and free use of their powers. The era of empty wordiness is gone forever, and it is necessary to teach the young generation this maxim of Challemel-Lacour: "*Agir, c'est le complement de penser.*"

RAFAEL REYES.

# THE INDIAN'S YOKE.

BY FRANCES CAMPBELL SPARHAWK.

WHAT concerns us to-day is to find out what is the matter with the Indian, what keeps him from assimilating with his surroundings, why we cannot absorb two hundred and fifty thousand Indians into all our millions and never know where they are, any more than we can give the whereabouts, racial or national, of the thousands upon thousands of immigrants who come yearly to our shores, some of whom in coming know little, if any, more of civilized life than the Indian. We have treated our immigrants in the American way, a method that for liberality and kindness and success has no parallel. With the Indian we have been quite different. It is time to ask why the peoples of all other nationalities and races at once grow into manhood on our shores, while the native American bears the stigma of perpetual childhood. What yoke is the Indian bearing which stunts his natural growth? Why are all other peoples men, and why is he not a man?

To make the question still more pertinent, there are fifty-eight thousand Indians living now among white people, supporting themselves, welcomed by their white neighbors and at ease in regard to the race problem which for them has been settled in the American way, as it always is for individual Indians; these are in their natural surroundings, the places to which business or inclination has directed them. It is only the abnormal, reservation Indians, neither savage nor barbarous according to their original condition, nor allowed to grow into civilization naturally and wholesomely, with whom we are concerned.

The reservation system in its inauguration was a makeshift. "I don't want to have meat thrown to me as to a dog," said a proud Indian whose education had taught him something better. We should have had sympathy for the occasional breakings

forth of the Indians from their reservations as long as the war-path was open to them. For, if the most delightful city in America were to be walled up to heaven and the inhabitants told that they *must* live in it, that city would immediately turn into a hotbed of rebellion, and the rest of the land would applaud. General Morgan said rightly that Indian nature was "human nature bound in red."

Imagine everything opposed to all that is American or modern in detail, and especially in principle, and you have an Indian reservation. Go through the streets of a city, wire your business partner at the other side of the world, send a wireless message from mid-ocean to shore, talk through the telephone a thousand miles as if to your next-door neighbor, then consider what the superintendent of an Indian school on an Indian reservation said a few years ago in gratitude for illustrated papers sent to the pupils: "These children have no means of knowing what civilization means except through the pictures of it." What an expensive way of educating, and what necessarily meagre results!

Use the liberty of an American citizen with voice and pen, guide your own affairs in your own way, wisely or foolishly, and stand up and take the consequences, do all those things by which, through storm and sunshine, victory and defeat, one fills out the measure of a man. Then go to an Indian reservation, where there is no American law, but only the rule of an Indian agent, a despot whether cruel or kindly. "It is absurd to talk of teaching an Indian farming," writes a philanthropist who has long been familiar with peculiar conditions on certain reservations; "Indians can teach us. Only Chinamen would work such barren patches as they plant; the white man never tries such painstaking agriculture." But the white man has the land before him where to choose. "When Government gives a new reservation," the writer goes on, "it hampers their individual freedom and initiative in every way, substitutes paternal methods, keeps them in tutelage as now at ——. If each man had his own land, he could work it as other men do."

Thus, by the substitution of other men's rules for his own experiments, of others' views for the sight of his own eyes and the hearing of his own ears—keener eyes and ears than the white man's—of another's will for his own power of choice by which alone he can grow into strength, a power of choice conceded in

every free country except in America on an Indian reservation —by all these methods directly contrary to those so successful with our own citizens and with foreigners, do we assume to build up the spirit and strength of American citizenship in the Indian. In this experiment we have learned nothing from the lessons of the ages, nor from our struggles for freedom; we work not at all by natural methods, but by a system compared with which the archaism of the feudal system is modern and applicable. We hold the Indian to be different from every other creature who ever lived in this land or set foot upon these shores. Why?

A generation ago, what did we know about Indian reservations? Distance, language, training, everything separated Indians and us; and the reservation walls closed them into huge prisons. To us they were not fathers and mothers, young men and maidens, little children and old men, but "hostiles," savages. Indian education was a vague and unimportant question, a matter of the indefinite future, until a significant incident of the seventies brought it into sudden and ever-increasing prominence.

In 1875, Lieutenant (now General) R. H. Pratt, of the Army, was sent by the War Department with seventy-four Indian prisoners, taken red-handed in war, to the old Fort Marion at St. Augustine. Heavily ironed, they were put upon the train and carried from the country which they had dared to think belonged to them the long journey to Florida. What a revelation the prosperity of the white man's land must have been to them! What could border warfare avail in a struggle with him as they saw him now? Whatever their reflections, despair was at the bottom of them; on the way they sang their death-songs, and one chief succeeded in escaping the white man's expected tortures by suicide.

But when in the old fort at St. Augustine the irons were stricken from their limbs and they were told that they would be treated according to their future good behavior, they were amazed; such a foe was beyond their comprehension.

Said Captain Pratt in his report of these Indian prisoners:

"I soon dispensed with the military guard and trained them to guard themselves, which they did for two and a half years with absolute trustworthiness. They were put to work. Not only were they taught and occupied within the walls of the fort, but a considerable number were placed out at various forms of labor, such as two in a sawmill,

one as baggageman on a railroad, a number as orange-pickers, others at rowing and sailing boats for tourists, while five accomplished a job of grubbing five acres of dense palmetto land which negro laborers, though well paid, had twice abandoned. Such was the success of this work that a protest to Congress from the laboring element of the community was made because of the competition resulting."

He opened a school for his Indians, and the ladies of St. Augustine volunteered as teachers. So, by labor, by discipline, by instruction, by kindness, by amusement, by religious teaching emphasized by the treatment they were receiving, the time was made profitable to those Indian prisoners at the old fort.

When the three years of imprisonment came to an end, the young Indians had so much enjoyed their experiences that they begged to be allowed to stay at the East and be educated.

This, we know, was not only the beginning of the Indian contingent at Hampton and the occasion for the opening of the famous Carlisle Indian school; but its reflex action opened reservation and non-reservation schools all over the West. And when General Morgan became Commissioner, the Indian schools of every class were revised in curriculum, improved in personnel and increased in number. His administration was an advance in Indian education.

The experiment at St. Augustine had proved that Indians fresh from savagery can and will work, under proper conditions, so effectively as to enter into successful competition with white labor. But such conditions must be present. Even Mr. Rockefeller, with his colossal financial ability, could never have built up the Standard Oil business on an Indian reservation.

At the same time that millions of white youth are being educated in the schools of the country, thousands of Indian youth are being taught the rudiments of literary knowledge, and trained in manual work, trades and occupations. The white youth graduate and return to their homes, and thence go forth to their life-work. These enter immediately into a world of action made ready for them, and requiring their most strenuous efforts to keep their places in it. Parents, friends, teachers, employers, competitors, all nerve them to constant and progressive action. Everything around them stimulates them. If they pause, if they are indolent, the tide of work and progress sweeps by and leaves them stranded. It is not what they have learned in school that

makes men of them, but the relentless necessity of continued work along the lines of their training.

And the Indians? They go back to their reservations. These are scattered in more or less extended tracts throughout many of the Western States. They vary much in climate and in the degrees of civilization of the inmates; most of them vary little in industrial conditions. Early in 1905 an agent's wife wrote:

> "The greatest need of our people is work, and they must be helped into it. They are now taught at all the schools to do something; but, when they come back to their homes, there is really nothing for them to do. People so far away think they should work in their homes to better the condition of the family to which they belong; but we who see them and know something of the real life in the home have the greatest sympathy for them."

Indians are always considered in the mass. At one time it was decided by the Government that farming was the thing for the young Indians. But, when these went home full of high hopes, they often had to wait one, two, or even three years to receive from Government the wherewithal to stock their farms. They had no money, or no chance to earn any—on their reservations. We know what it would mean for a young white man to lounge around two or three years after leaving school.

And, the Government having decided that Indians should be farmers, some have small opportunity. The Commissioner's report for 1903 gives interesting items in regard to the land of one tribe divided into many groups. One group it marks "desert land, subject to intense heat, little water for irrigation"; another, "desert land, intense heat, water in abundance." So it goes on down twenty-seven groups, one marked "almost worthless for lack of water, allotted." Fourteen of these groups are recorded as having "no water," or "little water"; much of the land is marked, "desert," some "mountainous," "stock land," "very little farming land." The settlers have succeeded in getting these Indians upon land too bad for themselves, and some of it, on mountain tops, can be depended upon to furnish regularly only one crop—snow.

Yet, even here, the Indian shows a courage and vitality that should move us to take off his disabilities. The men travel fifty and even sixty miles in search of work, in most instances being obliged to leave their families to shift for themselves meanwhile.

The Indian women have always been workers, although in the desultory labor of barbarous life. But now they welcome an industry started among them, and tell the teacher of it that no one ever helped them so much before. "I have taught about one hundred women to make lace," writes this missionary. "I wish you could see the great improvement in the homes of these lace women and in their personal appearance." Poor creatures, they feel the uplift of hope!

This is one of the lace schools for Indian women founded by Miss Sybil Carter and her followers; there are a number scattered through the reservations, and the women have welcomed them with eagerness and have done fine work.

The superintendent of an Indian school writes in July, 1904:

"I have made about two hundred thousand bricks with Indian labor since the school plant was established. When the large school building was erected the Indians did the excavating, quarried the stone and helped lay it for the first story; they hauled the sand, helped burn the lime and attended the masons; they also did a great deal of the painting. Last year I paid out five thousand dollars for the Government for Indian labor; they worked the roads, did excavating, quarried and hauled stone and did many other kinds of work and earned the money as well as the average white laboring man. We have a very respectable building in the school plant built entirely by Indian labor."

Missionaries who have inaugurated a most successful industry on the same reservation write:

"Our beadwork business is fine, pushing us instead of our hunting for markets. We are building a home for the manager and have money on hand for it; are returning our capital steadily and will soon have plant and business free from debt."

An employee upon a reservation writes:

"I have tried to find a sale for the work of our women, their own work. One old Indian—an old chief—makes bows and arrows and does it well. He will make all he can sell. I have not been able to keep him busy. I think it is very encouraging to find some of the old ones who will work steadily at anything they can do."

An old Western railroad contractor tells the story of a strike on one of his roads which threatened not only great loss of time, but other disasters. In his extremity he went to the Navajo Indians at hand, and hired two hundred of them at the same rate of wages he had been paying the men who struck—two dol-

lars a day. The Indians took hold and built the road as well as the strikers would have done. Then they went back to their reservation.

"The fallacious idea of bringing the Indian into civilization and keeping him there was made too prominent," says the Commissioner's report for 1904.

"Saxon and Norman and Dane are we,"

sings Tennyson of our ancestors. And we have been keeping up that policy of political assimilation ever since. This idea quoted above in regard to the Indian is openly borrowed from our successful practice. Why is the "successful" in regard to other peoples "fallacious" when it comes to Indians? "Some schools industriously taught that all Indian reservations were bad," continues this report. It must have been up-to-date schools which taught this doctrine, because at Mohonk Conferences, and all other gatherings of Indian workers, the burning question about Indian reservations has been, "When can they be abolished?"

As to the Indians East and Indians West, there never was any question at all of East and West in themselves, but wholly of reservation and non-reservation influences. All over the country, success in Indian work has come only in proportion as this programme of outside influences has been followed out. Says the Indian Bureau:

"Many white communities around Indian allotted reservations, or 'sandwiched' among them through purchases of inherited lands, fail to coöperate with the Government in holding up the hands of the educated Indians who have become in the eyes of the law their equals. They appear to be unwilling to protect him so long as the Indian has lands to sell or annuities with which to buy."

"A fair trial of twenty years has been given this theory (of Eastern education) and the paucity of results is amazing," the report, 1904, goes on. Now, a steady rise in Indian educational appropriations means a steady rise in public opinion as to the need of them. Before the advent of the Eastern schools, these annual appropriations were, approximately, $20,000. In 1904, they were $4,000,000. Give us a few more results of similar "paucity." Before the day of Eastern schools and the general knowledge of Indian matters that these brought the public, we were all a good deal like the lady at the Hampton school who,

when she saw the well-clad children of the red man marching in line, exclaimed, "Why, are these the Indians? Where are their feathers? I don't see any paint." Or, like the visitors at the Carlisle school who, watching the children at play on the grounds, remarked that they laughed just like other people! To us the Indians had remained "hostiles"—strangers, if not foes. But at the schools we saw the children, and our hearts melted. The Indian children before our eyes, and our own perception of their possibilities, have changed our point of view.

With better thoughts came better work. Indian societies grew, and demands for the Indian gained new force. The Indians and we began to get acquainted.

It was very interesting to see, a dozen or more years ago, a young Japanese graduate of one of our colleges stand on the rostrum of an Indian school and claim these Indian pupils as kin to his own race. What does not Japan owe to her practice of sending forth her young men and women to learn how the rest of the world lives?

Another "paucity of results" following the opening of the Eastern schools has been the immense spread of the English language among the Indians, and the consequent opening up of the reservations to the inspection of visitors interested in the cause. From this has come the general cry of friends of Indians for work upon the reservations. The visitors, in their very clothing, have swept in somewhat of the air of American liberty; and the Indians, neither stupid nor indifferent in their search for something better than they have known, have begun, even the poorest of them, to ask: "Why does not Washington send us schools for our children such as the Indians have in other places? Aren't we as good as they? Don't we need them as much?"

It is the reservation Indian whom the white man everywhere detests. But the white man quite takes to the Indian freed from the reservation yoke and walking like a man and a brother. When the Apache Indian prisoners in Alabama were found to be suffering from the climate, and it was mooted that they should be removed to some other locality, State after State sent in its protest against receiving them. At this very time, farmers and householders in the towns around the Carlisle school, hiring the Indian pupils on the outing plan because these rendered good service, were writing to the school, "If you can, send me an Apache."

The reservation Indians, hanging about the Southwestern trains and vending their wares to travellers, are not attractive specimens of their race. But a Pueblo young woman, the protegée of a Government Indian worker, was asked and welcomed into a select circle of young white women in her town. A number of years ago, the principal of the Girl's High School in Boston wrote of two Indian pupils:

"The very happy relations which seem to subsist between the Misses C—— and their classmates have suggested to me the query, whether any more effective way of teaching Indians and white people to know and respect each other can be devised than the experiment you have tried of bringing young people from the Indian tribes into school association with whites of their own age and sex. Certainly, no more effective way could be devised of disarming the next generation of prejudice against the Indians, and substituting in its place a genuine sympathy and interest. If, in the course of your work, you should hereafter meet with other Indian girls like those now here, I should not think the obligation all on one side if you should place them with us to be educated."

Mrs. Charles Eastman (Elaine Goodale), the wife of the famous Indian physician and author, wrote in 1894:

"My experience of reservation life has been considerable; and I am fully convinced that, so long as it exists, the escape of the *individual* Indian into a freer environment is his own salvation, and, indirectly, the best thing for the rest of his people. I regret very much that missionaries and other well-meaning persons should *urge* it as a duty upon educated Indians to 'go back and help their tribe.' I think many would probably join a civilized community, if not constrained and hampered in their convictions by those who have assisted them to obtain an education. Cannot people be made to see the unfairness of doing this?"

The following year she wrote:

"I am growing to feel more and more strongly that it should not be taken for granted that they [the Indians] are to go back to the tribes, but rather the contrary, and that 'missionary work' should not be urged upon them. If any feel really moved to do it, well and good; but I am convinced that, in a majority of cases, there is an unworthy motive beneath all this talk of 'helping my people,' that sounds so well and that they get to feel is expected of them. If an educated Indian can get some sort of salaried position among Indians, it is an easy solution of *his* problem. I want to see more manly, helpful lives lived wholly independent of race applications."

Speaking of their own family life in the community, she says:

"Absorbed in domestic and social interests, the race problem occupies but little of my thought at present. My best wish for all Indians is that they should come out and do likewise."

"When he returned to his Western home," says the Commissioner's report (1904) of the Indian student, "he was so frequently filled to overflowing with a sense of his own importance that the fall to the old barbarism was easy." But this being "filled with a sense of his own importance" is not peculiar to Indian young people. Dame Nature loves youth; she foresees that, in striving to hold his own against maturity armed with wider knowledge and better skill, he will receive many a downfall before the final triumph; therefore, she has bestowed a genial padding of conceit, by means of which she secures for him that elasticity which, after every overthrow, brings him to his feet again ready to continue his fight against odds. We hear nothing about conceit in the Indians among the white girls in the high school, nor in the supervisor's protegée who has to hold her own with the consciousness that her companions have had more advantages than she. Nor has Dr. Eastman, Sioux Indian as he is, been charged with holding his splendid talents in too high esteem. Nature does not intend that youth shall be sent out among people who do not know as much as itself does. If the Government decided after educating the Indians to send them back to their homes—no, their homes were not the trouble, all students return to their homes if but to start out from there—but to send them to reservations, why did it not fill these places with work, in order to give the young people a chance? Why did it not set the parents at work? For industry is the bridge over which nations and races and ages pass to one another.

What work there is to-day, like many another gain, has come at the urgent call of philanthropic Indian societies and individuals. It is believed that the first exhibit of Indian industries in the country was held in Boston in 1891 by a department of the National Indian Association, and exhibited largely the work of the schools—among this, exquisite lace work.

"Necessity, if not justice," says the Indian Bureau (1904), "has decreed that the Indian must live, for years at least, on these Western reservations and allotments, and he should not get out of touch with his kindred."

Why *must* he live there? Our richest men come from poor country homes; they frequently, and it is to be hoped always, put their parents into comfort, and not seldom they do much for their native towns. But not one of them ever yet did this by getting abroad into the very beginnings of his work and then deserting all his hopes and aspirations in order to live next door to his parents, to help his townsmen. Archimedes believed he could move the world—but not on a short lever. These are the days of long levers. In this age of lightning expresses and ocean greyhounds, and telegraphs and telephones, how funny it sounds to say that one must sit down next door to his parents to keep in touch with them. That idea is a product of the Indian reservation; and the urgency of it lies in the fact that, if it do not conquer, the reservations must go; they can never hold their own against young Indians educated among white men. "I leave magazines and papers in the room where there are three or four policemen on duty at the office," writes the wife of an Indian agent, "and everything is taken up greedily. I am surprised. I would like to have a copy of Booker Washington's 'Up from Slavery' to give to them. I think it would be a great help to a number of our mixed bloods who would read it."

What an obligation Mr. Carnegie would confer on a race if he would only scatter libraries among these young Indians—not large or expensive libraries; and the Board of Indian Commissioners might well secure the placing and oversight of these. No beautiful buildings would be erected to hold these libraries, and no statue would commemorate the giver. But struggling youths would hold his memory in their hearts, and his gifts would put into their hands books of inspiration to strenuous living and a knowledge of how to help others of their race. They are the ones to do it. And they will do it, if we give them the chance—they will do it in the concrete. No Indian may be able to help his tribe as a whole; but every successful Indian may do something for his parents, his brothers and sisters—to say nothing of the dynamic force of his example.

A yoke may be gotten rid of in two ways; it may be lifted off, or those who bear it may get away from under it. The yoke of the Indian reservations is pressed down by the weight of nearly fifty-five hundred employees of the Indian Bureau, over two thousand of whom are Indian, seven hundred of the latter

being policemen. Among this army are as devoted men and women as ever labored for the elevation of a race; but these, while doing their best, know that the Indian would fare much better under other conditions. And the fact remains that this army of workers, with its backing of Senators and Representatives and friends, and henchmen of the same, and intrenched in the fort of the Indian Bureau, is the real cause why the Indian must be bent under a weight which keeps him from an outlook over the American continent, why Indian young men must be told where they must live, as no other young men in America are told, and why the law of the land is too good for Indians.

It takes faith in civics to meet a political condition where men are put to attend to other men in the certainty that when these latter become sufficiently informed, the occupation of the former will be over and they will be turned adrift. Such a system has every temptation to perpetuate itself. This is the Indian Bureau—the Indian problem. It has been too much for many good men in it and under it.

But hope comes through the strength of President Roosevelt, once Chairman of the Civil Service Commission, and of our Indian Commissioner, Mr. Leupp, with his fine record of Indian work. Under their administration civil service will become civic service—the power of turning men into citizens. Indian workers will be called upon to produce definite results. Our builders of Indian citizenship have been largely working "by the day."

Mark promptly individual effort in the Indians; encourage, steady and reward it. Give intelligent work of every kind some badge of distinction. "Indians are mechanical," said General Armstrong. They are also artistic. Indian blankets and basketry long ago won fame. The Indians need, most of all, the help of hope and inspiration. Let them grow into citizens under the law of the land, as other men do. Take off the cramping reservation yoke.

FRANCES CAMPBELL SPARHAWK.

# STATE INSURANCE IN NEW ZEALAND.

BY W. P. REEVES, HIGH COMMISSIONER OF NEW ZEALAND IN ENGLAND.

It is many years since the Government of New Zealand embarked in the business of insurance. That is literally what it did. More than one branch of State Insurance is in full operation in the colony. But, when I speak of State Insurance, my readers must not expect any such vast national schemes of compulsory and organized provision against sickness, accident and old age as are to be found at work, more or less successfully, in Germany, Austria, Belgium and elsewhere. There is an Old Age Pension Law in New Zealand, but it has nothing to do with Government Insurance. There is a Workmen's Compensation Act, similar to the well-known English statute; but the connection of that with the Department of State Insurance is purely voluntary. State Insurance in New Zealand simply means that the Government has set up three offices dealing, respectively, with the business of life-insurance, accident-insurance and fire-insurance. The fire-insurance office, which is the youngest of the three, has no connection with the other two. In no case does the Government seek to establish any monopoly. All three offices compete on equal terms in the open market with private companies engaged in insurance. And so far has the entry of Government into the business of insurance been from extinguishing private enterprise that the latter has advanced, developed and prospered alongside of the growth of the Government establishments. This is the more remarkable because, in one respect, the Government does not try to do business on business principles: it does not attempt to make any direct revenue out of its insurance offices. It is satisfied to incur no loss on them, and to see that their methods and assets are sound enough to bear the strictest

actuarial investigation. After solvency has been assured and the actuaries satisfied, profits fairly remaining for distribution are divided among policy-holders.

Of the three branches of Government Insurance the most interesting is that of life-insurance, because that has had much the longest career and is able to show results which place it beyond serious criticism. The branch which offers least scope for comment is that of accident-insurance. The Fire-Insurance Office represents the youngest, most venturesome and most bitterly attacked of the three experiments.

To speak first of life-insurance. For its origin we have to go back to the day of small things, and to a very dark hour in the story of the colony. In the year 1869, the population of New Zealand, which is now 920,000, was under a quarter of a million. This scanty number had been fighting with the native tribes, not always successfully, for some nine years. The price of the settlers' one important export—wool—was ruinously low. They had managed to run up a public debt of nearly seven millions, and for this sum had comparatively little to show in the way of development or tangible assets. It was not a moment when they might be expected to dream of venturing into unknown waters, or of new conquests for State enterprise. Yet that was the moment chosen by the active brain of a Jewish politician for inducing the New-Zealanders to launch out into State Life-Insurance. Mr., afterwards Sir, Julius Vogel persuaded the House of Representatives to vote for a resolution involving the creation of a State Life-Insurance Office. Vogel was no socialist, nor indeed a disciple of any special cult or theory. He was a financier, and a venturesome one at that. But, looking round him in New Zealand in 1869, he saw no life-insurance company fully established in the country. Several English and Australian companies had agencies in the colony. Policies might be taken out with them, but each transaction had to be referred to headquarters in Australia or England, and might be disallowed there. Moreover, premiums and charges were high. New-Zealanders, as results have shown, were and are people more than usually inclined to the prudence which takes the form of insurance. But the capital, population and organizing force required to enable them to found a strong private insurance society did not exist among them in 1869. So Vogel, though only a simple member of an Opposition,

found no difficulty in carrying his resolution invoking the intervention of the State. Indeed, Sir John Hall, afterwards leader of the New Zealand Conservatives, supported him. When, shortly afterwards, Vogel became Colonial Treasurer, he had no difficulty in passing an Insurance Act and setting up a Life-Insurance Office. In 1870, then, this institution began its career. So tentative was the experiment that the framers of the original statute had not troubled themselves to make provision for the distribution of profits. But though rates, fees and charges came down, profits, and very considerable profits, accrued; and, by 1874, it was necessary to pass an Act dealing with them and also to extend the powers of the Insurance Office and expand the scope of its transactions. At the end of the first year of its life, the sum assured in the office was a little over £200,000. In five years, it was not far short of two millions, and, at the end of ten years, was approaching four millions and a half. Its twentieth year saw the sum assured in it exceed seven millions and a half, and at the end of 1904, nearly thirty-five years after its birth, the total had grown to more than ten millions and a quarter. The policies in force numbered 44,194. As already mentioned, this large business has not been gained by the exclusion of private competitors from the field. The Government Office does nearly, but not quite, half the life-insurance of the colony. Its chief rival is that wealthy and admittedly well-managed institution, The Australian Mutual Provident Society. The New York Life Insurance Company and the Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States both do business in the colony, though in a small way.

The Government Life-Insurance Office is a department of the public service, managed by an officer called the Commissioner, who is a Civil Servant. This gentleman's staff and the methods by which the business of his office is conducted are virtually those of an ordinary private insurance association. It is true that the salaries and office expenses of the department are voted annually by Parliament; its accounts are audited by the Government auditor; its balances have to be kept at the bank at which the Public Account is kept. Moreover, the Commissioner has to lay before Parliament an annual report, account and balance sheet. But in the management of the Department's Insurance business there is virtually no ministerial control or political interference. The Commissioner is not a mere departmental secretary, with a min-

ister over him; he performs statutory duties and rules his office. And, inasmuch as the Government makes no direct profit out of the life-insurance business, the institution is, for taxing purposes, treated as though it were a private corporation. It pays land tax and income tax, and in this way contributes £9,000 a year to the revenue.

Independent as the Commissioner is in the management of ordinary insurance business, there is a branch of his department's affairs in which he is subject to control. This relates to the investment of the very considerable funds now in his hands. These have accumulated until, at the end of 1904, the assets of his department amounted to £3,761,000. There is an impression abroad that nearly the whole of this sum has been borrowed by the New Zealand Treasury. That is not the case. Nearly two millions of it are invested in mortgages on freehold property. Loans to policy-holders represented last year £660,000, and a substantial sum had been lent on the debentures of local bodies. The loans to the New Zealand Treasury amounted to less than eighteen per cent. of the whole sum invested. New Zealand, like all young countries in course of settlement, stands in need of capital, and has to borrow outside as well as inside her frontiers. Any institution, therefore, which helps to keep the savings of her people at home and available for loan purposes there does a financial service to the colony, in addition to fulfilling the special purpose for which it was founded. It is in the reinvestment of the funds above mentioned that the Life-Insurance Commissioner is subject to control. The reinvesting is managed by a board of six persons, of whom he is one and the Colonial Treasurer another. Every loan has to be agreed to by this board unanimously. No loan must exceed £10,000; mortgage loans must not be of more than three-fifths of the value of the freehold on which they are advanced. Lending appears to have been prudently conducted, for last year the value of the properties on which the department had had to foreclose, and which were lying unsold on its hands, was only about £1,000. This furnishes an edifying contrast to the position of certain great colonial corporations which have lent money on landed estates in Australia and New Zealand.

I will not ask the readers of this article to follow me into the intricacies of the ordinary business of the Life-Insurance Department. They are hardly likely to be interested in knowing the

precise proportion of its death policies, endowment policies, annuities or tontine policies, or the amount of favor which its special temperance division has found in the eyes of insurers. I may mention in passing that the office will not insure any one life for more than £4,000, and that, subject to certain conditions, its policies may not be seized by creditors in the event of the bankruptcy of their holders. The bonuses in force last year represented over a million sterling. The total amount paid since the foundation of the office in 1870, in respect of death claims and matured endowments, has been nearly £2,800,000. The proportion borne by expenses to premium income will not be regarded as excessive (especially in view of recent revelations in New York), for, in 1904, it was but 18.8 per cent. On the whole, the success of the department is admitted even by the most dogged opponents of State enterprise, and the hardest thing I have discovered in the shape of recent criticism of it amounts to this—that in three years, 1901, 1902, 1903, its business (allowing for lapsed policies) did not increase as fast as that of two of its competitors, the Australian Mutual Provident and the National. The year 1904, however, showed a marked improvement in the business of the Government office. One division of the business, however, may interest the servants of Governments in other countries. Under a law which came into force about twelve years ago, most of the officers appointed to the Civil Service of New Zealand have to insure themselves in the Government office. Three per cent. is deducted from their salaries and handed over to the Life-Insurance Commissioner. In return, they receive a policy payable at death should they die before the age of sixty. If they survive until that age, their policies are changed into deferred annuities payable to them each year until death. That is to say, they receive a species of pension. Last year, six hundred and fifty-eight policies were in force in this section assuring nearly £100,000, and entitling the surviving policy-holders at the age of sixty to annuities amounting to over £30,000.

It took more than thirty years of success in working its Life-Insurance Office to embolden the Government of New Zealand to venture into the more doubtful field of accident-insurance. One of the reasons for this may have been the measure of failure which attended many of the accident-insurance companies which did business in New Zealand between 1880 and 1900. In 1899, it

was stated in the House of Representatives that, of twenty-three companies of this description, all but three had either wound up or withdrawn from the colony. It is true that the most glaring examples of failure had been Australian companies which had come to grief in the depression following the collapse of the Melbourne "boom" in 1892. But, though the breakdown or retirement of these companies may have had little or nothing to do with the conditions of accident-insurance in New Zealand, it certainly did not present a record likely to tempt cautious Government officials into the business. What, then, caused the Seddon Government and its advisers to try the venture? The explanation is somewhat interesting. The years 1891 to 1899 saw a series of amendments of the law of compensation to workmen passed by the General Assembly in Wellington. All these increased the liability of employers for accidents to their servants and workers, and the last change placed the colonial law fairly in advance of Mr. Chamberlain's well-known measure. Inevitably, the employers looked to insurance as a means of protecting themselves; and, as early as 1893, the only two accident-insurance companies in the islands were doing a roaring trade and supposed to be reaping handsome profits. After a while, the Government decided to step in as a competitor, both with the view of reducing the rate of premiums paid by the employers, and to secure a portion of an apparently profitable business. Simultaneously, therefore, with the final and most important extension of employer's liability, they proposed to conciliate opposition by passing a State Accident-Insurance act. The year which saw this law put on the statute-book was 1899. Though carried through the House of Representatives by a majority of two to one, it came in for a good deal of keen criticism at the hands of Mr. Duthie and other speakers, who disliked it both as an extension of State enterprise and as associating the Life-Insurance Office, hitherto a sound and popular institution, with a novel and dubious undertaking. The bill provided that the officers of the Life-Insurance Department should conduct the new business. They were to do the work, and, though some payment was to be made to them therefor, this extra labor and responsibility were pronounced by several critics unfair both to them and to the policy-holders in their office. The liberal promises of the Premier of a reduction of thirty per cent. in the rate of premiums were declared illusory, and the fact

was pointed out that the recent appearance on the scene of a fresh competing company had just brought about a sharp fall in these rates.

However, the bill went through, and in due course the Life-Insurance Commissioner, Mr. Richardson, organized this new department. The act constituting this stipulates that the funds, assets and liabilities of the Accident-Insurance Office are to be kept separate and distinct from those of the main Life-Insurance Department. So the policy-holders of the latter have no cause to be apprehensive that any losses incurred in the accident branch will have to be made good by them. Then, as might be expected, Mr. Richardson and his experienced officers have shown themselves quite capable of managing their additional department with prudence and profit. The figures of the three years' accident-insurance business carried on by them lie before me as I write. From these it would seem that in 1902 the office received in premiums a little over £14,000; in 1903, somewhat more than £24,000; and in 1904, a few hundred pounds less than the last-mentioned sum. These receipts have so far exceeded the claims which have had to be paid or provided for that the office has been able to accumulate funds to the amount of £5,600, as well as to hold over £9,000 as "unearned premium reserve." No serious complaint, so far as I have been able to discover, has been made against its methods or management, except that its rates of premiums do not materially differ from those in force when it was opened. The answer to this complaint seems to be that, at or shortly before the sanctioning of the Government scheme by Parliament, competition among the companies had sharply reduced the old rates. It is claimed that the existence of a Government office is at least a guarantee that the rates will not presently be raised by an agreement between the companies. In 1903, the Prime Minister stated that the Government office would neither follow the example of the companies in cutting rates lower nor have anything to do with raising them by combination.

Just as fire-insurance is a less exact and much more hazardous undertaking than life-insurance, so the New Zealand conditions under which the former experiment was resolved on in 1903 were very different from those of the dark days of thirty-five years before. Vogel's proposal commanded unanimous support: Mr. Seddon's was only passed after years of active resistance, re-

sulting in a notable modification of the original plans of his advisers. He had to bring in his fire-insurance bill in face of the fact that there were no less than twenty-six fire-insurance companies doing business in the colony, and that, speaking generally, these were powerful corporations of good repute. Four of them were New Zealand companies,—at any rate, companies with their headquarters in New Zealand,—and among the shareholders of these prosperous bodies hundreds of New Zealand investors were, and are, enrolled. Human nature being what it is, extensive local influence of the insurance societies caused some division of public opinion and did not simplify the task of a Government resolved to make a beginning with State Fire-Insurance. In Parliament there was a genuine feeling that fire-insurance was a risky business. So bills were introduced again and again only to be abandoned. A select committee of the General Assembly, after hearing evidence, presented a report, in 1903, none too favorable to the new departure. There was, nevertheless, a strong and general feeling that some new element of competition should be introduced—this, despite the presence of the twenty-six companies. The position was that the companies were working together under a tariff agreed upon among themselves, a tariff which, as finally settled in 1895, was claimed by them to be scientific, but which the insuring public grumbled at and denounced as severe. The complaints were particularly loud, perhaps, in some of the smaller country towns, but were widespread enough to compel the attention of Parliament and the Ministry. It was averred that improved water-supply and fire-service were being provided in localities whose representatives alleged that corresponding reductions in insurance charges did not quickly follow. Again, it was pointed out that the colony was exceedingly prosperous, and that the business done by the insurance companies was large and increasing. But what weighed even more in the scale was that handsome profits were made and declared by the better-known companies. It is true that the defenders of these asserted that four-fifths of their profits were made out of business outside New Zealand or were yielded by investments. But, very rationally, the public did not scan the source of the dividends with too close an eye. It was sufficient that the profits were there.

On behalf of the companies it is only fair to point out that a table of figures laid before the Parliamentary committee of inquiry

appeared to show that in the five years 1899-1903 they had paid on fire losses in New Zealand no less a sum than £1,395,000. It is true that they had in the same period received not only as large an amount, but some £632,000 more in premiums. But it was asserted on their behalf that, after allowing for fair expenses and reserves for unearned premiums, the insurance companies not only made nothing, but actually lost slightly in that particular quinquennium. Perhaps they did, for one of the years therein was noted for disastrous fires. But in answer to the plea of their friends it was pointed out that, over a long series of years, the companies had done well, as not only their dividends but their substantial reserve funds proved. Moreover, it was alleged that they or most of them had themselves to thank for at least some of their losses.

The following passage from a speech made by a country Member in the House of Representatives on September 1st, 1903, is worth quoting, both because it contains the reply usually made to the argument just given, and because it states the particular grievance urged on behalf of the rural districts. The Member aforesaid, Mr. Thomas Mackenzie, said:

"In many of our cities the rates are reasonable enough on many of the risks, but where the hardship and injustice come in is on the same class of risks in the country districts. The honorable gentleman says that the difference between the town and country rate on brick buildings is 3*s.* 6*d.* I suppose that is in a town like Dunedin. You have got to pay 12*s.* 6*d.* in Milton and 12*s.* 6*d.* in Clutha for brick stores. There the people are handicapped by three times the amount, and yet the honorable gentleman says that no injustice is done. The injustice is against the country people, for their rates are inordinately high. Of course, they say they make large losses in the country; but these losses are greatly brought about through the companies taking risks from persons who have not the best of reputations, and by carelessness in stock inspection."

As an example of how widespread was the feeling of restiveness at the high premiums charged by the combination of Insurance Companies, I may mention that as far back as the year 1896 a meeting of delegates took place representing Fire-Insurance Protective Associations of seven leading New Zealand towns. At this meeting resolutions were passed pointing out that, while insurance was commercially a necessity, it had become, owing to combination among companies conducting it, a monopoly: that State Life-

Insurance had been a success and that, further, the delegates present "representing large interests" unanimously called upon the Government to establish a State Fire-Insurance Office. Furthermore, the meeting urged that the system to be adopted by the Government should be in part at least compulsory.

It took the Government seven years to comply with the demands thus formulated, and even then all compulsion had to be dropped from their scheme. In the debates in Parliament on the Fire-Insurance Bill, as finally shaped, the usual objections were urged to the extension of State influence, the creation of "billets," and to the incurring of further liabilities by the colony and the taxpayer.

On the whole, however, there was a general agreement that no sufficient reason existed why the Government should not manage fire-insurance business successfully, provided that efficient officers were selected and proper care and caution shown. The Government attempted to conciliate support by limiting the capital to be raised to the very modest sum of £100,000, and hinted that not even the whole of this would be required. They, furthermore, promised that half the profits of the business should be returned triennially to the insurers, while the other half should be placed in reserve to strengthen the Office. Mr. Seddon expressly disavowed all intention of waging war to the knife against the companies, only claiming that there was room for a Government Office as well as for them. He laughed at the suggestion that, as soon as the Government had secured the establishment of an Office for voluntary insurance, they would seek to extend their enterprise by introducing an amending Bill, containing the principle of compulsion. To this he referred as the "old bogey."

In conclusion he assured Parliament that the new department should be carefully and wisely administered. Its management would be checked by an Advisory Board, so that no rashness was likely to be shown. Sitting on the Board would be the Commissioner of the Government Life-Insurance Department, associated with whom would be experienced and prudent State Officers. In estimating risks, the Government would have the advantage of information to be obtained from local and borough councils, the fire-brigade officers, and Government officials generally.

As the law establishing the State Fire-Insurance Office stands on the New Zealand statute-book, it confines the business of the

Office to insuring property within the boundaries of the colony of New Zealand; and provides for the appointment of the General Manager and Staff, who are not to be members of the ordinary Civil Service or subject to its rules. The Board consists of the Colonial Treasurer (Mr. Seddon), the Government Life-Insurance Commissioner (Mr. Richardson), the General Manager and two unofficial members; the last two are appointed for two years and are paid. By Clause 30, it is provided that half the net profits of the business are to go to the creation of a Sinking Fund, while by Clause 45 it would appear that the surplus profits—that is, the remaining half—are to be equally divided between the insured and the Reserve Fund. The return made to the insured will take the form of bonuses divided on a basis proportionate to the premiums paid by them.

The bill authorizing the setting up of the State Fire-Insurance Office became law towards the end of 1903, and the Government lost no time in acting upon it. No difficulty was found in enlisting the services of an experienced manager and staff, nor, for the matter of that, in securing business. The public displayed abundant willingness to avail itself of the new means of breaking up the insurance monopoly. Though the management showed proper prudence in considering offers and inspecting risks, I am informed that the risks accepted during the first nine months of the life of the office reached the substantial total of over two millions and a half. The premiums paid in had, by the end of that time, risen to the neighborhood of some £2,000 a month, while the losses incurred were represented by the very moderate sum of £1,200 in all. So far so good. But it cannot be claimed that, as yet, the paths trodden by the young department have been those of pleasantness and peace. Very far from it. The insurance companies, through their local representatives, declared war to the knife upon the unwelcome competitor. They boycotted it, refused to reinsure its risks in the colony, and made things as unpleasant for it as possible in London. The Government was driven to cross the world in order to secure a reinsurance, and only after some display of hesitation did it obtain the needful cover at Lloyd's. The London press was fed with paragraphs of an unfriendly kind. In the colony itself the companies took the extreme step of cutting down the rates upon the description of properties comprised in what is termed "Class W" by thirty-three

and a third per cent. This class comprises dwelling-houses and similarly rated risks. The Government Office, which had not contemplated a greater reduction than ten per cent., was, of course, obliged to keep step with its opponents. (I may mention that rates on other classes of property were lowered by ten per cent.) Nevertheless, disagreeable as embittered competition always is, I am of opinion that the irreconcilable attitude of the companies, while justifiable enough according to ordinary commercial ethics, is scarcely likely either to intimidate Mr. Seddon or to dismay the public of the colony, who are enjoying the benefit of very much lower rates. The amount of business done by the State Fire-Insurance Office may, it is true, be restricted; but its success is not likely to turn upon the friendliness or unfriendliness of competitors so much as upon the amount of care, judgment and caution displayed by its manager, his agents and his advisers.

W. P. Reeves.

# A PLEA FOR AN ENGINEER CORPS IN THE NAVY.

BY REAR-ADMIRAL S. B. LUCE, U. S. N.

WHATEVER may be the final outcome of the trial, the disaster which recently befell the U. S. S. "Bennington" has brought before the public the question, whether or not a man can master two professions—whether one can become a good officer of the military marine, and, at the same time, a good Marine Engineer. The compound "military marine" is used here instead of the word "Navy" designedly. As a Navy is created and maintained solely with a view to the preservation of peace, or the possible contingency of war, all the operations of a fleet partake of a military character; hence, we have the expression "military marine." A Navy is simply a sea-army. It is clear, therefore, that the education and training of officers of the military marine must partake very largely of a military character. This view has not always prevailed. In former days to say of a naval officer that he was a thorough seaman was to accord to him the highest professional praise. During the Revolutionary War, some of the most successful officers of the merchant service became privateersmen, and numbers of successful privateersmen entered the Navy. They were thorough seamen and owed their success to their superior seamanship. Seamanship was the *sine qua non* of professional attainments. Ordnance and gunnery were in a very crude stage of development. Marine International Law was a sealed book. Nautical Astronomy had been but little studied. Longitude was determined by measuring lunar distances. The laws of storms and the physical geography of the sea were unheard of. The same conditions prevailed to a greater or less extent during the War of 1812, and for a number of succeeding years. Seamanship was the great desideratum; for seamanship won battles! Gunnery was an

all-important factor, it is true. But what did good gunnery avail if the broadsides were not placed in a position to do the greatest execution? Just there came in the skill of the seaman. It was to handle his ship in such a manner that the fire of all his guns might be most effective. What was true of single-ship actions was true in a larger sense of the great fleet fights. Other things being equal, victory inclined to the ablest seaman. Thus it came that the seaman and seamanship so dominated the nautical mind that the military character of the profession was lost sight of. So much so, indeed, that the sailor affected contempt for a soldier. The scale of a sailor's individual preferences was: "A messmate before a topmate, a topmate before a shipmate, a shipmate before a dog, and a dog before a soldier." Hence it was that, during the sail period of naval history, the thorough seaman was a past master in all that related to the motive power of his ship.

But it would be an error to argue from this that a naval officer always has been, and, hence, always should be, a master of the motive power of his ship. It was not so during the galley period of naval history, nor is it true of the steam period. In the early days of the galley period, when the Greek penteconter—an open boat pulling fifty oars—was the highest type of war-vessel, the fighting-men were the oarsmen; that is to say, the men who did the fighting supplied the motive power. It was the same during the sail period: the sailors did the fighting and regulated the motive power—the sails of the ship actuated by the wind. But, when the bireme of two banks, and the trireme with its three banks of oars, came into use, there gradually sprang up two distinct classes—the rowers and the fighting-men—the men whose special province it was to furnish the motive power; and another, and a distinct, class whose province it was to do the fighting. The fighting-men had their own officers, the rowers theirs. Each class, from the highest to the lowest, was homogeneous. This distribution of duties was one not simply of man's device; it was an imperative necessity imposed by existing conditions. The steam period has revived that practice, the practice of having a just and proper division of duties—those whose business it is to do the fighting and those who are responsible for the motive power. A want of homogeneity in the personnel of either class would be detrimental to the well-being of the whole, for if the personnel is not congruous, then it is not sympathetic, having no community

of feeling in its several parts, which would be fatal to the efficiency of the whole. Specifically, to have one part of the personnel of a corps of marine engineers to be made up of combatants, and another part to be made up of non-combatants, is contrary to the teaching of history and of every-day experience. This brings us to the consideration of a term which has obtained some vogue of late—"a fighting-engineer."

A fighting-engineer, one would naturally suppose, was a graduate of a military academy, who had been assigned to the Engineer Corps of the Army. General McClellan was a notable example of a fighting-engineer. He graduated from West Point into the Engineer Corps of the Army, fought with distinction in the Mexican War, and subsequently was in chief command of the Army of the Potomac in the Civil War. He was in truth a "fighting-engineer": a military, not a mechanical, engineer. Applying the term to the Navy reveals some of the curiosities of our naval methods. By the Act of July 4th, 1864, Congress authorized the Secretary of the Navy to provide for the educating of marine engineers at the Naval Academy. As a consequence, Cadet Engineers were obliged to devote a portion of their time to military exercises and seamanship, time which had formerly been given to the machine-shop. This Act was followed by the Act of August 5th, 1882, which abolished the distinction between Cadet Midshipmen and Cadet Engineers; and provided that *all* undergraduates should be classed as Naval Cadets; and that, thereafter, all vacancies in the lower grades of the Engineer Corps should be filled from the graduates of the Naval Academy. This was the first step in the scheme of amalgamation. As a logical sequence of these measures came the Personnel Act, Section 1, transferring the officers of the Engineer Corps to the line of the Navy. Thus the Engineer Corps became extinct. As a corps it no longer exists. The Corps ceased to exist by merging the marine engineers into the military branch of the naval service. The members of the Corps had been trained both as combatants and as marine engineers—the course of training prescribed for all undergraduates. Hence the term "fighting-engineer" is the equivalent of the term "naval officer" of the line. In practice, however, we find that, by a process of natural selection, certain graduates elected to become marine engineers. It is the latter to whom the term fighting-engineer properly applies, if to any one. Hence the expres-

sion a fighting-engineer contains, in a condensed form, a very interesting episode in our naval history. Examined critically, as an abstract question, we find that the compound fighting-engineer is a cross between the military and the mechanical. Professionally, he is a hybrid. The chief characteristic of hybridism is sterility. Sterility is opposed to reproduction or development. That is what the expression "fighting-engineer" stands for—sterility. The fighting-engineer is, professionally, unfruitful, unprofitable. He may do moderately well in either capacity, but he can never excel in the one or in the other. He is of the "Jack of all trades but master of none" class. He represents mediocrity, the commonplace, the barely respectable. His normal condition is static, as opposed to the dynamics of singleness of aim. Now, excellence in each department of the naval service is what modern education requires, and what war demands. The question to be considered, therefore, is how far the hybrid is to meet the demands of war. It is not only a practical, but a very serious question, and one demanding an intelligent and an immediate answer.

In discussing a question of such importance to the Navy, we disclaim any intention whatever of reflecting upon individuals or classes. We gladly admit the brilliant exceptions to our hypothesis furnished by the very able line officers who have done so much to render the amalgamation scheme a success. We are dealing with rules of general application, not with the exceptions, however notable.

The case may be summed up somewhat as follows: The tactics of the fleet is dependent upon the tactics of the battle-ship. The tactics of the battle-ship is dependent upon its motive power; the motive power is dependent upon the engineer's force; and the engineer's force, in turn, is dependent upon the officers who have immediate charge of it and are responsible for its efficiency. Hence, from a *strictly military* point of view, the proficiency of the engineer officer is a question of vital importance to the naval tactician, as well as to the naval administrator. He cannot afford to have any but the very best the country can produce—the very best as to professional attainments and manual skill in his own special calling.

Our convictions on this very important question have been confirmed and strengthened by an article which appeared in this REVIEW in March, 1902, entitled "Some Neglected Naval Lessons

of the War." It is the strongest argument that has come to our notice, showing the *military* necessity, to the Navy, of a thoroughly trained engineer's force. The "Oregon's" performance during the Spanish War is cited, on the one hand, by way of example of what good marine engineering work, under a capable captain, can accomplish; and the Spanish ships at Santiago, on the other hand, to show how poor engineering may easily result in the loss of a battle. The writer well says: "The great lesson to be drawn from the Battle of Santiago is the vital importance of engineering to the efficiency of the modern fleet." His plea for the engineer corps is ably presented. He strengthens his position by adducing an English authority of recognized ability. The Editor of the London "Engineering" for November 15th, 1901, whom the author speaks of as a "clear-headed student of naval affairs," says:

"Engineering is not to be learned without practical object-lessons carried out by the student himself. No man can become a mechanical engineer without dirtying his hands; without devoting to the subject several years of hard study accompanied by practical work. It is a matter of long training, both in theory and practice. No country that cannot command a body of men willing to undergo the disagreeable features, incidental to engineering training, will be able to maintain its position as a first-class naval Power, under the stress of war, however many ships and guns it may possess. Neither Great Britain nor the United States lacks such men, and it will be only the ruling power of either country that will prevent their employment. . . . The chief danger is that the warrant machinists will be accepted as efficient stop-gaps, although we think there is too much engineering knowledge abroad in the United States for the foolishness of that course not to be seen. If, however, such a plan is accepted, the American Navy will be thrown back at least a quarter of a century in its personnel. The old round will be trodden once more; the old fight fought again. In the mean time, the efficiency of the American Navy will suffer; and, if it should be put to the ultimate use for which all navies are supposed to be built (war), a very unpleasant awakening may result."

Says a German authority of acknowledged ability:

"In order to be competent, nowadays, an engineer must be proficient in the numerous fields of engineering science and practice. It is impossible for the average man to acquire even a sufficient smattering of knowledge in this immense field of learning in the old empirical way. . . . The complexity of modern problems constantly increases the number of subjects which cannot be dealt with in an elementary way. . . . The consequence of the new order of things is that the demand for en-

gineers that have had a thorough theoretical training is constantly increasing."*

These remarks referred principally to civil engineers; but they are just as applicable to marine engineers.

Accepting these views, which fully agree with the views of our own engineering authorities, that to become a marine engineer one "must devote to the subject several years of hard study, accompanied by practical work," and that "it is a matter of long and special training both in theory and practice"; and accepting, too, the opinions of the highest authorities, that to acquire a knowledge of tactics and strategy, and to become proficient in Marine International Law, require much practice for the first, and constant study and reflection for all, let us ask, in all sincerity, if a naval officer is capable of becoming proficient in both professions. Our answer is, most emphatically, that he is not. He cannot serve two masters.

The higher and more thorough education now demanded of every profession has had a marked influence on the Navy. It remains true that a naval officer must be, as of old, a "seaman and a gentleman."† But, in these days, he must be a great deal more than that. He must still be thoroughly familiar with the motive power of his ship. He must be a seaman, not necessarily in the old sense of the word, but in his ability to handle a battleship in a seamanlike manner, under all conditions of wind and weather, and to maintain his exact position, at all times, in the fleet. He must have the "sea-habit," as it is called—the sea-stomach, the sea-legs, the sea-tastes—tastes which make him contented to live on board ship and joy in his duties there. And he must be a gentleman in his broad and liberal education and varied attainments. Besides being a good English scholar, he must be familiar with at least one foreign language.

A glance at the curriculum of the Naval Academy will show how thorough and comprehensive is its course of study. In mathematics, it will compare favorably with our great Universities. As a school of marine engineering for naval officers of the

* "Technical Education in Germany," J. L. Bashford, "The Fortnightly Review," October, 1905.

† "None other than a gentleman, as well as a seaman, . . . is qualified to support the character of a commissioned officer in the navy."—PAUL JONES. "One could not be a good officer without having the knowledge of a practical seaman and the manners of a gentleman."—LORD NELSON.

line, it is said to be one of the best in the world. On these and cognate branches, the courses of instruction for the line officer and the marine engineer run on parallel lines, but they soon diverge. Coincidently with the courses in steam-engineering and scholastic studies, run the military training and instruction in seamanship, gunnery, navigation and law. The very first step taken with the midshipman on entering the Naval Academy is to make a soldier of him. It is in the "setting-up drills," the "school of the soldier," the "school of the company," and in the battalion of infantry that he is inducted into military life: the military life whose field of action is on the high seas.

Of the four years' course 16.9 per cent. is given to instruction in military branches, seamanship and navigation. Our contention is that, for the midshipman destined for duty in the engineering branch of the Navy, not only is this time wasted, but the instruction is positively harmful, inasmuch as it diverts a mind prone to mechanical pursuits into unrelated channels.* There is no affinity between military arts and mechanical arts.

The Naval Academy, after all that can be said of it, is but a preparatory school of war. Our real naval school is now the North Atlantic Fleet.† This school is of such recent growth that

* *Summary of drill periods during four years' course:*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Seamanship | 76 | Deviation of compass | 3 |
| Boats under oars and sails | 52 | Great guns | 22 |
| Steam tactics | 14 | Landing force | 4 |
| Signals | 10 | Steam | 124 |
| Target practice (great guns) | 12 | Practical electricity | 10 |
| Torpedoes | 15 | Turrets | 5 |
| Practical ordnance | 54 | General quarters | 16 |
| Artillery | 24 | Clear ship for action | 16 |
| Target practice (small arms) | 33 | Bayonet exercise | 2 |
| Company drill | 32 | Gymnastics | 15 |
| Infantry | 36 | Dancing | 16 |
| Sword exercise | 33 | Setting-up drill | 2 |

Instruction in seamanship and gunnery on board steamers includes instruction in engineering. Instruction in naval tactics includes engineering aboard steam-launches when practicable. Are all these drills necessary to one who is to manage the engineering department of our battle-ships, to overhaul and repair the machinery, and, ultimately, to design the engines of the navy? For one aspiring to honors in engineering science 78 per cent. of these drills should be dispensed with.

† Writing on board the "Constitution," Boston, Nov. 26th, 1814, Commodore Charles Stewart said: "With respect to a naval academy, the best school for the instruction of youth in the profession is the deck of a ship, presuming that none would be received into the service as midshipmen whose education had not been such as to fit them for officers, and calculated for gentlemen." This is measurably true to-day.

its great importance is hardly yet appreciated. It is in this school that the junior officer learns the duties of Watch and Division officer. The latter prepares himself for the responsible duties of captain of a battle-ship, and the latter, in turn, for the higher and more responsible duties of flag-officer; while the whole course of training qualifies an officer for the still higher and yet more comprehensive duties of naval administrator. We look forward, by the way, to the time when we shall have an Admiralty Staff on which a Secretary of the Navy may lean with confidence—a Staff composed chiefly of flag-officers who have commanded fleets or squadrons. We may add, parenthetically, that no officer should be advanced to flag rank who has not commanded a "first-rate" for at least two years.

The foundation so well laid at the Naval Academy should be sedulously built upon by a progressive course of self-culture;* following one undeviating line until the rôle of the officer of the military marine merges into that of statecraft. "The world knows that Lord Nelson can fight the battles of his country; but a constant and confidential correspondence with this great man for a considerable portion of time has taught me that he is not less capable of providing for its political interests and honor on occasions of great delicacy and embarrassment."† This indicates a habit of long and continuous pondering on international affairs. "He was the most original tactician of the day," said Admiral Lord Hood of Nelson when he was only twenty-four. Nelson's successes were the net results of steadfastness and singleness of purpose carried on through his whole life. "From his youth up, Togo's life has been devoted exclusively to the study and practice of the art of national defence," says Adachi Kinnosuké. He was a specialist. On the same lines Farragut and Porter were specialists. Each one, beginning his career during early boyhood —one might say childhood—these paladins of the sea gave their best thoughts and energies to their profession—the art of war.

From these general remarks the deduction is plain. He who aspires to flag rank, with its wide range of duties and grave responsibilities, must estimate at the start the relative values of the different branches that lead to preferment. It will be found that,

* "Humanity has progressed solely by self-instruction."—HERBERT SPENCER.

† Speech of Lord Minto in the House of Lords, on hearing of the victory of the Nile.

important as it is, steam-engineering is a subsidiary branch: while he who aspires to the front rank of engineering science cannot afford to waste his time in studies and exercises that have no bearing on the profession of engineer. If he would be a worthy successor of the very able engineers who built up our steam Navy, he must adopt, as they did, the principle of concentration on the profession of their choice. Differentiation should begin at fourteen. Before there can be a rational curriculum, says Herbert Spencer, we must settle which things it most concerns us to know —"We must determine the *relative values* of knowledges."

Admirable as the course of studies and exercises at the Naval Academy is, one would scarcely call it a "rational curriculum" for a School of Marine Engineers.

The specialty of the line officer is the art of war. His tastes may, and often do, lead him to specialize in other directions. The Navy can point with pride to the Washington Navy-Yard and to Indian Head for the evidences of the successful achievements of its own officers, from the designing of heavy ordnance to the turning out, and proving, of the finished product. Ordnance, as a science, and the art of gunnery, another specialization, are essentially of a military character. The same cannot be predicated of marine engineering. Specialization is now the rule in every profession save that of the engineer of the United States Navy. The wonderful advances made of late years in every department of science is due to the specialist. Specialization, be it observed, is only another form of concentration, and concentration is one of the soundest of military principles. It was concentration, as opposed to the dispersion of the forces of his adversary, that gave Togo his first great advantage during the war just concluded. The same principle is of general application. In every calling, those who have been successful are those who have concentrated their powers on one fixed object. Unity of purpose insures success. To these accepted tenets Congress has made the Navy an exception. But the fiat engineer will be found irredeemable in the sterling worth of engineering science.

Would the "fighting-engineer" be permitted in the engine-rooms of the great trans-Atlantic liners? Hardly. Those lines are conducted on business principles. They want there, and will have, real engineers, marine engineers, to run the engines of those great ships—engineers who know their business and take pride

in it. Those companies demand the real thing without any frills. And that is just what the Navy demands—*bona fide* Marine Engineers. The stern exactions of war will no more permit dilettanteism in the engine-room than on the bridge.

The objection urged against the reestablishment of the Engineer Corps is that it would only result in reviving the old "line-and-staff" fight, now so happily ended. The answer to that objection is, that experience has taught us that the "line-and-staff" fight was brought about mainly through the mistake of forty years ago, in giving our marine engineers a military training at the Naval Academy. If we repeat that mistake the results would, naturally, be the same; and we should have another "line-and-staff" fight and another amalgamation act. There can be no two opinions upon that question. But if, warned by the experience of the past, we have the wisdom to educate Cadet Engineers at some great engineering centre, as for example at the New York Navy-Yard or at League Island, where engineering work in the machine-shop could go hand-in-hand with theoretical studies, we should, in time, raise a class of marine engineers who would enter that corps through choice. Their tastes, their aptitude for that particular kind of work, would have led them there and would keep them there. They would become wedded to that profession and would not be divorced from it. The school of marine engineering might very well be modelled after the Naval Academy, as far as admission of candidates and rules and regulations are concerned. But its curriculum should be arranged with a special view to suit a technical school of that character.

With such a course of education, we would in time have a corps of scientific and thoroughly practical marine engineers, of which the Navy and the country might well be proud. Officers of that corps should have all the rank, pay and privileges that could reasonably be asked for.

The abolition of the Corps of Engineers has had one good result. It has given to the world a practical demonstration of the excellence of the course of instruction in marine engineering at the Naval Academy, and of the ability of our line officers to take charge of the engineers' department of vessels of war, with marked success, but this must not blind us to their true vocation as heirs of the Lords of the Deep.

S. B. Luce.

# CONGRESSIONAL RATE-MAKING BY COMMISSION.

BY J. B. CESSNA.

WE propose to deal chiefly with the legal aspects of the interstate railroad rate-making. The necessity for action in obtaining further regulations we will take for granted, directing ourselves to the inquiry: Is the proposed legislation equitable, legal and constitutional; or is it a giving to the administrative board an autocratic power inconsistent with any republican government? It is beyond question that the founders of our government not only intended to, but did, place the management of interstate commerce in all its branches and aspects under national and not under State control. On this subject there is no necessity for any constitutional amendments. All that is required is a proper law to enforce wise provisions of the founders of the government.

The Esch-Townsend Bill, amending the interstate commerce laws, does not authorize the fixing of rates in the first place by a Commission; it provides for a court of transportation, and that, upon complaint made against any rate to the Commission appointed under the present law, if said Commission find such rate unreasonable and unjust, it may fix a reasonable and just rate, which shall go into effect immediately and stay in effect until reversed by a court of review. It further provides that the court of transportation shall have exclusive and general jurisdiction in all suits and proceedings, brought in name of the United States or of the Interstate Commerce Commission, to enforce the provisions of the act to further regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the States, fixing rules, regulations and provisions necessary for the just and speedy trial of all such cases.

The provision for enforcing the rate fixed by the Commission is a power not found in the present Interstate Commerce Law

as interpreted by the Supreme Court of the United States. Under the present law, should the Commission find that a certain rate is illegal and unjust, and should it report what rate would be reasonable and just, there is no provision for enforcing the same, so that the law is virtually nugatory. The railroads claim that this additional power would be autocratic, while Mr. Olney and others argue that the granting of this power would be illegal and unconstitutional. This is the position taken by M. Joseph Nimmo, statistician and economist, of Washington, D. C., in his statement made to the Committee on Interstate Commerce, on February 10th, 1905, which was designed to instruct that committee, and to save our nation from "a bureaucratic imperialism, endowed with that great anomaly known as 'dispensing power'—the attribute of tyranny and oppression." The following are some of the erroneous positions taken by Mr. Nimmo:

1. The power to issue self-executing decrees is essentially a judicial function, not one to be exercised by an administrative board.

2. The conferring of the power of rate-making upon the Interstate Commerce Commission by Congress would be an unconstitutional delegation of its legislative authority. Furthermore, to vest the power of rate-making in the Interstate Commerce Commission would be a much larger exercise of the power of Congress to regulate commerce among the States than has ever been exercised by Congress.

Again, Mr. Nimmo, by implication, if not directly, argued before said committee:

(1) That no board or commission appointed by Congress can fix rates for the future;

(2) That the question as to whether the Federal Judiciary could in any event pass upon a rate for the future prescribed by the administrative board, is involved in great doubt;

(3) That the Supreme Court of the United States had never decided that a rate-making statute is constitutional.

Here is a clear misapprehension of the law, due to the mistake of regarding a fixed rate by a commission, not as *prima facie* evidence only, but as conclusive evidence, of reasonableness, such as would rob the railroad company of its right to inquire into this fact in a court of justice. The latter, we concede, would be

an unconstitutional attempt to take property without due process of law. But it has been held by the Supreme Courts of various States, as well as by the Supreme Court of the United States, that a rate fixed by a commission appointed by the Legislatures of the States, or by the Congress of the United States, is legal and valid, so long as it is only *prima facie* evidence of reasonableness.

Mr. Olney, in the number of this REVIEW for last October, denying the right of Congress to delegate to a commission authority to prescribe rates of transportation with foreign nations and among the several States, asserted:

1. That it is an open question, so far as the Supreme Court of the United States is concerned;

2. That there are only *dicta* by judges to be found in various cases decided by the Supreme Court; but that whether authorizing a commission to fix rates is or is not a delegation of legislative power which Congress is incompetent to make has never been the ground of decision in any case, and presents an issue which has never been thoroughly discussed either at bar or by the Court;

3. Prescribing rates is a legislative function and cannot be delegated.

We will not discuss at length what is and what is not a delegation of legislative authority, but will content ourselves with a general statement of the proposition, well settled by authorities, State and national, that rate-making by a commission is not *legislation, but the execution of legislation;* that, when either the State Legislature or Congress expressly prescribes rates for commerce by declaring that such rates shall be just, reasonable and fair; then in preparing schedules of actual rates to govern the carriers the commissioners' functions are administrative and not legislative; they only exercise a legally delegated discretion.

As is said in many cases:*

"Half the statutes on our books are in the alternative, depending on the discretion of some person to whom is confided the duty of determining whether the proper occasion exists for executing them. But it cannot be that the exercise of such discretion is the making of the law.

"The Legislature cannot delegate its power to make a law; but it

* Moers *vs.* City of Reading, 21 Pa., 188-202; Lock's App., 72 Pa., 491-498; Chi. W. R. Co. *vs.* Comm., 1 Ohio, 88. Affirmed in Field *vs.* Clark, 143 U. S. C., 650-694, and cited by Mr. Olney.

**can make a law to delegate a power to determine some fact or state of things upon which the law makes or intends to make its own action depend. To deny this would be to stop the wheels of government. There are many things upon which wise and useful legislation must depend which cannot be known to the law-making powers, and must therefore be subjects of inquiry and determination outside of the hall of legislation."**

The allegation of Mr. Olney needs explanation and qualification, when he states that, excepting *dicta* and the dissenting opinions of Justices Bradley and Blatchford (in 134 U. S., 418), it has never been decided whether authorizing a commission to fix rates is or is not a delegation of legislative power which Congress is incompetent to make. If the proposition relative to an act of Congress is not settled, the proposition as a principle of law has been adjudicated by the Supreme Court of the United States, which has held, in several well-argued cases, that the delegation of rate-making powers to a railroad commission by State Legislature was legal and valid. It must be conceded that, if the delegation of railroad rate-making power to a commission by the Legislatures of different States is not an unlawful delegation of legislative authority, then the delegation by Congress of such authority is lawful; if to prescribe rates is not a legislative function and can be delegated by the State Legislature, it can be so delegated by Congress. This is virtually conceded by Mr. Olney, since he admits that the right is coextensive; he speaks of "a like power in respect of local business, if it exists, being vested in each State," and he argues that, if Congress once passed such a law, the Legislatures of various States would soon do likewise.

Nearly half of the States of the Union, for more than a quarter of a century, have had statutes delegating to a commission a rate-making power. These cases have frequently been before the Federal Courts and the Supreme Court of the United States; and, in every instance, after full argument and consideration, the courts have held the statutes valid and constitutional, and that such a commission was an administrative board, exercising valid and legal authority.

The case of Stone *vs.* F. L. & T. Co. (116 U. S., 307-324-336) clearly negatives the propositions of Mr. Olney. The State of Mississippi passed an act, March 11th, 1884, appointing a commission to regulate and supervise railroad rates. The constitu-

tionality of this act was questioned in this case and was sustained by the Supreme Court of that State. Upon an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States, it was contended that "the statute conferred both legislative and judicial powers on the commission, and was thus repugnant to the Constitution." Here the right of a Legislature to delegate its railroad rate-making power was in issue and thoroughly discussed before the courts of Mississippi and of the United States, both courts holding that such a statute did not confer either legislative or judicial power on the commission.*

In the case of N. Y. and N. E. R. R. Co. *vs.* Bristol (161 U. S., 556-571), the question arose relative to a grade crossing and the enforcement of payment of salaries and expenses of State railroad commissions by the railroads of the State. The Court said:

"Railroads are subject to such legislative control as may be necessary to protect the public against danger, *injustice and oppression; and this control may be exercised through a board of commissioners.*"

In the case of Georgia Banking Co. *vs.* Smith (138 U. S., 174), the same principle is affirmed. The State railroad commission law was attacked. The Supreme Court of the United States said:

"The Supreme Court of the State held, on application for an injunction, that this delegation of authority by the Legislature to the commission to prescribe what shall be reasonable and just rates for transportation within its limits, was a proper exercise of its own power to provide protection to its citizens against unjust rates and to prevent unjust discrimination; and it was expected, not that the Legislature would itself make specific regulation as to what should in each case be a proper charge, but that it would simply provide the means by which such rates should be ascertained and enforced."

The State of Texas gave to a commission the right to fix and regulate railroad rates. This statute was vigorously attacked and ably argued at bar and in court, both State and Federal, and it was insisted that the fixing of rates for public carriers is a matter wholly within the power of the legislative department of the government, but the Supreme Court of the United States held that "the act was valid and constitutional, and that the commission created thereby was an administrative board exercising functions properly delegated."†

* Affirmed in Louisville and N. R. R. Co. *vs.* Ky., 161 U. S., 677-698.
† Regan *vs.* F. L. & T. Co., 154 U. S., 362.

It was further held that, while it was within the power of a court of equity to decree that the rates so *established by the commission* were unreasonable and unjust, and to restrain their enforcement, it was not within its power to establish rates itself, *" or to restrain the commission from again establishing rates."**

The State of Nebraska passed a railroad-rate law fixing rates of transportation and authorizing a commission to reduce any rate whenever it desired. After action of the board reducing rates, it was thought that the rates fixed did not return to the railroad company a fair and reasonable compensation for its services. An injunction was issued by the United States District Court restraining the action of the commission. The constitutionality of the act was vigorously attacked, and the case was argued and reargued in the Supreme Court. W. J. Bryan argued that " the several States had a right to fix, either directly through an act of the Legislature, or indirectly through a commission, reasonable maximum rates upon traffic wholly within their border." The Court did not decide that the commission had no authority to act, but sustained the injunction because the rates fixed by the board were unreasonable.

In discussing what compensation a railroad should have for transportation, the Court said:

" Undoubtedly, that question could be more easily determined by a commission composed of persons whose special skill, observation and experience qualified them to so handle rate problems of transportation as to do justice both to the public and to those whose money has been used to construct and maintain highways for the convenience and benefit of the people."†

Here are two cases of the United States Supreme Court well argued and considered, holding that a railroad commission has legal authority to establish rates, and that the courts have no right to restrain it by injunction, if the rates so fixed are fair, reasonable and just.

The Supreme Court of the United States, discussing the right of Congress to appoint a commission to make railroad rates, said:

" There were three obvious and dissimilar courses open for consideration: Congress might itself prescribe the rate, or *it might commit to some subordinate tribunal this duty,* or it might leave with the com-

* Affirmed in St. L. & St. Fe R. R. Co. *vs.* Gill, 156 U. S., 649-663.
† Smith *vs.* Ames, 169 U. S., 466; 42nd L. Ed., 819.

panies the right to fix rates subject to regulations, restrictions and the rule of common law that rates must be reasonable."*

There is no justification for claiming, as Mr. Nimmo does, that this case is an authority for saying that no commission appointed by Congress could exercise power to determine rates for the future, and that the delegation of such authority would be autocratic. True, this case does hold that the Interstate Commerce Law passed by Congress, did not confer upon the commission, directly or by implication, the power of prescribing rates. To concede this is far from admitting that legal power could not be delegated to such a commission. As the Court said, the only question before it was what Congress had determined should be done with reference to rates. It was an interpretation of the language used in the act, and not a decision of what power may or may not be delegated by Congress to an administrative body.

For many years, it was thought that the Interstate Commerce Commission had power to prescribe a tariff of rates for the future. For ten years or more, the decisions of that tribunal were rendered on that theory; and its decisions were acquiesced in until the Supreme Court of the United States and other courts decided that the language of the statute did not, directly or indirectly, confer that right upon the commission. During that time, the business interests of the country, as well as the railroad companies flourished. The relations between the people and the railroads were as happy as marriage bells. It was after it became known that such power was not granted to said commission that the trouble began. And after years of such experience and the abuse of railroad transportation, public interests and the welfare of our country demanded that new provisions be made to remedy the existing evils.

The question of the constitutional right of Congress to delegate to a commission a rate-making power is not directly involved in the Interstate Commerce Commission case cited above; yet the Court holds, as we have shown, that Congress may commit "to some subordinate tribunal this power." In principle, the whole case affirms the proposition we are arguing. The courts quote at length the statutes of different States, where the authority is directly and expressly delegated to various commissions to fix and enforce rates, making said rates *prima facie* evidence; these

* Interstate Commerce Commission *vs.* R. R. Co., 167 U. S., 479.

statutes, and decisions sustaining them, are sanctioned and approved by the Supreme Court of the United States, not only in this case, but in many others, as shown by the authorities. This being so, the erroneous character of Mr. Nimmo's argument becomes at once apparent:

"The fallacy involved in this provision consists in the pretence that it avoided the objection of the courts, that rates made in advance of being charged and collected, even if authorized by statutes, are not reviewable in the courts as to their reasonableness from the fact that they are legislative rates."

Here the mistake is in not recognizing a difference between rates fixed by a commission and made conclusive, and those made only *prima facie* evidence of reasonableness; the first are illegal, the last constitutional. It may be that a provision of a statute making the schedule of commissioners final and conclusive as to reasonableness of rates would be a delegation of legislative power; yet it must be conceded, as held by many authorities, that making rates established by a commission only *prima facie* evidence of reasonableness, and leaving the question open to be decided by the courts, is not an unlawful grant of authority which belongs to the Legislature itself. The decisions of the courts on this precise question are uniform in declaring such statutes to be constitutional, and in holding that the reasonableness of rates fixed by a commission is always a question to be determined by the courts.*

The case of Chicago & N. W. R. R. Co. *vs.* Dey (35 Fed., 866) is among those where this question was first raised and decided. The interesting decision was rendered by Mr. Justice Brewer, while United States Circuit Judge. The constitutionality of the Iowa statute appointing railroad commissioners was attacked, because of an alleged delegation of legislative power, the claim being that the constitution of the State divided the government into three departments, Legislative, Judicial and Executive, and that no provision existed in the constitution for a railroad commission. The Court said:

* Smith *vs.* Ames, 169 U. S., 466—42, L. Ed., 819; 18 Sup. Ct., 418; 8 Am. & Eng. Ency. of Law, 911 O. S.; Interstate Commerce Commission *vs.* R. R. Co., 167 U. S., 494-528; Chicago, M. & St. P. R. R. Co. *vs.* Minnesota, 134 U. S., 418; 58 Minn., 287; Stone *vs.* Trust Company, 116 U. S., 307; Chicago & N. W. R. R. Co. *vs.* Dey, 35 Fed., 866; C. B. & Q. R. R. Co. *vs.* Jones, 149 Ill., 361; 37 N. E., 247; Geo. R. R. Co. *vs.* Smith, 70 Georgia, 674; 9 Am. & Eng. R. R. cases, 385.

"Of course the question is pivotal; for, if the Legislature alone can fix rates, railroad commissioners are exercising functions which do not belong to them and such a claim cannot be sustained."

The following are a few of the reasons given: A law will not be declared unconstitutional unless its vice is obvious. There is no inherent vice in such a delegation of authority, or nothing which would prevent a State from intrusting this power to such a board, and nothing which would invade any right guaranteed by the Federal Government. The vital question is that the rates shall be just and reasonable, and not by what body they shall be put in force. In a general sense, the power to fix rates is legislative, yet the line of demarkation between legislative and administrative force is not always easily discerned; the one runs into the other. There are many statutes unquestionably valid in which the Legislature has been content simply to fix the rates and principles, leaving execution and details to other officials. Reasonableness of a rate changes with changed conditions. What is fair to-day may, six months or a year hence, be either too high or too low. The Legislature meets only once in two years. Justice would more likely be done if this power of fixing rates were vested in bodies of continual session, than if left to those meeting only at long intervals.

The same principle was affirmed by Justice Wood of the Supreme Court of the United States, sitting as Circuit Judge.*

The act of Legislature of Minnesota, passed March 7th, 1887, established a railroad warehouse commission. The Supreme Court of that State held that said act made all the rates fixed, final and conclusive as to what were reasonable charges, and that there could be no judicial inquiry as to reasonableness of said rates—sustaining the statute in this particular. The Supreme Court of the United States reversed this decision solely upon the ground that the rates fixed were enacted not only as *prima facie,* but as conclusive evidence of reasonableness, and that therefore said act was in conflict with the Constitution of the United States in depriving the railroad company of its property without due process of law.†

The case C. B. & Q. R. R. Co. *vs.* Jones (149 Ill., 37; N. E.,

* Tilley *vs.* Savannah R. R. Co., 5 Fed., 641.

† Chicago, M. & St. P. Ry. Co. *vs.* Minnesota, 134 U. S., 418; 58 Minn., 287.

207), is one of the most recent and interesting cases to be found on this subject. Here it was directly claimed that Section 8 of the Act which authorized the commission to fix a schedule of maximum rates was unconstitutional, as being an attempt at delegation of legislative power. Reaffirming the C. & N. W. *vs.* Dey (35 Fed., 866), State *vs.* C. & St. P. R. R. Co. (58 Minn., 281) and other authorities, the Court said:

"We understand the doctrine of the Chicago R. R. Co. *vs.* Minn., and of Budd *vs.* N. Y., to be as follows: The Legislature has the power to directly fix the rates of charges. It has the right to declare what is reasonable. When it does so its declaration is conclusive as to reasonableness of the rates, and a charge beyond the maximum fixed by it must be regarded as unreasonable; but, when the Legislature creates a commission to regulate rates of charges, such commission has no power to make a schedule of rates which shall be final and conclusive evidence as to reasonableness of charges, because judicial inquiry is thereby cut off. We do not, however, understand the Federal cases to hold that an act of a State Legislature may not be valid if, while omitting to itself fix the maximum rates, it creates a commission with authority to make schedules which shall be *prima facie* evidence of reasonableness. When the schedule is only made *prima facie* evidence of reasonableness of rates, the court, in a suit against the carriers, can inquire and determine what is a reasonable rate, and the defect which was found to exist in the Minnesota law thus obviated. Under the constitutional provision above quoted, the Legislature of this State has the right, and it is its prerogative, to pass a law establishing or fixing reasonable maximum rates of charges. When it passed the act of 1873, it did not choose to exercise the power conferred upon it. That act does not establish reasonable maximum rates, nor does it delegate to the board of railroad and warehouse commissions the power to establish such rates. When a board is authorized to establish a schedule of rates, and their schedule is merely given the force and effect of *prima facie* evidence as to reasonableness, there is no delegation to the board of the legislative power to establish rates. The Legislature thereby merely refrains from exercising its constitutional power; and, by leaving the question as to the reasonableness of its rates open, makes room for the exercise by the courts of their jurisdiction upon the subject. The final tribunal of arbitrament is not the judiciary, but the Legislature. But when the Legislature declares that the charges shall be reasonable, or, which is the same thing, allows the common-law rule to that effect to prevail, and leaves the matter there, then resort may be had to the courts to inquire judicially whether the charges are reasonable."*

Appeal was taken in this case to the Supreme Court of the United States (complete record filed to No. 150 Oct. Term, 1896),

* 116 U. S., 462.

but no opinion was ever rendered by the United States Court. It remained in this court for two years or more; and, a few days before a hearing was to be had, the company settled and paid the judgment. The writer had the honor of being one of the attorneys in this case. This is an important and interesting case involving many of the questions now being discussed relative to railroad commissions and rates. The points involved should be considered authoritatively settled by the State courts and virtually conceded to be the law of the Supreme Court of the United States, because payment was a concession by defendant that all points decided by the Illinois court were good law.

In addition to the case cited, there are many cases to be found in which it is held that a State statute regulating railroad fees and charges is constitutional. Most of these cases are instances where the maximum charge was fixed directly by the Legislature itself; but in Stone *vs.* F. L. & T. Co. (116 U. S., 307-324-336), the rates were fixed by a commission. This case was affirmed by the Supreme Court of the United States in Dow *vs.* Beidman, where the rates were fixed by the Legislature. In these cases not only the constitutionality of the statutes, but the right to delegate rate-making authority, was presented; therefore the Supreme Court of the United States settled, after full argument:

1. That the functions of the commission appointed to fix railroad rates were not legislative, but administrative;

2. That the Legislatures of the States or the Congress of the United States may fix railroad rates or appoint a commission for that purpose.*

This proposition must inevitably be followed as it is settled:

"Whenever there is presented in a legal way a question involving the validity of any act of any Legislature, State or Federal, and the decision necessarily rests on the competency of the Legislature to so enact, the court must, in the exercise of its solemn duties, determine whether the act be constitutional or not."†

In view of these many decisions, it may well be claimed that the principles of *stare decisis* may be invoked to such an extent that it would seem to be very difficult for the railroads to convince

* Dow *vs.* Beidman, 125 U. S., 688; 31 L. D., 861—3; Munn *vs.* Ill., 94 U. S., 113; 24 L. D., 34; Chi., M. & St. P. *vs.* Minn., 134 U. S., 455 33; L. D., 974; Budd *vs.* State of N. Y., 143 U. S., L. D., 36,247.

† Chi. R. R. Co. *vs.* Wellman, 143 U. S., 339–345.

either the public or judicial mind of our country that the giving by the Legislatures of power to a commission to fix and regulate rates of transportation is illegal and unconstitutional. To permit the allegation to go unchallenged that prescribing rates is exclusively a legislative function, not to be delegated, and that this was an open question never settled by the Supreme Court of the United States—would be hurtful to the success of the proposed bill now before Congress.

Conceding that Congress has a right to prescribe rates or to delegate that power to a commission, there yet remains some uncertainty and much difference of opinion as to the manner and process of these regulations. The holding of the Court that neither a commission nor the judiciary has power to determine what was a reasonable freight rate for the future, has given our Legislatures more or less trouble, but it seems to us that this may be legally obviated in one of two ways:

1. By giving to the commission the right in the first instance to make a schedule of rates *prima facie* reasonable; this has been done by several of the Legislatures of different States;

2. By giving to the commission the right, upon complaint against any rate, to determine if that rate is reasonable and just, and if not to fix a reasonable and a just rate and to enforce the same by fines, penalties and injunctions. In either event, the principle of law is the same, the rate fixed by the commission is to be deemed *prima facie* evidence of reasonableness, until the contrary is proved by railroads. This does not deprive railroads of property without due process of law, nor does it arbitrarily fix a rate for the future contrary to decision of the courts. Fixing a definite time, as the bill offered by Mr. Mann, Congressman from Illinois, February 24th, 1905, does, during which the rate established as reasonable shall continue to be the reasonable rate might be unjust and hurtful to the best interest of the country, and no doubt would be declared by the courts unconstitutional. The conditions of business relating to transportation change from time to time, and a rate to-day reasonable and just may soon be too high or too low. But when a rate is established as *prima facie* evidence of what is reasonable and just, it remains *ipso facto* such until successfully assailed in a court of justice.

Experience has taught that it matters not how perfect a law for the regulation or control of commerce may be, it will fail

unless there is strong provision for its enforcement. There may be a difference of opinion as to the manner of this enforcement, but the public sentiment of our country agrees with what our illustrious President said in a recent message:

"The government must in increasing degree supervise and regulate the workings of the supervision of railways engaged in interstate commerce; and such increasing is the only alternative to an increasing of the present evils on the one hand or a still more radical policy on the other. The most important legislative act now needed, as regards the regulation of corporations, is this act to confer on the Interstate Commerce Commission the power to revise rates and regulations, the revised rate to go at once into effect and stay in effect unless and until the court of review reverses it."

Strict obedience to and compliance with the rates fixed should be enforced by fines, forfeitures and penalties, both civil and criminal; then the law would be observed, the railroads would have to take the risk of a successful attack upon the rate fixed. In the proposed legislation not only ample power should be provided, but too much stress or care cannot be given to the provision enforcing all such powers. A law not surrounded with stringent provisions to enforce the same will be nugatory. The railroads do not fear so much the law as they do the manner of its enforcement. Their main efforts are to defeat enforcement. In view of this, the insertion in the proposed Congressional legislation of some of the ideas embraced in the act of Illinois, and some of the other States, might make it more effective. These statutes provide that, if railroads violate the rates fixed by the commission by overcharges or otherwise, they shall pay treble damages for the wrong done, with a reasonable attorney's commission added. Individual shippers cannot afford to fight railroads alone, but, aided in this way, a better observance of a law would be secured. A bill with such provision would be using Japanese tactics on the railroads—attacked by the Government in front and the people in the rear, they, too, would soon have to do like the Russians, surrender or retreat in good order.

J. B. CESSNA.

# THE CHINESE PRESS OF TO-DAY.

BY ARCHIBALD R. COLQUHOUN.

It is well known that Peking enjoys the distinction of being the home of the oldest newspaper in the world, beside which even such old-established journals as the London "Times" are mere mushroom growths. Although the "Peking Gazette" is not a news sheet in the modern sense, it has filled an important place in Chinese life; for, despite his ignorance of the outside world, the Chinaman loves to read and discuss the affairs of the day.

Long before the modern newspaper made its appearance in China, there was an extensive use made of placards, *pasquinades* and broad sheets, often extremely witty and clever, containing sarcasms on officials, even criticisms of Government, and generally used for the ventilation of popular wrongs and the expression of popular resentment. These were to be seen posted on walls in all the main streets and even on the gates of the *Yamen* (the mandarin's official residence), and nothing is more illustrative of the democratic constitution of China than the fact that Government never exercised any censorship over these forerunners of the modern press, and that there are actually no press laws in existence to-day. This is a curious contrast to the state of affairs in more than one Western country, and the United States is probably the only one where similar license is allowed. Japan, which is erroneously supposed to be China's model in the evolution of the press as in other things, has a very stringent and severe censorship. Notwithstanding some relaxation of press laws in 1897, the Japanese Ministries of Army and Navy have still the power to prohibit the sale or distribution of any paper disclosing military secrets, and that of Foreign Affairs has similar discretion with regard to any publication likely to bring about embroilments with any foreign Government. Insults to the dignity of the

Imperial Family or attacks on existing institutions can be punished, not merely by suspension and fines, but by imprisonment. Indeed, till lately, imprisonment was so common that most papers employed a "prison editor," or official scapegoat, whose business it was to undergo these terms. The real editor was treated merely as a "contributor," and thus escaped the arm of the law.

It must not be supposed, however, that the Chinese press enjoys complete independence. There are not merely acts but certain words which, when employed against the Imperial Family, amount in Chinese law to parricide, and to indulge in the latter a newspaper must take refuge in one of the treaty ports or in Hong-Kong. Chinese officials, too, are a law to themselves and can, and do, put editors in prison on occasion; but the position of an ordinary mandarin or official is not a very certain one. The possibility in China that any man may rise from the ranks, and from being oppressed become an oppressor, develops a general desire for peaceable adjustment of differences. The fear of the press is potent with officials, and they avert its criticism, as a rule, not by harsh treatment, but by subsidizing it. Sometimes the whole staff of a paper is on a sliding scale of pay from the local mandarins, but more commonly the bribe takes the form of subscriptions for a certain number of copies, which may, or may not, be delivered—a method not altogether unknown in the Occidental world. One special reason for the desire to stand well with the press is the existence of the body known as the "College of Censors," whose business it is to scent out abuses and report to the Throne on the incapacity or misconduct of mandarins. Even the Imperial Family is not free from their criticisms.

The first real newspaper on modern lines started in China was the "*Shên Pao*" (the "Shanghai News"), published under English auspices in 1870; it preceded the first newspaper in Japan (founded also by an Englishman), which appeared a couple of years later. Encountering considerable difficulties at first, the "*Shên Pao*" by degrees won a good position, and was the first paper to give leading articles on the European model and to comment seriously on public affairs. Other papers were later founded, on the model of the "*Shên Pao*," at other treaty ports and at Hong-Kong. The growth of the Chinese press was slow until 1894 (before the Chino-Japanese war), when, besides the old "Peking Gazette," there were not more than a dozen

native newspapers in the whole of China (including Hong-Kong), of which some three or four were published in Shanghai; one each in Tientsin, Foochow and Canton, and five in Hong-Kong. The issues of these papers were all inconsiderable. At this time, however, there were already eight Chinese magazines regularly published (in connection with missionary work), which, in many cases ably written and edited by foreigners, laid the foundation of further educational work. In 1898 (the great reform year), there were no fewer than thirty-five native newspapers, fifteen published in Shanghai, of which many had large circulations, and at this time there were also some thirty-five publications of the magazine class in different parts of China.

The *coup d'état* of this year put an end to many of these publications, which were the fruit of the reform movement and largely employed for the purposes of the reform propaganda; but, after the flight of the court to Hsi-an and the weakening of the reactionary party, newspapers and magazines began once more to reappear, and they are to-day two or three times as numerous as in 1898 and enjoy considerable and growing circulations. In addition, every province has now its official newspaper or *Kuan Pao,* which is the medium for Imperial edicts and for the publication of such official "news" as government may desire to make known. Without giving actual statistics, it may be mentioned that Peking, which had no newspaper up to the time of the Boxer rising—except a short-lived weekly started by the Peking Reform Club and suppressed by the Empress Dowager—has now three daily newspapers and two fortnightly ones, some of these being partly illustrated. Tientsin has at least three dailies, one of these, the "*Takung Pao*" ("The Impartial"), having the very respectable circulation of twenty thousand. The official organ, which calls itself the "Times" (the "*Shih Pao*"), although not so widely circulated, is well written under European auspices and has considerable influence. In Shanghai there are now sixteen daily papers (price, eight to ten *cash* each), some of which have circulations of as much as ten thousand, and besides these there are many journals published there. Further south (at Foochow, Soochow and Canton), there are in all some six or seven daily papers, and at Hong-Kong five, while Kiaochow has one which is supported by the local German government. In addition to these, several papers are now published in the interior, but the majority,

for various reasons, flourish in the treaty ports. Wherever the Chinese congregate abroad they have their papers; at Singapore there are three, at Sydney two, in Japan two, in Honolulu several and in San Francisco some half-dozen. It must be added that the improvement in the postal arrangements of China has brought the most remote parts of the Empire into touch with the coast, and that in places where no such thing had ever been seen papers and books are now making their appearance and are eagerly read.

Formerly the instinct of the press was to turn, in cases of official oppression or interference, to British protection, and the majority of the papers and other publications had their birth under British *aegis* in the treaty ports. It has been more than once suggested that the free use made by the native press of the privileges accorded to foreigners was little likely to promote good feeling between China and the outer world, to which she granted those privileges. Of late a different line has been adopted. Many of the papers are either nominally or actually owned by Japanese, or more frequently still controlled by them; and not only are they able to avoid giving offence by their superior understanding of Chinese idiosyncrasies, but, in case of offence, the fact of their presence protects the paper from the Chinese officials. It is, however, quite impossible to gauge the actual degree of Japanese influence on the Chinese press, owing to the varying character of their connection with it and the fact that their policy is never to obtrude the national note.

The papers are written in the classic, or "book style," language, which is understood throughout the Empire, and the personnel are usually disappointed office-seekers, many of them good, and sometimes even brilliant, scholars. The enormous number of the *literati,* whose only hope after passing the examination portals is to obtain government positions, provides ample material for the profession of journalism, and the literary character of the papers is higher than that to which we are accustomed in the West. At the same time, it lacks the snap and vigor of modern "journalese," and it is only recently that even the up-to-date Japanese have been able to tear themselves from the elegancies and pedantries of the classic school and adopt a more concise and simple form of composition. In general character the Chinese press resembles that of Europe. There are leaders and leaderettes, news items, telegrams, scraps of general information and advertisements.

Along the top, where we are accustomed to see the title, runs the pious exhortation to "respect the written word," and the custom of reverently collecting and burning all printed matter still survives, although it is neglected in some of the treaty ports. Special correspondence is "conveyed" from the foreign press, and not always well translated, which leads to many ludicrous mistakes. The acknowledgment is made to a "Western Friend," and the leading papers have a foreigner to advise on foreign news, but some of the more advanced statesmen have men to translate direct to them, as had Li Hung Chang. Advertisements in the more popular papers are much in evidence, as in our own papers, and war news is given prominence. This is a modern development, for at the time of the Chino-Japanese war the defeats of China were never chronicled, but imaginary victories were dithyrambically described, and the same happened in some parts of China at the time of the Boxer movement. As a rule, the articles in Chinese papers and magazines are not signed, but the niceties of style are such that the authors are soon recognized locally; whereas, in Japan, the leading writers enjoy quite a national reputation. This does not imply that the Japanese pressman is well paid, any more than his Chinese brother, for the maximum salary of the former rarely exceeds a hundred pounds a year, and is oftener between thirty and fifty. The Chinese is even more poorly paid, which is some excuse for his system of blackmail; but, in fact, the whole theory of wages in China rests upon the universal custom of illegitimate perquisites.

The ownership of papers or their control is quite an understood feature of statesmanship in China and Japan, the oracle being worked more openly there than in our own candid West. Marquis Ito is credited with the control of one of the most influential papers in Japan. The use made of the Japanese press has been very skilful. At the psychological moments in diplomacy, expression of public opinion has been checked, or let loose, in a most effective and useful manner, and no untimely comments or indiscretions have been permitted to "embarrass the government." In contrast with this careful organization, the Chinese control has been ineffective. The late Li Hung Chang once had a startling evidence of this in his own paper at Tientsin. He had just put through a "deal" with an adventurer, who called himself Baron Mickiewitz. This man represented that he had the capital

of all the leading bankers of the United States at his back, and, succeeding in convincing Li Hung Chang of his *bona fides*, obtained from him something in the shape of a concession which was to confer control of all future Chinese railways. It was a peculiar transaction in which neither side had the power either to sell or to buy, and Li probably did not imagine that he was granting anything worth having. The *douceur* customary on such occasions was the one feature which he considered essential. The whole transaction was exposed before it was concluded in an English paper at Shanghai, and by an error of the native editor, who was "conveying" his foreign news, was bodily transferred to Li's own paper, where he read the denunciation of himself couched in most unmeasured terms. In the paroxysm of rage into which he fell, he desired nothing less than the heads of the editor and all the staff, but an ingenious European adviser restored peace by assuring His Excellency that the incident, if he took no notice of it, would only illustrate his own complete indifference to all criticism, and place him on a lofty plane where such unfounded rumors could not reach him. The effect of this attitude on the Court at Peking, it was gently insinuated, would be useful in case of any action on the part of the censors.

It is interesting to note that the influence of the modern Chinese press is in favor of reform, and that two distinct schools of opinion have grown up. One is headed by Kang-yu-wei, the arch-reformer and friend of the Emperor, who since 1898 has been obliged to take refuge chiefly in Hong-Kong, whence he continues to issue literature which has as its aim the wholesale reformation of China on the most advanced European principles. There has been, even in Japan, a party which favored this method of reform, and it was the key-note of the aspirations which cost the young Emperor Kwang-sü his liberty. Its wisdom is doubted by many who desire a regenerated China, but owing to the revolutionary spirit of Southern China it is sympathetically received there. The more moderate reform movement, which embraces no anti-dynastic programme, is headed by a man named Liang (also one of the fugitive Reformers), resident in Japan, who enjoys a reputation not only in China but in Japan as a writer and thinker. He follows the journalistic method initiated by Captain Brinkley in his paper, "The Japan Mail," which has had so powerful an influence on the reform movement in Japan, and is

moderate in suggestions and criticisms, deprecating haste or wholesale revolutions, because of the peculiar conditions of China.

The attitude of the press towards foreign affairs varies, naturally, with the nature of the inspiration behind it. The purely native papers are no more inclined to give a true perspective to world affairs than formerly, and, as has already been said, in borrowing their foreign news they frequently introduce imaginative emendations to the text. A very real and powerful movement has, however, become patent in the American boycott, which is largely stimulated by the press, and it must be remembered that the Chinese are easily inflamed by their reading. The action of the guilds and chambers of commerce, in connection with the boycott of American trade, shows a unity of purpose between the commercial class and the *literati* (who are the press) which is very significant.

One of the most interesting phenomena of modern China, largely due to the spread of journalism, is the introduction of modern subjects into the literary examination papers, and it would not be possible in an article on this subject to omit mention of a society which, while not forming part of the purely Chinese press, is still working on similar lines to increase the knowledge of the people. The "Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge," although largely supported by missionaries, has many lay adherents, both European and Chinese, and, by printing at its press in Shanghai some of the classics of Western Europe in the Chinese tongue, it is opening a new world of thought to the people. The statistics of this society are extraordinarily interesting as an index to the mental development of the Chinese. In 1904, they printed two hundred and twenty-four thousand copies of new books, and their reprints amounted to seventy-seven thousand. This by no means represents the total of European books circulated in China, since these publications are extensively pirated, all the best being seized upon as soon as published, photolithographed or set up anew in different type, and sold very cheaply. No less than six editions of one book were found in Hangchow at the same time, and the Society estimates that, at the lowest computation, their output is increased five times by piratical methods. The range of these books is very wide. Herbert Spencer and all philosophical works are naturally favorites, but the demand for such books as "Little Lord Fauntleroy" and "Handel's Mes-

siah" on the one hand, and for the "Review of the Times" or "Lives of American Presidents" and "Women in All Lands" (11,000 copies) on the other, shows a more catholic taste in literature than one would have expected. The great value of the publications of the society is that they are an antidote to the insidious propaganda which seeks to unduly elevate Japanese civilization, as distinct from its European prototype, and correct the superficial view of such matters gained by Chinese in their colleges or in Japan.

While Europe and America must acknowledge that they were in certain respects unsuccessful in their attempts to rouse China from her centuries of sleep, and that the example, as well as the precept of Japan, is having a greater effect, yet both Chinese and Japanese need to be reminded that without the West the Far East would still be dormant. The Chinese press, now so largely dominated by Japan, was initiated by Europe, and the high-class popular literature of the day is also almost entirely Occidental in its origin. The testimony of Chinese themselves to the influence of this literature is of great interest, and it should spur all those who do not like to see human effort wasted to help the society which is diffusing this literature. A greater danger threatens Christian and Occidental influence in China than any mere persecution of foreigners, and it threatens to destroy the careful work of years. It is not in any feeling of antagonism to Japan that one should desire to strengthen Western influence in China, but because the present problem before the progressive Chinese is being stated to him unfairly. He should know what our civilization and religion and philosophy are before he rejects them finally. Japan, having wisely reformed herself on Western lines, retains her Oriental heart. This may be possible for China, or it may not. In any case, through press and through literature let us do our best to give her a true perspective. When we remember what power this rapidly growing press and literature have over the vast population of China, and what that power may grow to be; when we remember that our own press and literature are the models and the sources of inspiration, and that the attitude of Great Britain and the United States is eagerly watched and commented on in hundreds of these papers and publications, we shall, perhaps, realize more clearly our own responsibility.

ARCHIBALD R. COLQUHOUN.

# INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS IN PORTO RICO.

BY BEEKMAN WINTHROP, GOVERNOR OF PORTO RICO.

THE sweeping criticism implied in the title of the late General Roy Stone's article, "Our Failure in Porto Rico," which appeared in the September number of this REVIEW, as well as his inaccurate comparisons and statistics, has induced me to make a brief reply, to correct, in so far as possible, the unjust impression which the article gives of the results of American administration in this island.

Let me state at the outset that the provision of the joint resolution of Congress of May 1st, 1900, of which General Stone complained, has undoubtedly restricted the investment of American capital in large agricultural undertakings, especially in the construction and operation of sugar centrals or mills for the grinding of the cane. This resolution provides that: "Every corporation hereafter authorized to engage in agriculture shall, by its charter, be restricted to ownership and control of not to exceed five hundred acres of land; and this provision shall be held to prevent any member of a corporation engaged in agriculture from being in any wise interested in any other corporation engaged in agriculture." The construction of a sugar central, with its very expensive and complicated machinery, requires the investment of a large amount of capital. The two centrals built since American occupation, for example, represent each an outlay of, approximately, two millions of dollars. To secure a proper return on this investment, the central must be assured of an unfailing supply of cane to keep its plant in operation day and night during the grinding season. For this purpose, the control of five hundred acres of land is entirely inadequate. The modification, if not the repeal, of this restriction is desirable; and it is to be hoped that Congress will take such action during the present session.

But, however advantageous such action by Congress would be, it is by no means the legislation most necessary for the future of the island. It is far more essential that the coffee of our tropical possessions, Porto Rico, Hawaii and the Philippines, receive the stimulus of a protective duty. Again, it is manifestly unfair to place the responsibility for the commercial depression suffered in Porto Rico immediately after the Spanish War, and still felt in the coffee trade, solely upon the restrictions of this congressional resolution. Less than ten months after the American occupation, on August 8, 1899, Porto Rico was devastated by the most disastrous hurricane known in the history of the island. Probably ninety per cent.* of the coffee crop, which at that time formed the principal basis of the wealth of the island, was destroyed, and by far the greater part of the plantations was seriously injured by the uprooting of the shade-trees, under which the coffee grows, as well as of the coffee-plants themselves. In some instances, indeed, the rich soil of the hillside plantations was washed into the valleys below and only the bare rock left. Millions of dollars' worth of property of all kinds was wiped out of existence, and approximately three thousand lives were lost. Practically all the coffee-planters at that time were carrying on their operations by means of borrowed capital, the land and ripening crop being heavily mortgaged, and the proceeds used in educating their sons and daughters in Europe and in the United States, and in extending their planted acreage. The cyclone not only deprived them of the means of paying either the mortgages or the interest, but left them without a possible means of securing additional credit to repair the damage done and to plant anew. The right to foreclose mortgages was suspended for two years; but still there was no way by which the planters could secure the necessary capital, and the lack of cultivation during these years completed the disastrous work begun by the cyclone. The situation immediately before and after the war is thus described by a Porto-Rican of considerable experience:

"Not all of the planters prospered, however, during the long period of good prices. Excessive expenditures, unnecessary expansion in buying new lands, money borrowed at high interest, and other causes, principally the changing from the gold basis to silver, which apparently, but

* Report of Brigadier-General Davis, Military Governor of Porto Rico, p. 211.

only apparently, favored their interests, resulted in bad times for the planters, who found themselves involved in debt. The war came; burning of plantations was of daily occurrence, the demand from Spain and Cuba was annulled, and the price was lower than could be remembered in a generation. Hopes, however, were bright for a good crop and good prices, but the hurricane of the 8th of August brought the final collapse."*

Nor was coffee the only crop injured. Extensive damage was done to sugar-cane, cocoanut and orange trees. This disaster, however, certainly cannot be placed at the doors of the United States Government. Other causes, beyond the control of the Government, at the same time injuriously affected the industrial situation. At this time, also, the price of coffee fell, owing to the large amount of this product exported from Brazil, while the necessary readjustment of the channels of trade caused by the change of sovereignty and the loss of the free Spanish market, naturally contributed temporarily to retard the industrial progress. Not only is it manifestly unfair, therefore, to contrast the conditions existing in Porto Rico under the Spanish and American rules by a comparison of the value of the exports for the two years prior to American occupation with those for the two years immediately subsequent, as General Stone apparently attempted to do at the beginning of his article, but these figures themselves are misleading. He states the "value of merchandise exported from Porto Rico for two years before the American occupation, $36,051,632; same for two years after occupation, $16,769,040." Now, the value of the exports for the two years prior to the American occupation is here expressed in silver, while the exports for the two subsequent years represent gold. Brought to the gold standard, by taking the generous basis at which the Spanish "peso" was redeemed by the United States Government, the correct figures as shown by custom-house statistics should be $22,548,805 for the years 1896 and 1897, as compared with $16,769,040 for 1899 and 1900; a showing which is not so damaging when one considers that, immediately prior to the American occupation, two-thirds of the total value of the exports consisted of coffee, which, as has been stated, was almost entirely destroyed by the hurricane of 1899. It was due to this disaster that the exports declined from $10,156,541 in 1899 to $6,612,499 in 1900.

* M. Badrena, in "The Report of the Census of Porto Rico, 1899," page 126.

The following table of the values of the exports of the three principal agricultural products of the island will show a steady and healthy increase, with the exception of the trade in coffee, of which I shall speak later:

| | Fiscal years ending June 30th. | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1901. | 1902. | 1903. | 1904. | 1905 |
| Sugar | $4,715,708 | $5,890,302 | $7,470,122 | $8,690,814 | $11,925,804 |
| Coffee | 1,678,765 | 3,195,662 | 3,970,574 | 3,903,257 | 2,141,009 |
| Cigars and Tobacco | 683,511 | 1,763,821 | 1,958,008 | 1,747,066 | 2,590,609 |
| All other Products. | 1,505,983 | 1,584,171 | 1,690,375 | 1,924,766 | 2,052,143 |
| Total Exports.. | $8,583,967 | $12,433,956 | $15,089,079 | $16,265,903 | $18,709,565 |

Comparing the two calendar years prior to the American occupation with the last two fiscal years, it will be seen that the value of the exports during the former period was $22,548,805, as compared with $34,975,468 during 1904 and 1905, an increase in eight years of over fifty per cent. During the past five years, the sugar crop has increased more than one hundred and fifty per cent., while tobacco has advanced nearly three hundred per cent. The large increase in the value of the sugar exported during the past year is due, it is true, in part, to the unusually high prices which have prevailed; still, the amount has about doubled during the past five years and now reaches more than 135,000 tons—thirty-five per cent. more than General Stone estimated. General Stone further stated that, at the present time, the island produces much less sugar "than in its palmiest Spanish days." This is incorrect. The largest amount of sugar produced in Porto Rico in any one year prior to American occupation was in 1884, when 109,000 tons were exported, or about four-fifths of last year's crop.* In 1897, the last year of Spanish rule, this amount was reduced to 63,530 tons, less than one-half of the quantity for the past fiscal year. Many more acres have recently been planted, and the sugar crop for the present year will undoubtedly be considerably greater in quantity—twenty per cent., according to a conservative estimate—although it is doubtful if it will bring as good prices. Up to the present time, but little or no attention has been given to the scientific use of fertilizers. Through systematic irrigation and fertilization the yield per acre in Hawaii has reached an average of six tons, and in some instances, in favorably situated plantations, the enormous production of fifteen

* "*Estadistica General de Comercio Exterior de la Provincia de Puerto Rico.*"

tons per acre has been reached. The average yield in Porto Rico is barely two tons per acre, but there is no reason why, with the same care given to the land as in Hawaii, the tonnage per acre should not be nearly the same. At the present time, in addition to the two centrals mentioned by General Stone, a number of mills have been remodelled and equipped with modern machinery, and two large sugar centrals are under construction on the east coast. These will, undoubtedly, do much to introduce scientific methods of cultivation.

Unfortunately, coffee has not such a bright outlook and, indeed, stands in urgent need of some measure of relief at the present session of Congress. In 1896, when the maximum was reached, 58,772,749 pounds of coffee were exported, at a value of $8,318,604 in gold. The year after the cyclone the amount dropped to 12,157,240 pounds, valued at $1,678,765, and last year the export of this product reached only 16,849,739 pounds, valued at $2,141,009. Thus it will be observed that this crop, which, prior to the cyclone, formed the basis of wealth in Porto Rico, has never recovered from the disaster, and represents now but twenty-five per cent. of its former value. This unfortunate condition is even more serious than the figures would indicate, as coffee is preeminently the crop of the small proprietor. The United States census of Porto Rico for 1899 gives the number of coffee plantations as 21,693, and the entire area planted 197,031 *cuerdas,* (a *cuerda* being practically the equivalent of an acre), an average of only nine *cuerdas* per plantation. Compare this with the United States, where in 1890 the average farm contained 137 acres, of which 78 were improved.* The extent of the coffee-plantations at that time is also surprising. According to the same census, forty-one per cent. of the total cultivated acreage of the island, nearly one-tenth of its entire area, was planted in coffee. To the small owner, the cultivation of coffee is comparatively easy. But little capital is required, provided that the planter can wait the necessary six or seven years for the trees to reach maturity. Expensive implements are not absolutely necessary, and the peon or day-laborer, with the aid of his family, can readily cultivate three or four acres, at the same time devoting a portion of the year to work on the larger plantations. Moreover, conditions of labor on coffee-plantations among

* I have not at hand statistics for 1900.

the hills and under shade-trees are healthier than in the sugar-cane fields on the coast, where there is no protection from the direct rays of the sun. Another reason for the importance of coffee to Porto Rico arises from the fact that the interior, and by far the greater, portion of the island is mountainous, and therefore well adapted to the cultivation of coffee, although not suitable for plantations of sugar-cane, cocoanuts, or Sea Island cotton. Thus, no other crop can be substituted in its place. Upon the future of this product depends the prosperity or poverty of a very great section of the country. The solution of the problem lies in an import duty of from three to five cents per pound on foreign-grown coffee. This is the greatest need of the island at the present time, immeasurably greater than the modification of the restriction upon the holdings of agricultural corporations, however advantageous such modification would be. Objection has been made that such a duty would compel a large portion of the inhabitants of the United States to contribute to the benefit of a few, as Porto Rico can at best supply but a small percentage of the coffee consumed. The Philippines and Hawaii could, however, add greatly to this supply. The greatest production in Porto Rico, in round figures, 59,000,000 pounds, can be increased several times, while it is estimated that with a protective duty Hawaii could produce upwards of 100,000,000 pounds. The Philippine Islands, with their large area, would add greatly to the supply of this product, which a few years ago ranked fourth in its list of exports,* but which has of late years been grown only in insignificant quantities. All well-wishers of Porto Rico are therefore anxiously hoping for legislation by Congress looking to the encouragement of this industry.

In addition to the products mentioned, there are encouraging signs of activity in other branches of agriculture, such as Sea Island cotton and citrus fruits. During the past fiscal year, 514,122 pounds of excellent cotton, valued at $138,386, have been exported. The cultivation of citrus fruits is still in its infancy, but there are promises of an excellent crop within the next two years. Several thousand acres are already set out in orange groves, and a small supply of excellent fruit has been produced.

It is encouraging to notice from the following tables that the balance of trade has of late been in favor of the island:

* The Census of the Philippine Islands, Vol. IV., page 76.

| Fiscal Year. | Imports. | Exports. | Excess o. Imports. | Excess oi Exports. | Tota Exports and Imports. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1901 | $9,366,230 | $8,583,967 | $782,263 | | $17,950,197 |
| 1902 | 13,209,610 | 12,433,956 | 775,654 | | 25,643,566 |
| 1903 | 14,449,286 | 15,089,079 | | $639,793 | 29,538,365 |
| 1904 | 13,169,029 | 16,265,903 | | 3,096,874 | 29,434,932 |
| 1905 | 16,536,259 | 18,709,565 | | 2,173,306 | 35,245,824 |

In view of General Stone's remark that the country is "poorer than ever," it is interesting to compare the total trade of the island for the past few years with statistics for the three years prior to American occupation. The value of the total exports and imports for these years was as follows: 1895, $19,946,793; 1896, $22,771,474; 1897, $21,859,645. In the past eight years, therefore, the total trade of Porto Rico has increased over sixty per cent. For the fiscal year just concluded, the figures are the highest reached in the history of the island.

It is true that there are but few railways in Porto Rico, but more has been accomplished than was asserted by General Stone. The American Railroad Co. has in operation approximately 171 miles of road, one-fourth having been built since American occupation. Twenty-seven additional miles of road are now under construction by this company and will be completed within a year. Short electric lines have also been built between San Juan and the town of Rio Piedras, seven miles distant, and between Ponce and its port; and two other steam-railway lines, one on the south and one on the east coast, are in process of building. The railway mileage is approximately equal to that of the neighboring island of Jamaica,* which closely resembles Porto Rico in topography, climate, latitude, area, and fertility of soil. The mileage is not great, but it must be remembered that Porto Rico is only one hundred miles long by thirty-six wide.

The statement that there are 600 deaths monthly from starvation is totally untrue. In countries such as Porto Rico, where a careful diagnosis of disease is not always made, this being the case especially in the poorer districts where physicians are frequently not at hand to attend to the sick and dying, it is somewhat difficult to refute such a fanciful statement by definite statistics of the various causes of death. It will be a sufficient refutation, however, to state that for the past fiscal year the

* Jamaica is an English colony, situated some five hundred miles west of Porto Rico, between 17° 43′ and 18° 32′ North. Its area is 4,207 1-6 square miles. Its railway mileage is 184½. Porto Rico is situated between 17° 50′ and 18° 30′ North latitude. Its area is approximately 3,606 square miles. Its railway mileage in operation is 187.

death-rate for all causes was 22.73 per thousand, a low rate for a tropical country,* and less than at any time during the ten years prior to American occupation. During the years from 1888 to 1897,† the death-rate varied from 24.6 to 34.4 per thousand, the average being 29.6. Furthermore, in spite of the steadily increasing population‡ and the greater care exercised in registering all deaths that occur, there were actually fewer deaths last year than in any year, with but one exception, since 1887. Formerly, many deaths due to uncinariasis, a disease caused by a parasitic worm, readily curable, but which in many aspects resembles starvation, were attributed to that cause. Possibly this was the case in the statement quoted by General Stone, but even this would not explain the figures. The Insular Government has recently established stations throughout the island for the treatment of uncinariasis, under the direction of able physicians, and many thousands of cures have been effected. In the months of June, July, August and September of this year, more than 16,000 cases have been treated with signal results. It cannot be denied, however, that the peon, especially in the coffee regions of the interior, is poor—indeed distressingly so; his house is badly constructed and his clothes are but scanty. Tropical fruits, especially the plantain, however, grow readily, and with but little labor a crop of potatoes or Indian corn, sufficient to keep body and soul together, can be cultivated. Not a very cheerful picture, certainly, but one which again points to the necessity of stimulating the coffee industry. The problem of uplifting and improving the condition of laborers in tropical countries, always difficult, is rendered far more serious in Porto Rico owing to the density of its population, approximately 264 inhabitants to the square mile.

At the beginning of his article, General Stone quoted an extract from "The Expansionist" of February, 1902, to the effect that "a responsible contractor of San Juan quotes common labor at thirty cents per day of eleven hours, and mechanics at one dollar." I have consulted several of the most important contractors in San Juan, and all give a much higher rate. One

* In Jamaica with considerably less density of population (189 to the square mile), the average death-rate for the years 1896–1904 was 22.1 per thousand.

† The statistics I have at hand run back only through the year 1888.

‡ The population has increased approximately 25 per cent. since 1888.

quotes unskilled labor at seventy cents and skilled labor at one dollar to three dollars and fifty cents for an eight-hour day. Another reports unskilled labor at seventy-five cents to one dollar, and mechanics at one dollar and fifty cents to two dollars and twenty-five cents for a nine-hour day. A third fixes eight cents per hour for unskilled labor, and fifteen to twenty-five cents per hour for skilled labor. The largest tobacco company in San Juan pays one dollar per day of nine hours for unskilled labor. Dock laborers receive sixteen and one-half cents per hour on regular working-days, and twenty-five cents per hour on Sundays, legal holidays and for night labor. Outside of San Juan the price of unskilled labor is lower, averaging between forty and sixty cents per day.

There is always a class of men, especially in any new field or enterprise, whose excessive optimism leads them to plan alluring projects, and in their forecast to show a magnificent disregard for the obstacles and difficulties which must be overcome before success is attained. Sooner or later, but inevitably, their iridescent bubble of optimism is pricked. Porto Rico was no exception. When General Miles landed in Guanica on July 25th, 1898, there were those who, without knowledge or experience of the natural conditions in the tropics, climatic and otherwise, imagined that the island would immediately leap forward into untold prosperity, and that there would be a tremendous "boom," a condition that is frequently dangerous, often artificial, and always disastrous when the reaction sets in. That there was no such boom is due principally to the ravages of the hurricane; but the disappointed expectations have led to the charge that the United States has failed in Porto Rico. The foregoing statistics will prove that there has been no failure. With the exception of coffee, there has been a steady and natural advance along all industrial lines. The following translation of an extract from the annual report of the President of the Porto-Rican Chamber of Commerce, Señor Manuel Paniagua, for the year 1904, illustrates the opinion of a prominent and capable Porto-Rican on the industrial condition of the island:

"The financial situation of the island, as I said before, has improved greatly in comparison with preceding years, and the future now appears brighter. But one cloud on the horizon of our prosperity prevents its becoming instant and complete. This cloud is the coffee crisis. If, in

their struggle for existence, the coffee-planters manage to hold their own during the time necessary for the production and the world's consumption to counterbalance each other, or, until the United States Congress no longer delays in granting tariff protection, the coffee industry of our island will have been saved, and we may then congratulate ourselves upon our complete economic welfare."

I have spoken only of industrial conditions, but much has been accomplished in other ways. Peace and order prevail; justice is amply provided; the courts are honest and free from personal or political influence; civil and criminal codes, based upon statutes in force in the United States, have been introduced; 275 miles of first-class macadam roads have been built, as contrasted with 166 miles constructed under the previous régime. Sixty-two public-school houses have been built or are under construction. These are much needed, none having been built prior to American occupation. More than double the number of children are being educated; more than double the number of teachers are employed, and more than double the number of schools maintained.* In fact, with protection to coffee, and with the repeal or the modification of the restriction of which General Stone so bitterly complained, the industrial development of Porto Rico seems assured. Its fertile soil and abundant rainfall, its beautiful scenery and magnificent winter climate, and its location on the direct line of commerce to and from the Panama Canal, all promise well for the future. It is too much to hope for immediate and universal prosperity, but the island is rapidly emerging from a most serious crisis, and is now on a firmer economic basis than ever before.

BEEKMAN WINTHROP.

* June 30th, 1898—Schools maintained, 551; school-children enrolled, 25,644; average attendance, 18,243; teachers employed, 551. (Report of Brigadier-General Davis, Military Governor of Porto Rico, May 9th, 1899—May 1st, 1900.) 1905—Schools maintained, 1,104; school-children enrolled, 68,855; average attendance, 45,201; teachers employed, 1,210.

# THE HUNGARIAN EMIGRATION LAW.

BY BARON LOUIS DE LEVAY, EX-M.P., ROYAL COMMISSIONER OF EMIGRATION.

THE emigration policy of the Hungarian Government and the administration of its emigration laws have recently been the subject of much misrepresentation by a portion of the American press. They have been discussed in a manner calculated to bring Hungary and her people into disfavor in America, and to disturb the cordial relations existing between the United States and the Kingdom of Hungary. Falsely colored reports have been industriously circulated, to the effect that the Hungarian Government is applying the emigration law solely with the purpose of encouraging emigration in the interest of the Cunard Line. Newspapers hostile to Hungary have degraded themselves by the absurd and wanton statement that Hungary is making use of her emigration law to rid herself of undesirable elements of her population, and to disgorge her criminals, wastrels and proletarians.

The time has clearly come to contradict these and similar misrepresentations, by a public declaration of the motives which have induced the Hungarian Legislature to regulate emigration by law, and to make it possible that it should be conducted *viâ* Fiume; and it is earnestly hoped that, by a plain and candid explanation of the emigration laws and the circumstances which have led to an arrangement with the Cunard Company, the maliciously disseminated and palpably false representations may appear in their true light and colors.

The number of emigrants from Hungary to the United States during the last two decades of the nineteenth century, and as late as the year 1899, averaged from twenty to thirty thousand annually. It then increased, in a sudden and most surprising way, to more than sixty thousand, and in 1903 even rose to 120,000.

The emigration movement began toward the end of the seventies. The Hungarian Legislature tried then to check it; and, with that intent, passed the law of 1881, which was primarily directed against the mischievous practices of Continental shipping agents, who had already manifested a lively activity in Hungary.

This law, however, proved to be inadequate. The agents of the shipping enterprises that were then rapidly developing continued to multiply, and they made their bold alertness felt through an increasing emigration, although, to check it, the Government forbade advertisements of shipping companies, and warned the people against the misleading economical promises of the agents. These preventive measures of the Government were thwarted by the greed and cunning of the agents, who, in shipping emigrants, made a double profit of which the commission usually was the smaller part, being greatly exceeded by the profit accruing from a shameful plundering of emigrants on their journey from the borders of the Monarchy to the northern ports. It would lead us too far if we should begin to quote individual cases, and to bring to public notice every abominable artifice of the secret agents and their accomplices. They resorted to every expedient by which they could ship the largest possible number of emigrants, and hesitated at no desperate device by which they could rob them of their savings on their journey through the European Continent. Many and pathetic are the instances in which, wretched and deceived, the poor people, without reaching the ship which was to convoy them to the promised land, have been obliged to turn home again robbed of all their little possessions.

From the many tricks practised by agents, and by subagents in their service, we will select those only by which emigrants, instead of being sent directly to the port of sailing, were under fraudulent pretences detained upon their journey. They were held in small cities and taken to places of notorious repute, where they were swindled out of their money under innumerable pretexts, one of which (often put into practice) was to make the unfortunate dupes believe that they had to submit repeatedly to medical examinations, at which usually some quack—often the nearest railroad carrier—posed as the physician, and shared his honorarium, frequently amounting to twenty or twenty-five florins, with the impostors.

These intolerable conditions reached a climax in 1901 and 1902. The country, which is far from being overpopulated, lost every year more than one hundred thousand of its people, and called urgently for relief from the daring activity of foreign agents and their native accomplices—the latter often being saloon-keepers and store-clerks recruited from the ranks of the impecunious country population. The relief came with the law of 1903, sanctioned by the Crown, which furnishes the Government with the means to restrict emigration (as far as possible), and to lead the inevitable current of emigration into a channel that would enable the Government to remove entirely the abuses from which the country and the people have so sorely suffered.

On the formulating of the law of 1903—the drafting of which was preceded by a thorough study of the emigration laws of foreign countries—there were, among the members of the Legislature, as well as among the organs of the press, many who, in accordance with public opinion, demanded that the emigration evil should be radically ended by a formal prohibition. However much such a radical remedy might be demanded by the economical interests of Hungary—for Hungary loses taxpayers by the emigration, and does not give up to America a superfluity of labor, but rather such as could very profitably be employed at home—it could not be expected, consistently with the liberal principles of our State Institutions, that such an effective but reactionary measure could be taken into serious consideration by well-advised statesmen. The principle of personal liberty, maintained by us, absolutely excludes a general prohibition of emigration. In some form, however, an effective check to emigration is the ultimate problem, to be solved in time by carefully conceived and arranged economical and industrial enterprises, which will offer to the people avenues to those higher wages which at present are looked for beyond the sea. Until such an economical process matures, emigration must be immediately regulated in such a manner as will subserve the best interests of the population.

This regulation was defined in the law of 1903. The provisions of the law are twofold. It contains enactments whose object is, when feasible, to prevent emigration and to protect the people from the fever of emigration; it also aims at securing the moral and material interests of those persons who have finally made up their minds to emigrate.

Following this classification, we point, in the first place, to those provisions of the law which oppose or limit emigration. The following persons are forbidden to emigrate: parents who have not made provision for those whom they may leave behind; male minors who have not the consent of their parents, and female minors unaccompanied by a trustworthy and responsible person. Emigration is denied to persons who have not sufficient means at their disposal, or who, in some other respect, cannot comply with the conditions imposed for the admission of emigrants by the country of their choice. These provisions, by which the laws of the country of immigration are respected, require the strictest inspection also in the interest of the emigrants themselves, who are in this way protected against the harm which might ensue if, after arriving at their journey's end, they should be sent back as undesirable immigrants.

Emigration is absolutely forbidden to persons who have been criminally sentenced or who are under criminal investigation, and a mere reference to this legal provision should suffice to silence the absurd and flagitious tales which charge the Hungarian Government with a sinister attempt to get rid of criminals and feeble-minded persons by means of the emigration law. Emigration is forbidden to criminals and to the weak-minded. A rigorous observance of this interdict is guaranteed by the legal provision by which every emigrant is required to take out a passport expressly mentioning the country to which he intends to emigrate. Such passports can be obtained only by persons against whom there exists no legal interdict, or cause for restraining their liberty to emigrate.

The law further takes into consideration the restraining of individuals who attempt to propagate the emigration idea among the people.

It places an interdict upon speeches in public meetings recommending emigration, and upon advertisements, placards and notices in newspapers having the same object. Transgressions of these interdicts involve a penalty of two months' imprisonment and heavy fines. Like punishments are visited upon shipping companies, agents and private persons who, without the permission or knowledge of the Government, seek to promote emigration. Finally, we may lay special stress upon that legal provision by which individuals are forbidden to emigrate under

promises of free or reduced passage made by a foreign country, a colonial company, or a private person.

The facts here given prove conclusively that the Hungarian Government, in its efforts to check emigration, from which its own country suffers irreparable economical and moral injury, has gone to the extreme limits of a free state against its free citizens. It is also patent that the Hungarian Legislature was not animated in its endeavor merely by a regard for the interests of its subjects, but that it was also anxious to respect the laws of foreign Powers, especially those of the United States.

It would unnecessarily weary the reader, should we mention all the measures taken by the Hungarian Government to secure strict compliance with its emigration laws. Suffice it to state that, for the purpose of watching emigration, a governmental frontier police has been organized, which at Fiume, and at all railroad crossings reaching beyond the borders of the country, subject emigrants to a rigorous examination, to ascertain whether every one who is bound for the North-American Union has complied with the legal requirements under which the United States admits emigrants into the country. It is a significant fact, indicating the control exercised by the Government, that, during the last eighteen months, not less than 2,000 secret emigration agents have been dealt with according to the law, and that at present 1,500 persons are under the surveillance of the police, suspected of promoting emigration.

We will now proceed briefly to enumerate those legal provisions which, exclusive of any political tendency, have only the humanitarian object of protecting persons who have firmly made up their mind to emigrate and concerning whom no interdict or restraint of emigration exists, and to assure them safe-conduct on their journey to the port of departure. Hereto belong certain regulations to which shipping companies, as well as their representatives, must rigorously conform. Thus, for example, none but Hungarian subjects having an unblemished record can be appointed agents, and that at a fixed salary (sections 13-19), exclusive of any commission. To each agent, appointed with the sanction of the Royal Hungarian Home Department, a distinctly defined territorial district is assigned, and he is not permitted to avail himself of the intermediation of subagents.

If the instructions are violated, the Government has the right

(section 21), which in certain cases becomes an obligation, to take away the concession which had been granted, or to annul the permission to employ agents.

Apart from their fixed tariffs and time-tables, emigration transportation companies and their representatives are not allowed (sections 11, 12) to issue any publications encouraging emigration, nor to send out time-tables save to those who apply for them.

Only persons provided with a passport can take passage, and a passport is granted to those only against whom no obstacle to emigration exists.

Shipping companies carrying emigrants are legally obliged to provide accommodations adequate to the purpose. To assure compliance with this provision, the ships are frequently inspected by competent officials.

In the discussion of all questions connected with the regulation of emigration, the Minister of the Home Department is assisted by a council, the members of which are taken from the various commercial, industrial and economical concerns of the country, and strict compliance with the law is enforced by an expert especially appointed for the purpose.

The emigration law also provides for the creation of a fund, from which emigrants who have suffered some calamity that has rendered impossible their further maintenance in the country of their choice, may be furnished with assistance to facilitate their return to their homes. It is inconceivable that objection should be raised by Americans to that which provides for the return of those who otherwise would become a burden and a charge upon the United States.

The motives that prompt our countrymen to emigrate are always of an economical nature; and in the United States, therefore, they lead a life of industry and economy. When they send a portion of their savings, the fruit of hard toil and self-denying frugality, to the families left behind in the old home, they have a just claim to governmental care and protection against the subtle and insidious frauds of agents who settle among them for the purpose of arranging the transmission of money. The concentration of such transmissions of money into some trustworthy institution is, therefore, a matter from which the Hungarian Government, in behalf of the emigrants' families left behind in the old country, cannot withdraw.

Nothing now remains but to discuss section 6 of the Emigration Law, which we have reserved until the last, because that legal provision forms the basis of that arrangement between the Hungarian Government and the Cunard Line which is so much discussed and so often misunderstood. By this provision, the Minister of the Home Department is authorized to lead the current of emigration in a direction which will render possible the close and complete control of it. The evils which have been mentioned can be effectually cured by this means, and among them those primary evils from which emigrants have had to suffer on their journey from the borders of the country to the port of embarkation.

The Hungarian Minister determined to direct the emigration to the domestic port of Fiume. As soon as the resolution of the Hungarian Government became known, the shipping companies which had hitherto solicited the transportation of Hungarian emigrants submitted proposals by which, referring to the large investments connected with the enterprise, the risks, etc., they asked for a considerable governmental subvention and a guaranty of a fixed number of emigrants.

The two most prominent German shipping companies went so far as to ask, in their joint demand, for an annual subvention of 500,000 Kronen (crowns) and a guaranty of 35,000 emigrants, together with a considerable number of returning emigrants. These propositions were not considered by the Hungarian Government.

It was at this time that a proposition was voluntarily submitted by the representatives of the Cunard Line to the Hungarian Government, stating that the Company was prepared to open a "Hungarian-American Line," with Fiume as the port of departure, without any subvention or guaranty whatever.

The only surety asked for by the Cunard Line was that, in case the number of emigrants in one year was less than 30,000, the Government should contribute a sum of 100 Kronen *per capita* of the difference, to cover a possible deficit. This proviso was originally inserted in the proposition, but was later omitted.

We consider it superfluous now to recur to the misrepresentation occasioned by the proviso of a fixed number of annual emigrants, because it is omitted in the second agreement. We may, however, call to mind how Prime Minister Count Stefan Tisza, replying to an interrogatory in Parliament, declared, amid the

loud applause of the House, that the Government had no more fervent wish than to be obliged, through the turn of the tide of emigration, to pay the bonuses, and that he would put in motion every lever and engine of the State to bring the Government into that happy position.

It is unnecessary to enter into the separate provisions of the arrangement now in force. It was concluded on the basis of the emigration law and cannot contain anything contradictory to the separate provisions of the law already discussed. For a better understanding of the attitude and purposes of the Government, we may however state, in a broad and general way, that this action was by no means entirely and exclusively intended to serve the purposes of emigration, but that the Hungarian Government, in establishing a direct shipping connection with the United States, had in view the development of a closer and completer commercial intercourse with the Union. A statement of the excellent reasons for believing that such intimate commercial relation would result in great and advantageous development, would carry us beyond the limits of the present argument. Our object has been to make it clearly evident that the aim and purpose of the Hungarian Legislature and Government have been, through their emigration policy, to hold the subjects of Hungary to their own soil, without neglecting measures of precaution and protection in behalf of those who cannot resist a restless migrating craving, and finally to make those measures conform to the laws by which other Powers, and particularly the United States, regulate immigration.

We hope we have succeeded in bringing such incontrovertible and convincing evidence to the minds of fair-minded readers.

LOUIS DE LEVAY.

# A PLAN FOR REGULATING THE TRUSTS.

BY JOHN F. CRONAN.

THE American people have had presented to them for solution many questions of great importance, including in their scope every phase of human endeavor; and it has been their good fortune, except in rare instances, to settle such questions, and to settle them rightly, through the influence of public opinion, crystallizing into law.

Of all these questions, excepting those relating to the severance from the Mother Country and the abolition of slavery, no one of such far-reaching importance, affecting all of the people, has ever occupied their attention, or has been more likely to lead to serious results, than the question of regulating the vast aggregations of capital in the form of trusts, which seek control of all the raw and finished products entering into the daily necessities of the people and into every manner of public utility by which the wants of the people are supplied.

When a comparatively small number of men, able to control unlimited capital through combinations under the seal of the State, are permitted so to conduct their business that the public suffer and every section and class of people are compelled to submit to their exactions, it is not surprising that the people have become aroused and demand relief. State after State has recorded its protest; and the President and Congress, heeding this warning, are struggling with the problem with a view to finding a solution just alike to the people and to the interests affected. But as yet no plan providing for the supervisory control which is essential to the public interest has been presented.

In order to arrive at a correct conclusion as to how this trust question must be dealt with, we should determine what are the evils from which the people suffer through the trusts.

The first and most important evil is overcapitalization.

The second is the unnecessary and unjust degree of protection afforded the trusts through the tariff.

The third is the failure of any substantial or uniform regulation by which the affairs of the corporation are made known in annual or more frequent reports.

The fourth is the lack of any legislation affording substantial protection in the way of supervising the power against discrimination or injustice, except by the cumbersome process under the Sherman Act; while, at all stages of its corporate existence, in its dealings with the public, the trust is under the protection of the Federal Government to the moment of judicial decision declaring the trust a monopoly in restraint of trade.

There may be differences of opinion as to whether the order of classification here stated is correct from the standpoint of relative importance; but it is believed that the chief difficulty will be found to arise from the inflated and illegitimate valuation which, in the absence of supervisory control, is solely within the discretion of the promoters. The ability to fix the capitalization arbitrarily, and the necessity, once this value is fixed, to give it in the eyes of the public an actual value, necessitates the uprooting of competition and the enforcement of economies by reduction in the number and salaries of employees, and, lastly and perhaps most important, by reduction in the price of the raw material and increase in that of the manufactured article.

While the other evils in the above classification are of great importance, they are restricted in their general power to harm, as compared with the widespread injury which not only follows the creation and practical working of the combination, but in fact constitutes the real inducing motive and furnishes the temptation which leads to the merger or consolidation of interests by which the trust is created. The course here outlined, if it would not prevent, would at least aid in controlling, the evil.

It is popularly asserted that the trusts are the creatures of the tariff, but this is not wholly true. Trusts which operate in protected articles are undoubtedly benefited, but many of the great trusts are not affected by the tariff. It should not be forgotten that the people have, at all times, under their own control the power to compel such a revision of the tariff as will remove any difficulty arising from the tariff; and, though the allied

power of wealth may be able to defer such revision, it is nevertheless in the power of the voters of this country to compel such revision of the tariff as may be necessary in the public interest.

In many quarters it is asserted that the trusts are the result of an economic force, the result of natural laws, but it will be found on examination that this is not correct. The real force underlying the trusts is the desire for power and wealth which seeks to gratify itself through ability to control the raw and finished materials, whereby the market for the producer is limited while the price to the consumer is regulated.

The many business establishments which for years have flourished in this country could not be forced out of the hands of their former conservative controllers without some great and overwhelming inducement—that inducement was the power to capitalize at the will of the promoters of the trusts. So that, granting the force of the contention respecting the influence of the tariff, and assuming a revision on a just and fair basis, we are still without remedy to control the creation of the trusts. The conclusion seems inevitable that, if we are able to reach a basis as to the real inducement which leads to their formation and find it is due to the failure of existing laws to exercise that supervision which would prevent the exploiters from fixing a capital at their discretion, we shall be able to strike at once at the root of the evil by compelling submission, in the first instance, to an authority which will fix the value of the corporation, or business interests to be merged, at their true value. So that if the corporation or business sought to be merged into the trust found that no substantial advantage beyond the actual value was to be obtained by turning its corporation or property over, there would be ordinarily no temptation to do so.

To make the application, let us consider what would be likely to be the answer of the president of a well-conducted and paying corporation who was invited to turn over his corporation, with others in like business, to form the trust, solely upon receiving the value thereof. As a rule, there would be but one answer—a refusal. Threats of destruction by competition might be made, difficulties there might be to face, but these are the incidents of business and usually must be met under all circumstances. The promoters of a trust will find grave, if not insurmountable, difficulties in forcing a merger or consolidation of

corporate interests, when the power to fix the capital applicable to the payment for the property to be acquired is taken from the individuals forming the trust, and placed in the hands of honest and competent men acting as a commission with full power to decide the true value of the property.

Let us consider from what source this supervisory power should come. The wide differences in the corporation laws in the various States preclude any hope of relief from that source in the absence of a constitutional amendment, and it is extremely doubtful, in view of the revenue which the various States receive from corporations, if any effective amendment to the Constitution could be adopted. The only hope of dealing with the problem, therefore, is with the Federal Government.

In taking over a corporation, but little difficulty would be experienced in determining the value of the tangible, active or live assets of the business. The difficulty comes in determining the value of the good-will, trade-marks, patents, etc. In the absence of supervisory power, the valuation of the latter elements of property is left wholly to the promoters of the enterprise. There can be urged no ground of objection to a corporation whose capitalization is restricted by reasonable and fair limitations under proper control or regulation. That is, a corporation which is honestly capitalized issues its certificates of stock, and these to the extent of the issue represent the true value of the property of the corporation. The State receives its tribute in taxation, the stockholders as a rule receive a fair return, and there is no reason for forced economies in dealing with the employees or arbitrary inflation of prices, in order to earn a dividend.

But when, in the absence of regulation, the capital has been inflated to a point many times in excess of the true value of the assets of the corporation, it is obvious that, to enable this artificial capital to net the promoters a substantial return, there must be manipulation of the price at which the products can be bought and sold, operating unjustly to the producer and consumer, and the forcing of economies resulting in many instances in the loss of employees who have been sacrificed to pave the way for dividends to give the inflated stock a market value.

This, however, is not the limit of the promoters' enterprise. They go beyond the methods here described. In the ordinary case of the shares of common carriers or *quasi*-public corporations

offered to the public through the medium of the Stock Exchange, certain regulations are prescribed requiring a sworn statement of the assets of the corporation, its earnings, and the general scope of the business, sufficient to enable a man to form a judgment of the value of the property which forms the basis of the market price from time to time. But in reference to many of these large industrial corporations a departure was made by the Stock Exchange; these corporations, being unable or unwilling to comply under oath with the requirements showing the actual value of the property and its true condition, were permitted to have their securities placed in the unlisted department of the Exchange. The real reason for declining to submit to the Stock Exchange requirements was an unwillingness to expose the inflated value placed upon their intangible assets and in many cases upon their live assets, and thus hide from the public the true value, affording an opportunity to the "insiders" to juggle with their securities and make and unmake the market price thereof. In this way, they are afforded all the advantages of the Stock Exchange, while escaping the regulations it has established for the protection of the public. Had the Stock Exchange taken an heroic stand, subordinated commissions to principle and refused its privilege of selling securities to such corporations as were unwilling to place true information as to their condition within access of the public and comply with the conditions imposed upon honest and well-regulated corporations, they would have been unable to foist their securities upon the public, and one phase of the evil complained of would have been remedied.

This branch of the matter is referred to because of the claim that the remedy lies in greater publicity in corporation matters. While this would, doubtless, afford some protection to investors and give some knowledge of the inner working of the combination, it is believed to be altogether too narrow a remedy to affect substantially the conditions which are at the foundation of the evil.

The effect of the recent suggestion of Commissioner Garfield as to a Federal license for corporations doing an interstate business would be to put the Federal Government in closer touch with the corporations, and afford the Government an opportunity to deal in many respects more effectively with the corporations than at present. But the trusts are creatures of the several States, and the plan proposed by Mr. Garfield would in no

manner prevent their formation, although it might be helpful in removing the difficulties which their existence creates. His suggestion has provoked some discussion from corporation attorneys of high standing and from trust officials. They apparently would be willing to submit to Federal regulation in accordance, for example, with the suggestion of Mr. James B. Dill, if the problem could be worked out by the passage of a law permitting corporations to be chartered by the Federal Government, under the belief that their business could be thereby so regulated as to afford full measure of protection.

The difficulty with this proposition is, in the first place, a constitutional one. It is seriously to be doubted whether the Constitution, which in its present form reserves to the several States the right to create corporate existence, does not preclude the Federal Government from exercising any powers not expressly delegated to it under the Constitution. If, for the sake of argument, it be granted that under the commercial clause of the Constitution the power to control implies a right to create, and that Congress has power to provide a law for Federal incorporation, it is very clear that the several States would be loath through their representatives in Congress to express approval of an Act which would deprive them of the revenue which by the creation of these corporations they now have. But if, upon full consideration, it were found that to provide for Federal incorporation there must be an amendment to the Constitution, the hostility of the several States would prevent its adoption.

While it is very clear from the two recent decisions of the Supreme Court construing the Sherman Anti-trust Law that, under its provisions, a monopoly can be crushed, it will nevertheless appear that that legislation has proved inadequate to cope with many of the serious phases of the difficulty. That Act was not designed to control the merger of corporations, or to have any influence upon the creation of the trusts. It seeks to prevent combinations operating as a monopoly to the public detriment, to prevent imposition; but the people have suffered as much from the existence of trusts since the passage of that Act as before; and, however well disposed the Government may be to enforce the law, it is well understood that trusts can and do thrive, and the many evils which they create continue, without exposing them to the danger of prosecution under that Act.

Some other way must be found to meet the difficulty, that will deal with the trust from the period of its formation. The means of thus dealing with the question is in the power of Congress, by the passage of an Act wholly within the scope of the commercial clause of the Constitution, regulating interstate corporations and imposing adequate penalties for its violation.

Such legislation should provide for the appointment by the President of a Federal Commission, or for the enlarging of the powers of the present Interstate Commerce Commission, to which all corporations hereafter formed to do an interstate business must first apply for a certificate of capitalization, which shall determine the value of the corporate property and fix the amount of capitalization and the method of payment for the same in the issue of bonds or stock. Armed with such a certificate of capitalization, the incorporators may apply to any State and secure a charter. No corporation thereafter formed shall have the power to transact business without such certificate. The Commission shall have the power to send for papers and to summon persons to its hearings, and to punish for contempt. No increase or reduction of the capitalization of any corporation doing an interstate business shall thereafter be made without the approval of the Commission. All corporations now or hereafter organized shall file reports annually, giving a true statement of their property and condition, in such detail as the Commission shall prescribe. All corporations doing an interstate business shall be required to have a Federal license, in accordance with the recent suggestion of the Department of Commerce.

Such commission must have the power to receive and hear complaints of unjust discrimination, and if, upon complaint, after a fair hearing, a corporation shall be found guilty of discrimination, or of fixing an unjust price or rate for its commodities or service, the Commission must have the power to impose a penalty sufficiently large to be prohibitive, with the additional power of depriving a corporation, for cause, of its right to do an interstate business by the revocation of its license.

No corporation shall have the power to lease or in any way acquire the property of another corporation without approval by the commission of the terms on which the same is acquired.

That such legislation can be sustained is made clear by many decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States defining the

powers of Congress under the Constitution to deal with interstate commerce.

The commercial power conferred by the Constitution is one without limitation, including all the subjects of foreign and interstate commerce, the persons engaged in it and the instruments by which it is carried on; and while these powers are stated in broad and general terms and with no attempt to formulate a detailed code, "they possess an elasticity responsive to judicial interpretation, capable of adaptation to the needs of the people as evolutionary changes may require."*

Senator Knox, when Attorney-General, speaking of the power of Congress, said:

"If Congress, under the power to regulate interstate commerce, may utterly destroy a combination and forfeit its property in interstate transit, as the Sherman Act provides, it seems reasonable to say that it can, in the exercise of the same power, deny to a combination whose life it cannot reach the privilege of engaging in interstate commerce, except upon such terms as Congress may prescribe to protect that commerce from restraint. Such a regulation would operate directly upon Congress, and only indirectly upon the instrumentalities and operations of production."

And the late Senator Hoar, speaking of the power of Congress to deal with the subject, said:

"This bill depends for its validity on the constitutional power of Congress to regulate international and interstate commerce. It exercises that power by prohibiting artificial beings created by a power other than its own from engaging or continuing in such commerce, except on certain strict conditions."

It is believed that the legislation proposed will effectually control the situation, and that the immediate effect will be to prevent mergers resulting in these huge trusts. This step being gained, the avenues of trade will be left open for that orderly and healthy competition which is the life of trade; and, under its stimulus, this country will be able to maintain its position in the front rank of commercial Powers.

The aim of the proposed legislation is not radical or revolutionary. Its main principle has been in force in many States,

* Sherlock *vs.* Alling, 93 U. S., 99; Addyston Pipe Co. *vs.* U. S., 175 U.S., 211; Gibbon *vs.* Ogden, 9 Wheat., 1; Kidd *vs.* Pearson, 128 U. S., 120; Brown *vs.* Maryland, 12 Wheat., 419; *In re* Debs, 158 U. S., 564.

notably in Massachusetts, in the power vested in the Boards of Railroad Commissioners and Gas and Electric Light Commissioners, not only to fix the issue of capital but also to exercise general supervision. The Railroad Commissioners have authority to recommend as to rates for transportation, with the right to appeal to the Legislature if such recommendations are not adopted; while the Gas and Electric Light Commissioners have full authority to fix the price charged for lighting.

The public demand and must have relief, and we should approach the question of solving the difficulty in a fair and candid spirit, not in a spirit of reprisal as some would exhort—as, for example, the suggestion of a concerted withdrawal of deposits from the Banks and a sale of all stocks and bonds. The problem is a difficult one, but it should not on that account be avoided.

If it shall be said that the legislation above outlined is limited in effect and applies only to trusts doing an interstate business, the answer is that it is only when the trust attains the dignity of entering the larger field of operations constituting interstate commerce that its power to harm becomes so general as to cause widespread injury to the public.

If it shall be urged that such legislation seeks to centralize the powers of Government, the answer is that there is no other plan proposed which will not only control, but will also tend to prevent the existence of, the trusts.

It is better that the Government should be strengthened, even at the expense of the criticism of centralization, than that the people shall be subjected to injustice; far better a Government of the people strong and resolute, than weak and inefficient.

The main proposition requiring supervision will doubtless meet with criticism, chiefly, however, it is believed, from two sources. Those who see at once that the unlimited power of exploitation which the trust promoters have been able to exercise must thereafter be subjected to supervision, will claim that the plan involves an unnecessary restriction upon the development of capital and business. But the necessity for curtailment of this power has been made so apparent in a recent special message of the President to Congress, and in other ways has become so obvious, that the argument will be powerless to influence a fair and reasonable mind. The second source of criticism will doubtless be found among the adherents to the strict doctrine of State

rights; but reflection will show that no power of the State is invaded, and that there is no legitimate basis for the contention that the proposal in any way involves the rights of the State.

The delegation to a commission of authority to impose penalty for discrimination will, it is believed, provoke more serious opposition; but, looked at squarely, from the standpoint of justice, the objections can be met and answered. The trusts seek and secure from the Federal Government, as they are entitled to do, full measure of protection for their property in transit. Against whom is this protection sought? From the overt acts of the people, the very source from which the Sovereign receives its power. The Government stands, then, between the trusts and the public, with corresponding duties and obligations. What is the measure of such duties? To protect the interests of each. If, then, the corporation seeking protection from the Government in the proper conduct of its business is guilty of injustice to the public, the Sovereign would be impotent and wholly inefficient if it were not able to discharge these correlated duties. The people, from whom the Government receives its authority, complain of discrimination or undue exaction. The charge, after a fair hearing, is found by the Commission to be true. The body created to represent the Government has been clothed with authority to impose a penalty, and it is conjuring with the very objects of government to assert that that Government is powerless to act and administer justice in accordance with the obligation resting upon it. Shall we say that, while reaching out with one hand to protect the corporation, it cannot with the other prevent that same corporation from doing injury to the people, whom, in the exercise of its sovereign power, it has restrained from doing injury to the corporation, the very agency causing the injustice.

We have the right to regulate these corporations when necessity demands; if they decline to submit to regulation, they must cease to exist. Trusts are not necessary evils, they are not necessary at all; and the sooner the sovereign power of the Federal Government is asserted, that the octopus of wealth may not enthrone itself in the Hall of State, the better.

JOHN F. CRONAN.

# AMERICAN DEMOCRACY IN THE ORIENT.

## A REPLY TO THE RT. REV. BISHOP BRENT.

BY JOHN FOREMAN.

WHEN I was in the Philippines in 1904, my American friends, from time to time, asked me: "Have you met Bishop Brent? Charming man! you ought to know him." I wish I had had that good fortune, but circumstances prevented it; otherwise it is possible that mutual sympathy would have inclined him to a more generous consideration of me in his article in this REVIEW, or even, perhaps, have led him to ask me for an explanation of what he chooses to denounce as historical inconsistencies.

We are told that my article published in "The Contemporary Review" is an unsparing attack on the whole American régime in the Philippines." As a matter of fact, it makes no allusion to that portion under military administration. The many encouraging and sympathetic letters which I have received, since I wrote the article, from Americans holding important official posts in the Islands, induce me to believe that I am not alone in regarding it as a fair, if perhaps too spirited, exposition of the true condition of affairs at that time. Nevertheless, I regret having written it, because it seems to have aroused that extreme sensitiveness in the American character of which I had no previous cognizance. I have too many friendships in America, some of twenty years' standing, to desire to create animosities.

The chief points noted as inaccuracies are as follows:

(1) "He says (p. 392) that, in August, 1898, 'every belligerent on the Spanish side in the Luzon provinces (and these belligerents numbered about 11,000) was a prisoner of the rebels.' In his book (p. 620), he states that, on August 13, 1898, the date of the capitulation of Manila, 8,000 Spanish soldiers were prisoners in the hands of the revolutionary forces and 2,400 in the

hands of the Americans. The two statements are irreconcilable." I will now show that the two statements are quite reconcilable. Every one (in the Philippines, at least) understands the expression, "the Luzon provinces," to mean all the Island of Luzon outside the capital of the Colony. My book states as follows:

"The approximate number of European Spanish troops in the Archipelago, during the year 1898, would stand thus:

| | |
|---|---|
| Total of troops under General Primo de Rivera in January, 1898, say | 25,000 |
| Shipped back to Spain by General Primo de Rivera in the spring | 7,000 |
| At the date of the Capitulation of Manila: Prisoners in hands of the rebels | 8,000 |
| Detachments in the Luzon provinces (subsequently surrendered to, or killed by, the rebels) | 1,000 |
| Killed or mortally wounded in general combat | 1,000 |
| Wounded and diseased in Manila hospitals, | 2,600 |
| Approximate total in Visayas and Mindanao (General Rios' jurisdiction) | 3,000 |
| Approximate total of able-bodied troops in Manila, prisoners of war (to America) up to the 10th of December, 1898." | 2,400 |
| | 25,000 |

The above statement accounts for about 8,000 *regular troops* in the rebels' hands; but the rebels held, moreover, about 3,000 belligerents who were not soldiers, and therefore could not be included in the above statement. No one ever did, or will, know the exact number of these. They were civilians (chiefly Spanish civil servants of all grades), who had either volunteered or had been compelled by circumstances to bear arms against the rebels. I submit that the two statements are correct and consistent.

(2) "To what does our writer refer," asks Bishop Brent, "when he says (p. 393): 'For several weeks after the defeated army had embarked and the last vestige of Spanish authority had disappeared from Luzon, Aguinaldo's army still occupied positions around the capital. A provisional government was established at Malolos'? The statement, as Mr. Foreman puts it, is, historically speaking, nonsense." I will proceed to show that it is sense. In the military meaning, an army is a body of men armed for war. In the spirit of Article 8, of the Capitulation of Manila, the defeated army was still an army. At the same date, the prisoners held by the rebels (permanently dispossessed of their arms) had long since ceased to be an army in the military sense. The "defeated army," at that date, was that which surrendered to the Americans. Under Article VI. of the treaty, the prisoners of

war, on both sides, were released on the signature (not the ratification) of the treaty. The "defeated army" was free to embark from December 10, 1898. The embarkation commenced in the first week of January, 1899, in the steamer "Leon XIII." Hostilities between Filipinos and Americans broke out on February 4, but the Filipinos did not instantly abandon their positions around Manila. The last vestige of Spanish authority disappeared from Luzon on August 13, 1898. Aguinaldo's government was established in Malolos on September 15, 1898. As late as January 17, 1900, a party of about 300 prisoners (in the hands of the rebels) reached Manila from Batanges. Bishop Brent does not distinguish between the defeated army which embarked with its arms, and the prisoners (of the rebels) who had long since ceased to be an army. I maintain that, for several weeks after the defeated army proceeded to embark, Aguinaldo's army held positions around the capital. The period in question was from the first week of January up to the second week of February, 1899.

What remains of Bishop Brent's strictures on my article is, in part, too trivial to merit refutation and, in part, a matter of different appreciation, and I will only refer to one point, of no importance in itself, but illustrative of the disputant's paucity of knowledge of pre-American Philippine matters on which he is a self-constituted authority. He does not like my expression, "the formidable band of highwaymen," and says they "*always have been* and are now called '*ladrones.*'" The fact is that "ladrones" (thieves) never had any special signification beyond the simple meaning *thieves,* before the American occupation. The word "*ladrones,*" in the sense in which it is now applied, is an American adaptation; the equivalent, in Spanish times, was "*bandidos*" or "*tulisanes.*" In like manner, the word "*hombres*" (men), as used by the American-Manila journalists, is an Americanism, which, I understand, signifies the lower-class or the riffraff. Its nearest equivalent used by the Spaniards was "*taos.*"

The sterling qualities of Bishop Brent, of which I have heard so much, preclude all thought of malicious intent in his attack on me. He is, naturally, an interested party in the continuance of American empire in the Philippines, whilst I have no private interest one way or the other, although I am of opinion that if American direct control were now withdrawn chaos would follow.

JOHN FOREMAN.

# WORLD-POLITICS.

LONDON: ST. PETERSBURG: PARIS: WASHINGTON.

---

LONDON, *December, 1905.*

MR. BALFOUR, as I write, is placing his resignation in the hands of the King. The climax, therefore, so much overdue, has come at last; and the manner of its coming, like almost every other development of the Balfourian tactics, has been surprising only in its insipidity. A lamer departure from office no man ever made; the Government ship sinks—in dock. I propose to review very briefly the incidents and motives that have combined to produce this singularly uninspiring result.

In the middle of November the National Union of Conservative and Constitutional Associations held its annual conference at Newcastle. These Associations are the local clubs and organizations of the Conservative Party throughout England and Wales. It is in only a limited sense that the yearly Conference can be said to speak for the whole Conservative Party. Scotland sends no delegates, neither does Ireland; and there are, I believe, scores of Conservative Associations in England that have not joined the National Union. Besides, the Conference has acquired practically none of the power and authority of an American Convention. Its proceedings are purely deliberative. It may pass, but it cannot enforce, resolutions. The Party leaders have never regarded it as more than a consultative body. The fact, therefore, that the Convention has voted in favor of a certain policy does not imply that that policy will find a place on the official Party programme.

Nevertheless, so great a body of Conservatives from all parts of the country, representing all that is most loyal and influential in their respective localities, cannot meet without exercising an authority that may be none the less effective for being informal and indirect. Some of the twelve hundred delegates were the paid

agents and secretaries of local Conservative associations, but the majority of them, as is always the case in England on such occasions, were men of substance and leading in their neighborhoods and strongly attached by sentiment and conviction, but by no mercenary tie, to the Conservative cause. All of them were in the closest and most constant touch with local opinion, and their speeches and actions might therefore be rightly taken as reflecting the views of the rank and file. I was told by one who was present that ninety-nine out of every hundred delegates were overwhelmingly in favor of Mr. Chamberlain and Protection, and that, had Mr. Balfour gone half-way to meet them, he would have been greeted with an enthusiasm that might in a moment have transformed the Party fortunes. The proceedings of the Conference justified both statements. All the resolutions adopted were in favor of a forward fiscal policy embracing the taxation of food and Colonial preference. A resolution, claiming that there was no difference between Mr. Balfour's policy and Mr. Chamberlain's, was withdrawn; and an amendment, "cordially supporting" Mr. Balfour's scheme of Retaliation, found a seconder with the greatest difficulty and was ultimately rejected by 1,197 votes to 3. On the same evening Mr. Balfour addressed a mass-meeting of the delegates. So long as it was thought that he might yet toe the Chamberlain mark, the applause was continuous and encouraging. Directly it was seen that he had no intention of advancing beyond his chosen ground, murmurs began to be heard, listlessness succeeded, and the Prime Minister ended his speech utterly out of sympathy with the great majority of his audience. His appeal to them was to concentrate on that part of fiscal reform on which they were all agreed—his own policy, namely, of Retaliation.

Mr. Balfour's appeal was answered on November 21st by Mr. Chamberlain at Bristol and answered only to be disowned. "You must not," said Mr. Chamberlain in the course of one of the most vigorous and "forcing" speeches that even he has ever delivered, "you must not ask the majority, be it nine-tenths, or, as I think, ninety-nine hundredths, to sacrifice their convictions to the prejudices of the minority. No army was ever led successfully to battle on the principle that the lamest man should govern the march of the army. I say you must not go into the battle which is impending with blunted swords, merely in order to satisfy the scruples of those who do not wish to fight at all." Mr. Balfour

at Newcastle declined to advance; Mr. Chamberlain at Bristol declined to retreat. The result was an internal deadlock which could only be broken by Mr. Balfour's resignation or by dissolution. Two days after Mr. Chamberlain's speech, "The Times" and "The Daily Telegraph" published articles which had been plainly inspired by either Mr. Balfour or his private secretary. The gist of them was that after the line Mr. Chamberlain had taken at Bristol the Premier had no option but to "reconsider his position." There was no difference of opinion between the two statesmen on the main issue. Both had broken with Free Trade and were bent upon bringing the edifice of Cobdenism to the ground. They differed merely as to the structure that was to be erected on the ruins of the old system.

For two or three days, then, we found ourselves in the midst of a Ministerial "crisis." Mr. Balfour, whom no by-elections had had power to move, who calmly disregarded a defeat in the House of Commons, and who had ignored or baffled the almost torrential impatience of the country to have the fiscal question brought to a vote, was now, it appeared, going to resign because Mr. Chamberlain's idea of the basis of party unity was not his. The country thought the reason singularly inadequate. The "man in the street" said plainly and emphatically that, if the confusion in the Unionist ranks was so great that Mr. Balfour, with a majority of seventy, felt himself unable to carry on the King's Government, the proper course for him to take was to wait until the Christmas holidays were over and the new registers came into force with the new year, and then dissolve Parliament. But Mr. Balfour reasoned differently. He argued that resignation would be sounder tactics than dissolution. If he resigned, the King would send for Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and commission him to carry on the Government. Sir Henry would have to form a Cabinet; the process might reveal divisions among the Liberals as serious as those that existed among the Unionists; in any case, the transfer of offices would to some extent rob the Liberals of the initiative of attack, and put them in some degree upon the defensive; attention would be so concentrated on the policy and personnel of the new Liberal Ministry that the record and the feuds of the Unionist administration might for the moment be partially forgotten. If Mr. Balfour did actually reason in some such way as this, his argument was immensely and unexpectedly reinforced by an inci-

dent that temporarily obscured even the timid chaos of the Unionist Ministry.

On November 25th, Lord Rosebery delivered a speech at Bodmin in Cornwall, in which he referred to the following statement made by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman a night or two earlier at Stirling:

> "If I were asked for advice—which is not likely, perhaps—by an ardent Irish Nationalist, I would say, 'Your desire is, as mine is, to see the effective management of Irish affairs in the hands of a representative Irish authority. If I were you, I would take it in any way I could get it. And, if an instalment of representative control was offered to you or any administrative improvement, I would advise you thankfully to accept it, provided it was consistent with, and led up to, your larger policy.' I think that would be good advice."

Personally, I took that statement to mean that Sir Henry's Irish policy would be that of taking one step at a time; that there would be no heroic legislation, no attempt to resurrect either the Home Rule Bill of 1886 or its successor of 1893; and that he desired to win the support of the Nationalists to a programme of gradual administrative reform and progressively widening liberties. That this interpretation was the right one, I have no manner of doubt. Nobody who has seen anything of the leaders of English Liberalism during the past few years can doubt that the ambition to settle the Irish problem at a single comprehensive stroke has been effectually cured. Nobody, again, can doubt that the grant of local self-government, the Land Purchase Act of 1903, Sir Horace Plunkett's movement of agricultural cooperation, and Lord Dunraven's agitation for an Irish Financial Council to control all purely Irish expenditure and for the setting up in Dublin of a statutory body to deal with the whole range of Private Bill legislation for Ireland—have altered, and indeed transformed, many, if not most, of the aspects of the Irish questions. Under these circumstances, the almost unanimous opinion of Liberals has been, for some years past, that another Home Rule Bill was an impossibility, and that the problems of Irish reform could henceforward be dealt with only in piecemeal fashion. Practically everybody took Sir Henry's statement to mean this and nothing else.

Lord Rosebery, however, detected in it a portentous significance. He declared that "the responsible leader of the Liberal Party has hoisted once more, in its most pronounced form, the flag of Irish

Rome Rule." That policy Lord Rosebery opposed on three grounds: (1) "because of high constitutional objections founded on the recent experience of foreign European countries"; (2) "because of my belief as to what will really conduce to the welfare of the Irish people itself"; and (3) "mainly for this reason, that it impairs the unity of the Free-Trade Party, and indefinitely postpones those tasks of social and educational reform on which the country has set its heart." Then came a smashing and definitive declaration: "I will refer no more to this subject except to say emphatically, explicitly and once for all, that I cannot serve under that banner." The effect of this declaration was twofold. In the first place it probably helped to convince Mr. Balfour that there was more to be gained by resignation than by dissolution. In the second place it made it impossible for Lord Rosebery to accept office in the new Liberal Ministry. But on Ireland and on the Irish policy of the Liberals it has had and will have no effect at all. That is undoubtedly the exact state of the case. The Liberals will take up the work of Irish reform where Mr. Wyndham was forced to drop it, and they will take it up, I venture to predict, in a way that will alienate neither Lord Rosebery nor the Irish Nationalists. The country has absolutely refused to be taken in by the Home Rule bogie. The election will be fought wholly on the fiscal question.

When it was known that Mr. Balfour had determined to resign instead of dissolving Parliament, discussion arose as to whether the Liberals should or should not assume office. The discussion on both sides was governed by purely tactical considerations. The opinion of the country was that Mr. Balfour ought to carry on till January and then dissolve, and that the Liberals would be thoroughly justified in declining to form a Government and in leaving Mr. Balfour with no option but to remain in office. But it was felt by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman that the confusion of the Unionists could not be better advertised than by this public confession that even with a majority of seventy they felt unable to carry on the Government for a few weeks longer; that the unity of the Liberals could not be more effectually proved than by the rapid formation of a new Ministry and by their readiness to face all the responsibilities of the situation; and that, after clamoring for a General Election for two and a half years, Liberals were bound to take every opportunity to bring one about. My own

opinion is that the country as a whole is profoundly uninterested in Parliamentary tactics of this sort. What the average practical man wants and long has wanted is a chance to express his opinions on the fiscal issue, and this chance is at length at hand.

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman will not have formed his Cabinet by the time this communication leaves my hands. I cannot, therefore, discuss its personnel. But it is safe to say it will be a strong Cabinet, with plenty of new blood in it. It is also safe to say that the General Election will take place in January and will result in a sweeping Liberal victory. It is possible that the combined forces of the Liberals, the Nationalists and the Labor men will have a majority of nearly 150 over the Unionists. But a large majority is not, necessarily, a secure and homogeneous majority. The Liberal Party, like all parties of progress, is peculiarly the prey of centrifugal forces. It never has had, and it never will have, the solidarity, the discipline and the cohesion of the Conservatives. It is a party of sections, a collection (rather than an amalgamation) of enthusiastic and determined interests, each one of which endeavors to tow the Party in its wake. That is a form of peril to which the next Liberal Government will, I imagine, be peculiarly exposed. It is twenty years since the Liberals were in power as well as in office. There is much for them to do, and they are anxious to do it. The greatest service they can render the country will be to keep in office. By keeping in office they keep the Protectionists out of it. But no Government can exist by pursuing a merely negative policy. It is when they set to work on a positive and constructive programme that the Liberals will be really tested. The Welsh faction will clamor for Disestablishment; the Nonconformists for a revision of the Education Act; the Nationalists for Home Rule; the Temperance men for an amendment of the Licensing Act; the Radicals for an attack on the House of Lords; the Labor men for a new Trades-Union Bill and for the State provision of work for the unemployed; some for the abolition of Chinese labor in the Transvaal; and others for a diminution of the Service estimates. Great firmness on the part of the leaders will be necessary if the new Government is not to fulfil Mr. Chamberlain's prediction and be "hissed off the stage in a few months." Twenty years of Unionist administration have come to an end. With judgment, courage and self-restraint, twenty years of Liberal administration should be about to begin.

ST. PETERSBURG, *December, 1905.*

THE Russian revolution is the resultant of two sets of forces, the one common to all national upheavals, and the other peculiar to the great Slav people. The more sensational aspects of the movement, its suddenness, its universality, the fanaticism of its apostles, may be traced to causes which are also operative in other nations, whereas its less striking phenomena are characteristic of the race. It would thus seem as though the spontaneous manifestations of a homogeneous and historic people were usually shaped by its racial qualities, seldom by contemporaneous events. Probably the average observer was most forcibly struck by the suddenness with which in far-distant Sarmatia, a peaceful reform movement culminated in a sweeping revolution; but the close student of Russian affairs knew that many years ago, the ground had been prepared, the seed sown, and that for some time past the fruit had been quickly ripening. The creation of an industrial population cut off from the land, the spread of general and technical instruction, the propagation of rationalistic sects, the growing misery of the peasants, the utter incapacity of the ruling classes, were among the remote causes of the unexpected upheaval. The total defeat of the army and navy was the proximate cause. To understand the working of these forces on the Slav temperament was to foresee their effect, at least in outline.

Now, the Slavs in general and the Russians in particular are idealists; they are readily capable of sacrificing personal and, still more, national interests to moral pursuits or intellectual aims. On the other hand, they are deficient in the capacity for hero-worship with which less sentimental peoples are gifted. To their faculty of repressing self corresponds a taste for criticising others, the correlate of self-effacement being the forced absorption of individualism in the mass. That would seem to be a truly Russian trait, the community being the all, and the individual merely an integral part of the whole. Hence, the fewer commanding persons there are in the Government the better, and the less often they come forward the more smoothly things move. Again, few peoples are more liable to illusions than the Russians, and this not only in virtue of ignorance which among the masses is superlatively crass, but also by reason of an inborn disposition, which may be termed invincible. Thus, from outward and fitful changes, they expect inward and lasting results; they look for the

working of form upon essence, for the influence of shadow upon substance. Those are a few predominant traits of the Russian character. And the customs of his family, the superstitions of his church, the abnormities of his administration and the history of his nation abound in illustrations of these racial qualities. To convince ourselves of this, we have only to glance at the odd contrasts between the squalid poverty of the peasants and their ruinous hospitality; between the corrupt clergy and the pious congregation; between hunger for land and communism; between a cruel exacting administration and a submissive people.

These racial traits help explain the Russian revolution.

A twelvemonth ago, hardly anybody believed it was coming. A millennium, they remarked, is just as likely. When I announced that it had already begun, people smiled, and set themselves to prove that in the Tsardom of to-day an upheaval is absolutely impossible, were it only because the army is arrayed on the side of the Autocrat. It was seemingly an unanswerable argument; but the nation answered it satisfactorily in the last days of October, while Witté and the Tsar were, so to say, wrestling like Jacob and the angel. What happened was this: The spirit of self-sacrifice prompted the Russian people to cease from all business whatever, and to say, "The Empire, and we who bear the burden of it, shall perish if the Augean stables of the administration are not cleansed. *Fiat justitia ruat imperium.*" And thereupon everything stood still, as by the waving of a sorcerer's wand. Trades, professions, callings, skilled and unskilled labor—all things were stagnant. Everybody suffered in consequence; yet nobody complained. Employers cheerfully paid their men for doing nothing, while some firms gave their employees not only the usual wages, but food over and above. People dispensed with electric light, elevators, telephones, newspapers, railway travelling, milk, water, fuel, medical advice and physic.

And yet . . . . hunger is strong: and hunger might, nay must, have prevailed, giving victory to the Autocracy if the Tsar would but wait. It was only a question of a few days. But the monarch resembled his people: he set the public weal above his personal and dynastic interests, and yielded gracefully. Or, at any rate, he declared that he did so, and that act, were it but a tribute paid to the nation's characteristic, bears out the view unfolded above. The Autocracy, had it been stern, unbending,

enterprising, would have won a victory—true, only for a time —but it would have dammed the revolutionary current for the moment. And that, after all, was the problem. The other task of prolonging absolutism for another ten or fifteen years had ceased to be soluble after the defeats at Mukden and Tsushima.

Thus the Tsardom succumbed to an anonymous movement. For there was not a single leader anywhere, nor even a prominent personage who acted any great part with the exception of Witté, and he represented the nation. It was a community advancing against its political head, and self-effacement was the maxim acted upon by both adversaries, but never formulated. Nowhere was there a great organizer, an eloquent orator, a brilliant leader. Nay, there was not even a permanent president of any of the associations which, in rapid succession, became the sources of power. It was all hive work, the units of the community laboring by instinct, without guidance yet unerringly.

Indeed, in anonymity lies the strength of the Russian revolution. In religion image-worshippers the Russians are iconoclasts in politics. A leader—nay, half a dozen leaders—had any appeared, would have been used up and discrowned since the outset of the revolution. But there is another reason why the personal element has been avoided. A demagogue would have gathered all his followers around him, and the nation would then have seen how very few are those who play the part of leaven to one hundred and forty millions. And this amazing revelation might have changed the attitude of the autocratic party, and inspired them with dash and daring. For there are only some 3,000 Social Democrats in St. Petersburg all told, and about 1,000 Social Revolutionists. A mere handful! Yet it is they who have been impersonally commanding the whole nation. Orders and programmes issued in the name of a committee, a board, a party, a group, are more readily accepted and executed than those drawn up by a fourth-rate demagogue, whose education, owing to political difficulties, has been sadly neglected.

But are there then no natural leaders of men among Russians? If there be any, the conditions for their success are inauspicious. Personally, I know one candidate. Enjoying the reputation of a writer, he recently won new laurels as a speaker, and now possesses the confidence of many as a leader. Whether he is imbued with any of the qualities needed as a chieftain of the masses during

periods of storm and stress is doubtful to me: to the thinking of his friends, he possesses them all. However this may be, it is curious to watch the veering gait, the groping movements, of this would-be guide of men. He does not go before his followers, or even his party, and lead the way: he first watches the tendency of this section and that, compares the demands of the right group and the left, weighs the personal prejudices of the fractions which bid fair to become the vanguard of the movement to-morrow, and then he enounces a tenet or utters advice which is as nearly as possible the resultant of all these forces. Such a man, were he to attempt to play Moses to the Russian people, would be swept away in a week.

This "leader," then, is manifestly led, but so is his party, so are all the moderate parties. In private, these men advance reasonable opinions and condemn the extravagant notions of dangerous day-dreamers: but in the glare of the footlights, they will advocate the doctrines which they loathe and sneer at advice which they recently volunteered. A politician whom I know personally called upon a member of the Cabinet lately, and asked him to show "firmness" to the peasants, administer justice to the landowners and to punish certain institutions and illegal associations. "But you yourself signed a petition to me ten days ago in which the things you now say were contradicted; you assured me then that. . . ." "Ah yes, I remember. Of course. Well, never believe what is set forward in a petition that I sign. For it is not my doing; it is not the handiwork even of the majority. It is drawn up by two or three. One man makes a radical proposal and looks sharply at the others, speaking boldly and gesticulating vigorously. Another seconds the motion and assumes that nobody will oppose it. The assumption acts like a hypnotic suggestion, and the proposal is accepted.

It was thus that in Tomsk the crowd of the Black Hundred was hypnotized and set to burn a thousand men, women, children in the railway building and torture many of the wretched victims. It is thus that the peasants are being hypnotized who pillage the landlord's granaries, gut his house, drive off or kill his cattle, cut down his timber, remove his landmarks, seize his land, tear up his books and burn down every house and outhouse that he possesses. It is thus, too, that the working-men are being inspired against their better judgment to cease work, to smash

machinery and dry up the sources of their own livelihood. "One good result we certainly achieved," said the council of the working-men's delegates in its decree terminating the second strike, which had just proved a failure: "We dealt a terrible blow to the finances of the Russian Empire." In other words, they inflicted a serious injury on themselves. For it is by the working-man and the peasant, the caryatides who sustain the whole weight of the Empire, that the blow will be felt first, last and most painfully. But the operative has been told, as the peasant has been told, to rise against the "have-alls," and they obey joyfully, without calculating results.

A few illustrations will bring the matter home to the American reader. In Odessa, during the days of blood and fire, a frail, shrivelled, squalid Jew is seen shuffling along looking affrightedly and circumspectly around him as he goes. The street is deserted; houses are still smoking, corpses are lying unburied on steps and cobbles, the clatter of the hoofs of Cossacks' horses is heard from afar. All at once, a brawny, ruffianly-looking man comes striding down the street in the direction opposite to that from which the Jew is coming. In his hand he carries a bludgeon. His look is haggard; his eyes are bloodshot; his garments torn and blood-stained. There can be no doubt, he is one of the Jew-killers, a man of the Black Hundred, and his errand is destruction. The heart of the feeble Hebrew flutters at the sight. Death is nigh, for he cannot run; they are but a few yards apart and help there is none. But perhaps there may be hope yet? He falls upon his knees, strikes the cobblestone with his forehead in front of the heavy boots of the hooligan, and speaks: "Benefactor, Father, accept my money. Here is all I have, but for the sake of the God we both worship, spare my life. I have children and you a . . . ." "I don't want your purse; keep it." The voice was gruff, but strangely tearful. It was pitched in the key of repentance with a transitional passage to despair: the eyes were remorseful and sad. "I don't want your life, either. My God, my God! I am a murderer. Cain was not worse than I am. I have killed three children, Jewish children. Will God ever forgive me? Pray for me, brother. Something came over me and darkened my mind. I saw red. I did not see the sin. My God, be merciful!" That *massacreur* was a true Russian.

Here is another case. The soldiers of the Brest regiment in

Sebastopol are told to mutiny. They do not know why, nor from whom they have received this strange command. It is anonymous. Some marines and operatives merely shout the order, and it is obeyed unhesitatingly. The whole regiment is up in revolt. Next day the commander, Dumbadze, talks to his men, addressing his words to their consciences. A flashlight shows them what they have done and, becoming contrite, they are ready to go through fire and water to show their devotion to the Tsar. Two days later, the commander is about to fire upon the marines with whom his men had made common cause, but he first utters a few words to his soldiers: "Men, you stained the reputation of the regiment by failing in your duty to the Tsar. His Majesty, who took pride in your loyalty, was greatly grieved at the news of your defection. It is true you returned to your duty, but the memory of your insubordination is fresh. It is not, however, indelible. If your repentance is sincere, prove it. In yonder barracks are enemies of the Tsar. His Majesty orders you to bring them to a sense of their duty. Occupy those barracks by force, and you will have washed away forever the blot upon your regimental scutcheon. Forward." The men cheered, obeyed orders promptly, opened fire upon the barracks, which they took and occupied, forcing two thousand men with ten quick-firing guns to surrender. Dumbadze forwarded a graphic account of the regiment's repentance to the Emperor, who despatched a telegram warmly thanking the soldiers, forgiving their former backsliding and ordering that the unpleasant episode be struck off the rolls of the regiment.

The very marines who were thus killed, wounded or taken prisoners differed nowise from the soldiers of the Brest regiment. They, too, had been hypnotized, but there was no one to break the spell. They had been anonymously told to revolt, and they revolted. They turned their officers away, and instituted anarchy. Yet they still believed they were loyal to the Tsar! And they continued to discharge their daily duties as before. Thus the second day of the mutiny being the anniversary of the birthday of the Dowager Empress and a holiday, they celebrated it carefully and in the traditional way by church service, a Te-Deum and then a review. Several thousand of them paraded in public before a non-commissioned officer in honor of the mother of the Tsar, against whose officers and whose orders they had revolted! In truth, all that was needed was a genuine man to talk to their slumber-

ing consciences, or rather to take the scales from there eyes, and they too would have arisen and returned to their duties. For in all these cases the benighted masses are being hypnotized by a small group of revolutionists, who have assimilated a few Western ideas without any rounded beliefs or hopes, religious or philosophical—anarchy in politics and atheism in religion. But the masses believe in God, hope for a better life after this and often strive to make themselves worthy of it. Hence they are easily moved to sorrow for sin and to systematic effort at self-reform.

Anarchy, ignorance, hypnotism, are some of the explanations of the present phases of the revolution, as well as of its origin. And they also point to the manner in which it may be effectively checked. In this case, "*similia similibus curantur*" would be a most dangerous maxim to act upon. And it will not be deliberately acted upon. Not deliberately, but perhaps instinctively, spontaneously. The revolutionists, with their never-ending strikes, fierce agrarian disorders, antireligious and antipatriotic propaganda, have overshot the mark. Upon violent action, more violent reaction is following, and still worse may yet come. How it is arising, and what shapes it can assume, may be discerned from the following characteristic example.

In the village of Malinovka, the peasants killed their priest. The motive was personal, and had nothing to do with irreligion, but the revolutionists fancied it was the beginning of agnosticism and resolved to develop it. They drove the cattle into the church, slaughtered oxen on the altars, defiled the holy images with blood, tore the hide from the carcass of one of the dead animals and garmented the image of the Virgin with it. Then one of the old villagers present made the sign of the cross devoutly, and split open the skull of the sacrilegious criminal. It was done deliberately, piously, calmly. The other peasants followed his example and together they massacred over forty men.

That is but one instance of the reaction. Others may be feared and then. . . . The police, which has gained a terrible notoriety for itself by organizing the blood-baths of Odessa, Kieff and other places, is not needed to institute this kind of lynch law. The popular impulse is spontaneous, strong and infectious. I know a case in which liberal landowners and enlightened peasants were ready to march together against the liberals of Moscow, and cut them to pieces, but were hindered by the authorities. In other

cases, they will not be stopped by anything short of force, and this the Government cannot employ everywhere simultaneously.

The revolutionists have already severely damaged Russia industrially, commercially, financially. They are working hard to ruin her economically and will probably succeed. The Government cannot raise a foreign loan. Bondholders have been madly throwing their securities on the market; gold has been leaving the country by the million daily; taxes have not been gathered; corn has not been exported; manors and farmhouses have been burned down by the hundred; machinery and mills have been reduced to ashes; the navy has been seduced from its allegiance; the army is being systematically demoralized; in a word, anarchy, in the fullest sense of the word, has suspended what order there was, and the nation is drifting towards ruin. The active part which the revolutionists have taken in bringing these things to pass would certainly not justify the awful vengeance which the Russian people threatens to take upon them; but it would go far to explain it.

---

PARIS, *December, 1905.*

THE real interest of French politics during the last few weeks lies, above all, in M. Rouvier's fight with the Socialist and Anti-militarist party.

The reader, no doubt, remembers that throughout the Ministry of M. Waldeck-Rousseau, and especially that of M. Combes, the Socialists were all-powerful. M. Waldeck-Rousseau had thought it a clever move to take M. Millerand—who is a man of quite exceptional abilities and who eventually proved to be a very moderate Socialist—into his cabinet. M. Millerand was the first Socialist who had the honor of receiving office, and this victory so conciliated his party that, for the first time since there were Socialists in Parliament, they consented to act with the majority, instead of sulking or clamoring by themselves. Their support caused the comparatively long duration of M. Waldeck-Rousseau's and M. Combes's cabinets, as all previous Premiers had been overthrown by a tacit agreement of the Socialists with the Anti-Republicans. On the day when M. Millerand took office, the Socialists on the one hand made up their minds to be content with the Radical policy. They dropped for the time their characteristic reforms—such as the nationalization of the railways, banks, insurance-com-

panies, etc.—and were satisfied with the war mercilessly waged throughout those six years against the Catholics, and with the constant reduction of military and naval expenditure. On the other hand, the Ministers took care never to offend these stern and fretful allies. Anticlericalism was rampant; General André disarmed much more than he armed the frontier, and M. Pelletan brought the improvement of the Navy to a standstill. Meanwhile, the tale-bearing system was organized and extended in the Army.

For six years this policy was pursued, to the universal applause of Europe. There seemed to be more stability in France than at any previous period since the establishment of the Republic. The enemies of the constitution were expelled, one after the other; and our foreign situation, thanks to M. Delcassé's efforts, seemed better than it had ever been. It is a positive fact that, eighteen months ago, war appeared to be an absurd impossibility, and M. Jaurès was no longer thought Utopian when advocating universal disarmament. The war in the Far East was an unexpected shock. Everybody felt that a spark from that fire might cause a tremendous conflagration. Yet a European war was still pronounced impossible, because too awful. Suddenly came the revelation of the delation system in the Army and of the confused state of things in the Navy. The Combes Cabinet fell with a crash, and serious anxiety spread at the notion that, *if* war broke out in Europe, we had lost all the advance which modern armies and fleets lose, like racers, in a few months' cessation of practice. One of the few ministers bequeathed by M. Combes to his successor was M. Berteaux, appointed in the place of General André.

M. Berteaux is a Socialist of considerable fortune, and a stock-broker with a curious taste for and an unquestioned acquaintance with military questions. Being both a civilian of advanced views and an amateur soldier, he was looked upon as acceptable to the Socialists and not disagreeable to the Army. Facts came soon to prove that one cannot be at once an antimilitarist with the Socialists and a soldier at the War Office.

M. Berteaux's first act was to burn all the *dossiers* sent in to his predecessor by hundreds of telltales. The second was to punish indifferently those who had been informing and those who complained aloud of having been informed on. The third was on the occasion of a strange outburst in the Chamber, when, a general amnesty having been proposed—affecting the two aforesaid cate-

gories of officers—and M. Lasies, an ex-captain in the Army, having protested against the impropriety of mixing up cowards with honorable men, M. Berteaux quitted the Ministerial bench in a rage at seeing that his colleagues apparently shared that view.

Just at that moment, the Moroccan affair had seriously clouded the horizon, and the imminence of war had committed every man to the advocacy of the extreme consequences of the principles he professed. On the one hand, we saw the shameless antipatriotic campaign which I described in my last communication. On the other, it came home to all good Frenchmen that trifling with the national defence might be a crime. M. Rouvier took sides from the very first with the so-called Militarists. The Socialist friends of M. Berteaux screamed that the Premier was betraying the Republic, as the Right supported him; and the position of the Minister of War grew exceedingly awkward.

During the Parliamentary recess, the danger of having to answer questions seeming remote, M. Berteaux took a few steps which, while calculated to please the Socialists, were very likely to bring him into difficulties. He engaged as private secretary an active Socialist, M. Maxence Roldes, well-known as a bitter antimilitarist; and, a strike at Longwy, a town near the German frontier, having made effective military interference necessary, the Minister sent this extraordinary representative of the Army to inquire into the rights and wrongs of the affair. The police inspector at Longwy, not being aware that M. Maxence Roldes's mission was semiofficial and knowing of him only as a popular agitator, shadowed him during all his stay at Longwy. Shortly thereafter, M. Berteaux in person repaired to Longwy, and actually took off his hat to a red flag carried by a procession of anarchists singing the *Internationale*. The commotion in all the moderate press was tremendous. When the Chamber met in the beginning of November, the Minister found it difficult to reconcile his exceeding civility towards the enemies of the Army with his position as chief of the Army. The Premier left him to shift for himself.

M. Berteaux then imagined a plan which was to bring a decisive change in the general aspect of the Chamber. Being a millionaire and a very influential deputy, he had been many times spoken of as a possible President of the Republic. He sought an occasion of rallying for his own exclusive benefit the old majority of the Combes government. The opportunity soon offered itself.

The workmen employed at Brest in the naval arsenal are certainly underpaid, and are in consequence almost constantly on strike. M. Jaurès and the Socialists contend that they have as much right as other workmen to strike. M. Rouvier maintains that the national defence must, on no account, be left in abeyance, consequently that the legislation as to strikes does not apply to the men employed by the State, but that the latter are not bound hand and foot, as the Chamber is the natural arbiter between them and the Admiralty. Just before this question came before the Chamber, M. Berteaux resigned his office, because the Government, he said, could no longer be regarded as Republican, and waited for the result of this very unparliamentary move.

M. Rouvier had, on one side, to stand by his patriotic policy; on the other, he had to reassure the majority, which are always extremely jealous of any alliance with the Moderates. If he succeeded, he was pretty sure of doubling the cape on the other side of which the General Election appears so near that the ordinary deputy sees nothing else. If he failed, the party of M. Combes was sure to be rallied round M. Berteaux. M. Rouvier, as usual, played his cards extremely well.

The departure of M. Berteaux left in the Cabinet a gap which it was necessary to fill with a man agreeable to the Extreme Left. The Premier chose M. Trouillot who was reporter of the Law against Religious Orders under M. Waldeck-Rousseau, and had been Minister of Commerce in the Combes Cabinet; who, in consequence, could not be suspected of lukewarmness, though his delight at finding himself once more in office could not but secure his loyalty to M. Rouvier. M. Trouillot, taking not M. Berteaux's portfolio, but that of the Minister of Commerce, a game of general post followed—a process to which we have long been accustomed—and this brought M. Etienne to the War Office. This nomination too was, from the purely governmental standpoint, very wise. M. Etienne is a civilian, and the Radicals loathe as much as the Socialists a soldier as head of the Army. On the other hand, he had professed strong sympathy with the Militarists in a Ministerial speech delivered at Toulouse, and things have come to such a pass that the Army prefers a man who never wore the uniform, but respects it, to one who understands military matters, but plays the game of the Socialists.

M. Etienne's first action as Minister of War was putting the

Commander-in-Chief, General Brugère, under arrest for a fortnight, "for making use of a private conversation." The circumstances which led up to this action need not be detailed, but the surmise may be hazarded that it was taken at the suggestion of the Premier, who, while strongly averse to antimilitarist ranting, is not slow to take advantage of an opportunity to conciliate the Socialists by showing the precedence of the civilian over the military.

This sense of the week-day policy appears also in the third move taken by the Premier to satisfy the Radicals that his majority was resting on them rather than on the Moderates. M. Rouvier has never been known to take any special interest in the separation of Church and State. Throughout the debate on the disestablishment law in the Chamber, he did not once speak a syllable either for or against it. But, just after M. Berteaux's secession, he delivered a forcible speech on the necessity of bringing the Separation Bill safely through. The next day the Chamber divided on the case of the Brest and Lorient strikers, and the Socialists found themselves with only eighty-seven votes. M. Berteaux had sided with them and has begun since to write for the "*Lanterne*," which is the most violent and one of the coarsest organs of the Socialist opposition.

It is, therefore, probable that M. Rouvier will be in office when the Presidential election takes place, and unless the new President happens to embody a very different policy from his, the Chamber will be too anxious about the near future, *i. e.*, the General Election, to venture on any disobedience. They know that there is no hope of salvation for the unfortunate deputy who does not go home with the aureole of Ministerial favor. Very few will run the risk of incurring the Premier's displeasure, and M. Rouvier's position seems as strong as ever.

The Presidential election takes place at the end of January or very early in February, immediately after the partial election of the Senate, a third of whose members are submitted to re-election. About January 10th, the Chamber meets and elects its President for a year. It is evident that the result of this election will foreshadow the more important one coming so soon after. It has at all times considerable significance. The election, last year, of M. Doumer,—who had been waging merciless war against M. Combes—soon brought about the fall of the Cabinet. Govern-

ments always dread a manifestation of opinion in which,—the ballot being secret,—no amount of browbeating avails. Now M. Doumer is so far almost the sole candidate to the succession of M. Loubet who does not conceal his ambition. Everybody knows that this gentleman left his situation as Governor of Indo-China, resumed his seat in the Chamber and—almost surreptitiously—wriggled himself into the Presidency of the Palais-Bourbon, merely because he thought to slide easily and naturally from that eminence to the long-coveted Elysée. If he succeeds in retaining the lesser presidency, he will stand a good chance of rising twenty days later to the higher. If he fails in the Chamber, he cannot even think of contesting the Elysée. His chances are as follows. He is comparatively young—just turned fifty-six—strong, energetic, altogether a self-taught and self-made man, lucky throughout his whole career. His opinions are very much those of M. Rouvier. On the other hand, his ambitions are a little too well known; he is most unacceptable to the Radical party; he seceded from the Free-Masons at the time of the delation affair, and, in return has been excommunicated by his Lodge—a serious matter for a politician; finally, he has not been remarkable as President of the Chamber. His chief chance of reelection in the Chamber and of eventual success at Versailles lies in the similarity of his views with those of the present Premier. His election as President of the Republic would be a triumph for the Moderates, and would bring the progress of the Radical policy to a standstill.

Another probable candidate is M. Fallières, the present President of the Senate. M. Fallières would not make a very impressive President of the Republic. Whoever has seen him ensconced in his chair, with all the drowsiness of the place collected about him, or standing bulky and round-shouldered and purring some paragraph of the Bill under discussion, finds it difficult to imagine him at the Elysée, otherwise than as a too faithful replica of Grévy of hazy memory. Only, M. Loubet was President of the Senate when he was chosen by the Congress, and it seems natural that the man in possession of the second magistracy in the Republic should be raised to the first. It is also natural that, in a country where the Executive is entrusted with little more than nominal power, the all-mighty legislators and electors should prefer a man who will never stand in their way.

I spoke in my last letter of M. Léon Bourgeois as a dangerous

outsider. He still continues to be one. He is an ex-Premier and ex-President of the Chamber; he is, with apparent moderation, a man of advanced opinions and a confirmed anticlerical, a gifted orator and an exceptionally dexterous leader. Only a few months ago, he was offered the post of plenipotentiary to Berlin, when the appointment meant that the fate of France was placed in his hands. He is not a forgotten man, and my firm belief is that, if he lately sought, and easily got, a seat in the Senate, it was to make himself forgotten, not by his friends, but by his enemies. If he runs against M. Doumer, the chances must be in his favor.

The last, certainly not least, though so far quite unexpected, candidature is that of M. Loubet himself. Months ago, the President stated his firm intention of not standing again, took a flat in the rue Dante, and had his private furniture removed from the Elysée. Nobody thought of considering the advisability of urging him to remain, when a local paper in his native Drôme—not favorable to him—suddenly declared itself in possession of proofs to the effect that the President had made up his mind not to go. An official paper immediately contradicted the statement, but since that day, nobody speaking openly of the Fallières or Bourgeois candidatures, and Clémenceau having opened fire on M. Doumer, the possibility of reelecting M. Loubet appears greater every day.

---

WASHINGTON, *December, 1905.*

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S fifth annual message will be read with interest abroad, not only for his extended exposition of what, he thinks, ought to be his country's foreign policy, and of the military and naval forces needed to uphold it, but also for the indication of the present Administration's attitude toward tariff reform, and toward the attempt to recover for the United States their former large share of the world's carrying trade. To touch, first, the two latter points of the message, we presume that nobody will infer from the President's reference to the subject that any very strenuous attempt will be made by him to modify the schedules of the Dingley tariff, except in their relation to the Philippines, during the life of the Fifty-ninth Congress. Mr. Roosevelt has learned by experience the expediency of trying to do but one thing at a time, and his primary aim within the field of domestic politics is to secure, during the present session of the Federal

Legislature, the passage of a bill conferring on some administrative body the power of making rates for railways. He evidently thinks that tariff revision can wait, though he does not say so in so many words. What he does say embodies a somewhat tardy but welcome recognition of the fact, too often overlooked, that the attainment of a perfect tariff is a counsel of perfection, unsuited to practical politics, and that the friction, agitation and apprehension inseparable from an effort to compass ideal equity and justice do more harm by unsettling business than a tariff notoriously defective in some particulars. He recognizes at last that there is more need of stability than of a struggle to reach absolute faultlessness in the methods of raising revenue; and that the shock and strain to which industrial and commercial interests are subjected by any serious change in those methods render such change inadvisable, unless for grave reasons. Apparently, the President is not convinced that such grave reasons now exist. At all events, he pronounces it as yet too early even to try to outline what shape a readjustment of the tariff should take, because, in his judgment, it is too early yet to say whether there is pressing need for it. Meanwhile, he holds it demonstrable that no change should be made on lines beneficial to, or desired by, only one section or State. There must be, on the contrary, something like a general agreement among the citizens of all the States, an agreement expressed through their representatives in Congress, that a change is needed and desired in the interests of the people as a whole; and there should then be a sincere, a disinterested and an intelligent effort to make such a change as will combine, as far as possible, the maximum of good to the people at large with the minimum of necessary disregard for the special wishes of localities or classes. As the circumspect views of the Executive are not only shared by the Speaker of the House, but reaffirmed by the latter with emphasis in his appointment to important committees, the prospect of tariff revision at the hands of the present Congress is not bright.

The President plainly concurs in the widely prevalent opinion that the persistent neglect which has permitted the virtual extinction of our ocean-carrying trade is a reproach to the country. Something unquestionably ought to be done, and that at once, for the revival of our once mighty merchant navy, whether regeneration take the form of generous subsidies, or of the con-

cession to American citizens of the privilege of buying ships on the Clyde, or wherever they may be purchased most cheaply, and then placing them under the Stars and Stripes. We should have ships of our own, and seamen of our own, not only to convey our goods to neutral markets, but, in case of need, to reinforce our battle line. Especially does the President feel it to be a source of regret and uneasiness to us that the lines of ocean communication with our sister republics in South America should be chiefly under foreign control. He is alive to the disability under which American manufacturers and merchants labor by reason of the fact that they have to send their goods and letters to South America by way of Europe, if they wish security and despatch. We are also reminded that, even on the Pacific, where, of late, our vessels have held their own better than on the Atlantic, our merchant trade is now threatened through the liberal aid bestowed by foreign Governments on their own steam lines. The discussion of this topic is closed with a request for the careful consideration by Congress of the report in which the Merchant Marine Commission has embodied the result of a long and minute investigation.

The section of the President's message which deals with our foreign policy begins with a definition of the position which our country has taken, and by which under the present Administration it will abide, with regard to international peace. Of the practical and efficient work performed by himself in the interest of peace, through bringing about the Portsmouth Conference, and preventing it from proving abortive, Mr. Roosevelt says not a word. He does recall, however, that, while the war in the Far East was still pending, he issued invitations to all the Powers which signed The Hague Convention to send delegates to a second conference at The Hague, and that, although the initiative was his own, he did not object, but gave a cordial welcome, to the subsequent assumption of leadership in the matter by the Emperor of Russia. Obviously, he is animated by a single-minded desire to minimize the chances of war, and to mitigate the horrors of it, no matter to whom may fall the major credit for the achievement. At the same time, the President does not expect to witness at the projected conference, or within any period the end of which is now discernible, the attainment of a world-wide renouncement of the sword, and the advent of the brotherhood of man. He recognizes that there are demagogues of peace as well as demagogues of war,

and, for his part, he has no wish to be ranked in either category. He wants no peace that is not a righteous one, and, for that reason, he believes in the persistent maintenance of naval and military armaments by those enlightened nations whose principles, practices and tendencies make, on the whole, for righteousness. He is, at the same time, convinced that much may be accomplished by developing and supplementing the beneficent work already done at The Hague. For example, it should be possible to minimize the number of cases in which an appeal to arms will be sanctioned by the international conscience, and to offer to at least all civilized Powers some substitute for war in a considerable number of controversies which hitherto have been left to the arbitrament of the sword. Mr. Roosevelt expresses an earnest hope that the coming conference may be able to devise some way to make arbitration between nations the customary mode of settling international disputes in all save a few classes of cases in which a nation's honor or vital interests are alleged to be involved; and he adds that even these exceptions ought to be as sharply defined and rigorously limited as the present governmental and social development of the world will permit. In his judgment it goes without saying that neutral rights and property should be as thoroughly protected at sea as they now are protected on land; and that what constitutes contraband of war, about which, in the recent contest between Russia and Japan, there was so much conflict of opinion, should be defined by international agreement.

Just at this time, when but the other day a French squadron was assembled at Martinique for the purpose of applying coercion to the Republic of Venezuela, and when, under a treaty as yet unratified by our Senate, the customs duties imposed by Santo Domingo are being collected and apportioned by American citizens deputed to that function by the Dominican Executive, it is natural that Europeans should scan with lively interest the latest comments of President Roosevelt on the development of the Monroe Doctrine. The fundamental postulate is reiterated that, when we announce a policy of exclusion, such as the Monroe Doctrine, a policy never yet collectively and formally recognized as binding by the European Powers, we thereby commit ourselves to the logical and equitable consequences of the policy. It is illogical and inadmissible for us to prohibit a European occupation of any territory now free and independent on the American Continent,

and, at the same time, to repudiate all responsibility for the international good conduct of such territory. The assertion of a right implies the recognition of a duty. The President insists that we cannot, with any show of justice, allow the Monroe Doctrine to be used by any American commonwealth as a shield to protect it from the consequences of its own misdeeds against foreign nations. If, for example, a republic to the south of us commits a tort against a foreign nation, such as an indignity to its flag or to a diplomatic or consular representative, or an outrage against a citizen of that nation, the Monroe Doctrine does not oblige us to interfere to prevent punishment of the tort, beyond seeing to it that the punishment does not assume the form of lasting territorial occupation. In this construction of the limits of the Monroe Doctrine, all of Mr. Roosevelt's predecessors have concurred. Whether the United States should also acquiesce in the enforcement by arms of debts arising out of contract is a question which cannot be said to have been settled by Executive usage: indeed, Mr. Roosevelt himself assented in 1902 to the application of force for such a purpose to Venezuela by war-ships of Germany, Great Britain and Italy. That incident, however, resulting as it did in the confiscation of a part of Venezuela's customs revenue for an indefinite period, led Mr. Roosevelt to a careful reconsideration of the subject. He now shows himself thoroughly alive to the distinction between debts arising out of torts and merely contractual debts, the distinction upon which so much stress has often been laid by Latin-American publicists, who have insisted that, in the case of the latter class of obligations, foreign creditors should be remitted to the courts of the debtor country. This principle is habitually recognized when powerful nations or their subjects are delinquent: why, ask the Latin-Americans, should it be rejected when the indebted commonwealths are weak? Our President, for his part, does not consider it our duty to forbid the forcible collection of contractual debts; he is reluctant to relegate foreign creditors to the more or less suspected tribunals of some indebted American republics. He has discovered a mode of escape from the dilemma, which has been propounded and expounded by himself and by Secretary Root. It is, as we scarcely need recall, that, with the consent of a debtor commonwealth, the United States should undertake to bring about some arrangement by which so much as is possible of a just obligation could be met. It is

obviously better for the indebted republic that this country, being pecuniarily disinterested, should collect its customs revenues and apportion a part thereof to honest creditors, than that the same function should be performed by one or more of the creditor nations. By such an arrangement, the defaulting commonwealth would be shielded from having to pay debts of an improper character under duress, and, at the same time, its honest creditors would be safeguarded from the danger of being passed over or scaled down in the interest of inordinate or fraudulent claims. The debtor State would also be insured against an indefinitely protracted occupation of its custom-houses by the agents of a European Power. The President reminds us that this method of averting a state of things, the gravity of which was brought home to us by the partial confiscation of Venezuela's customs revenue, has been applied since the close of the Fifty-eighth Congress in Santo Domingo at the request of its Government. The treaty now pending before the Senate authorizes the United States to collect the Dominican customs revenue, and, after turning over forty-five per cent. to the insular Government for its running expenses, to place in a safe depositary the remaining fifty-five per cent. for equitable distribution among the various creditors, European or American. The treaty not yet having been ratified, the American citizens who are acting as collectors of customs do so by the appointment, not of our State Department, but of the Dominican Executive. The experience of the last eight months has shown that the benefits of this arrangement are twofold. The net returns from Dominican customs are now more than double what they were before, so that both the Dominican Administration and its foreign creditors are witnessing a proof of the paradox that the half is greater than the whole. There are three classes of onlookers, however, who doubtless would be glad to see the Dominican Treaty rejected by our Senate: to wit, the foreign Governments which had planned to seize and hold for an indefinite period certain coigns of vantage in Santo Domingo—it is understood, for instance, that Germany was to have Samana Bay—as pledges for the satisfaction of contractual obligations; dishonest creditors, who foresee that no claims against Santo Domingo will be adjudged valid by the United States without rigorous investigation; and, lastly, professional revolutionists, accustomed to regard the Dominican custom-houses as their natural prey.

## CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER.

FREDERIC LOUIS HUIDEKOPER,

a member of the bar of the District of Columbia, was educated at Harvard, at Christ Church, Oxford, and at the Law School of Columbian University, Washington. His military writings—begun, while he was still an undergraduate at Harvard, under the supervision of the late John Codman Ropes, the author of the well-known "Campaign of Waterloo," for whom he did some research work in Paris—have obtained unusual recognition among military men. His articles on the campaigns and battles of Frederick the Great, Napoleon and von Moltke, originally published in the "United Service Magazine," and in the "Journal of the Military Service Institution," the official magazine of the United States army, subsequently appeared in book form in the International Military Series under the title of "Military Studies," the only work by a non-military man accepted for that series. This book has been placed by the War Department in the War College and at West Point, and is known to military critics abroad. Mr. Huidekoper, who has been at work for some years on a history of the campaign of Austerlitz, is one of the few Americans who have been permitted to make extensive researches in the archives of the French, Austrian and Russian War Offices.

H. B. F. MACFARLAND,

Chairman of a Committee appointed to raise a large fund for carrying out the plan for commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Christian Endeavor Society, was educated at Rittenhouse Academy, Washington, and studied law at the Law School of Columbia University. He was long connected with the Washington offices of the "Boston Herald" and the "Philadelphia Record." He was

appointed chairman of the Citizens' Committee of the National Capital Centennial held in 1900 to celebrate the one-hundredth anniversary of the establishment of the machinery of government in Washington, and he delivered the Centennial address in the Executive Mansion. In the same year he was appointed President of the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia—a post which he still occupies.

HANNIS TAYLOR,

who is recognized throughout the world as one of the most eminent living authorities on constitutional history and constitutional law, was born in New Berne, North Carolina, in 1851. Having graduated at the University of his native State, he was admitted to the bar and achieved great distinction in the practice of his profession. He was appointed Minister to Spain by President Cleveland in 1893. The wide literary fame gained for Dr. Taylor by his great work on "The Origin and Growth of the English Constitution" was materially enhanced by his treatise on "International Public Law," which has been declared by a high authority to be "the most exhaustive work of its kind issued in this country since Dana's Wheaton." In recognition of the service which he had rendered to literature and learning by the publication of these works, the Universities of Dublin and Edinburgh recently conferred upon Mr. Taylor the honorary degree of LL.D. He has just published a third treatise, of a like scholarly and comprehensive character, on the "Jurisdiction and Procedure of the United States Supreme Court" upon which the Justices of that court have put the imprimatur of their high approval and commendation. Mr. Taylor represented the United States before the Alaskan Boundary Commission.

THE REV. W. E. GRIFFIS, D.D.,

after leaving Rutgers College, where he had taught the first Japanese lads who came to America as students, went to Japan in 1870 to organize schools on the American plan. He was superintendent of education in the province of Echizen in 1871, and Professor of Physics in the Imperial University of Tokio for several years. Both Komura and Takahira were his pupils, and he met and talked with most, and at some time saw all, of "the fifty-five creators" of the New Japan of 1868, including all the "elder statesmen." On return-

ing to the United States, he studied divinity, and became pastor of a Reformed church at Schenectady, New York, in 1877, of a Congregational church in Boston in 1886, and of a Congregational church in Ithaca, New York, in 1893. He has written voluminously on Japanese subjects.

J. Warren Keifer

has been in interrupted law-practice in Springfield, Ohio, since 1858. He served with the Ohio Volunteers in the field from 1861 to 1865, ranking successively as major, lieutenant-colonel, colonel, and brevet brigadier-general and major-general. He was wounded four times, and in 1866 he was offered, but declined, appointment as lieutenant-colonel in the 26th United States Infantry. In 1866-9, he was a member of the Ohio State Senate, and he was a member of the House of Representatives from 1877 to 1885, being Speaker of the House during the last four years of his incumbency. He served as Major-General of Volunteers in the recent war with Spain. He is the author of a work entitled "Slavery and Four Years of War."

W. S. Rossiter,

after graduating from Amherst College in 1884, filled a position in the business department of "The New York Tribune," and, later, of "The New York Press." Subsequently, he established a printing and publishing business on his own account, and in 1900 he was called to Washington to take charge of the publication of the reports of the Twelfth Census, and also to prepare the Twelfth Census report on printing and publishing. In 1904, he was appointed Chief Clerk of the Census, and he has since occupied that position, retaining also the supervision of the printing of the Census Bureau. He is the author of a volume of short stories and of various statistical papers and magazine articles.

The Rev. F. E. Clark, D.D.,

was educated at Dartmouth College, and after studying theology for three years at Andover, he became the pastor of the Williston Church, in Portland, Maine, which he built up from a small mission to a large and influential congregation in 1883, he was called to the Phillips Church in South Boston, and since 1887 he has devoted his time to the work of the Society of Christian Endeavor, which he founded in 1881, and of which he is the President. Dr. Clark made a journey

to the Far East a few years ago, for the purpose of attending various Christian Endeavor conventions in Japan, China and Korea.

THOMAS L. JAMES

was born in Utica, New York, and after passing through the common schools and learning the printing trade, he published a paper at Hamilton, New York, for ten years. From 1861 to 1864, he was inspector of customs, from 1864 to 1870 weigher, and from 1870 to 1873 deputy-collector of customs, at the port of New York. From 1873 to 1881, he was Postmaster of New York, and in 1881 he was appointed Postmaster-General of the United States. For a number of years he has been President of the Lincoln National Bank in New York City.

ARTHUR POTTOW

practised for some time as a solicitor in England and is now engaged in journalistic work in the United States.

GEORGE W. YOUNG

is one of the foremost and best-known of the financiers of the United States. He organized the Trust Companies Association of the State of New York, and was the first President of that organization. For a number of years, he was President of the United States Mortgage and Trust Company, and he resigned that position last year for the purpose of forming a banking-house, which he is now conducting under the name of George W. Young & Co.

---

NOTE.

In Baron de Lévay's article on "The Hungarian Emigration Law" in the January number of the REVIEW, the amount of the annual subvention asked from the Hungarian Government by the two most prominent German shipping companies was incorrectly stated to be 500,000 kronen. The amount of the annual subvention really asked by these companies was 3,500,000 marks.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

FEBRUARY, 1906.

No DXCI.

# IS THE UNITED STATES PREPARED FOR WAR?

BY FREDERIC LOUIS HUIDEKOPER.

When Washington, in a letter to the President of Congress, dated August 20th, 1780, said that "it is an old maxim that the surest way to make a good peace is to be well prepared for war," he merely repeated in another form what had been said by Roman writers many centuries before his time. One need not be a profound student of history to be able to appreciate fully the disasters gratuitously courted by any nation which is not at all times thoroughly prepared for a final appeal to arms, or to comprehend that rampant patriotism and mere numbers of soldiers do not constitute adequate preparations for war; our own Civil War, the Franco-German War and the recent struggle between Japan and Russia are sufficient proofs. The French "Grand Army" of 1805 was one of the most perfect fighting machines that the world has yet seen. Commanded by the greatest strategist of all time, its Marshals a group of warriors whose renown has still to be equalled by any one set of corps commanders, trained by two years of incessant drill at the Armed Camp at Boulogne, imbued with unbounded enthusiasm, it is small wonder that it proved irresistible at Ulm and later at Austerlitz. Napoelon



Copyright, 1906, by The North American Review Publishing Company. All Rights Reserved

himself declared that the "Army of Austerlitz" was the finest he ever commanded, and yet one of his aides-de-camp, Count Philippe de Ségur, wrote of it:

"However, these great armies, just like *colossi*, are only good to be seen at a distance from which many of the defective details are imperceptible."

Every great general knows only too well how many imperfections must exist in the best of armies and even under the most favorable circumstances, and it was undoubtedly this knowledge which caused General Sherman to declare:

"I cannot help plead to my countrymen, at every opportunity, to cherish all that is manly and noble in the military profession, because Peace is enervating and no man is wise enough to foretell when soldiers may be in demand again."

We Americans are far too prone to boast that everything we possess is "the finest in the world," and we gloat with a pride often offensive over the marvellous achievements of our national career. Superficiality, which is a dominant American trait, has caused us to slumber under a false security, and to believe that, because we have been fortunate enough to be victorious in our past wars, we may continue to rest at ease over the future. The Monroe Doctrine, with its policy of non-interference in European affairs and its dogma that European Powers shall not meddle in the affairs of this continent, has contributed to give us a provincial standpoint from which even the Spanish-American War and our sudden development into a "World Power" have as yet been unable to deliver us entirely. Animated by the deeply rooted Anglo-Saxon repugnance to a large standing army and anything which smacks of militarism in the slightest degree, we as a people cling with astonishing tenacity to the ridiculous fallacy that a citizen with a musket is fully equal, if not superior, to the trained soldier both in courage and efficiency. That we have thus far weathered the storms which the American Ship of State has encountered seems to us to be ample reason why we should content ourselves with the course that we have steered in the past, utterly oblivious to the fact that we have apparently forgotten the lessons which we ought to have learned, and that in every respect, except as concerns our army, we Americans have never been satisfied to follow, but have striven, and in most cases succeeded in our desire, to lead the rest of the world.

We pride ourselves that we are a peaceful people which does not voluntarily plunge into war; yet our history demonstrates that, since the signing of the Declaration of Independence, for every four and a half years of peace we have had one year of war. The United States has never, thus far, been pitted against the land forces of a first-class military Power: England, although the leading naval Power of the world since the sixteenth century, was not a first-class military Power in 1775-1783, and the blunders of her Sovereign and Cabinet afforded singular aid to the revolting colonies; even in 1812-1815, she had scarcely attained the front rank, and she was, moreover, so involved in her struggle against Napoleon that her Peninsular veterans could not be sent across the ocean until the close of the war, and consequently only participated in the battle of New Orleans which was fought after peace had been signed.

The military establishment of the United States has always consisted of three branches: (1) The Regular Army; (2) The Militia; and (3) The Volunteers. Thanks to the parsimony and short-sightedness of Congress, our Regular Army has invariably been much too small to meet our requirements in time of war—and, indeed, often in time of peace—so that it has always been necessary to depend largely upon the Militia and Volunteers. "Why not?" the opinionated American will reply with characteristic superficiality. "Have we not always had plenty of them at our disposal? And, surely, you cannot ask for better troops than these same Militia and Volunteers were at the close of the Civil War." Granting that it would be impossible to find in military annals more splendid troops than those which the United States possessed in 1865, we must not forget that they were then militia and volunteers in name only. Four years of desperate fighting had transformed them from extremely raw recruits into seasoned veterans of the very highest type.

We have achieved our phenomenal successes by the application of sound business foresight and judgment and progressive business methods to the various problems which we have undertaken to solve, and it is consequently surprising that our people have not, through their Senators and Representatives in Congress, made use of these same methods in dealing with their Army. It may accordingly be well to examine briefly what our wars have cost us in men and money, and why so little has been learned

from the lessons which the past ought to have taught us. We may begin by scrutinizing the following table:

| War. | Regulars. | Militia, etc. | Opponents. | Cost. | Pensions. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Revolution.. | 231,771[1] | 164,087[2] | Ab't 150,603[3] | $370,000,000[4] | $70,000,000[5] |
| 1812..... | 56,032[6] | 471,622[7] | Ab't 55,000[7] | 82,627,009[8] | 45,440,790[9] |
| Creek..... | 600[10] | 43,921[11] | 1,500-2,000[12] | Unestimated | See below |
| Seminole... | 5,911[13] | 1,600[13] | Ab't 1,000[14] | 8,004,236[15] | See below |
| Bl'k Hawk.. | 1,341[16] | 4,638[16] | 800-1,000[17] | 5,446,034[15] | See below |
| Florida[18]... | 20,632[19] | 48,152[20] | 1,200-2,000[21] | 69,751,611[15] | Foot-note[22] |
| Mexican.... | 31,024[23] | 73,532[24] | Ab't 46,000[25] | 88,500,208[15] | 36,682,848[26] |
| Civil..... | 67,000[27] | 2,605,341[28] | 1,000,000[29] | 5,371,079,748[30] | 3,149,537,669[31] |
| Spanish.... | 58,688[32] | 223,235[33] | 200,000[34] | 321,833,254[35] | 11,996,198[31] |
| Philippine.. | 76,416[36] | 50,052[36] | Unestimated | 171,326,572[37] | |

Probably not one American in a hundred thousand has any conception of the outrageous extravagance in men and money that has characterized every war in which we have been involved.

[1] General Emory Upton, "The Military Policy of the United States," p. 58. This was published by the War Department in 1904, and is the most trustworthy work on the subject ever written. Owing to lack of appropriation, it is now out of print.—[2] Returns and estimates of the Secretary of War; American State Papers, vol. I, pp. 14–19.—[3] Original returns in the British Record Office, quoted by H. B. Carrington, "Battles of the American Revolution," pp. 93, 301, 321, 462, 483, 502 and 646.—[4] Upton, p. 66; Ingersoll, "The Second War," I, p. 14.—[5] Annual report of the Commissioner of Pensions, Aug. 1st, 1904.—[6] Records of the Adjutant-General's Office. Also Upton, p. 137.—[7] Brannan's Letters and Gleig's British Campaigns, quoted by Upton, p. 138. To the above number must be added 1,810 militia and 9,825 Indians.—[8] Annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury, June 30th, 1905. Also Upton, p. 141.—[9] Annual report of the Commissioner of Pensions, June 30th, 1905, p. 10.—[10] 39th U. S. Infantry.—[11] According to the records of the Adjutant-General's Office, Georgia, Tennessee and Mississippi furnished 25,779 and North and South Carolina 18,142 militia. Of these only 15,000 were actually put into the field.—[12] Upton, p. 119.—[13] Upton, p. 149. The figures in the first column represent Regulars, Militia and Volunteers; those in the second column represent subsidized Indians.—[14] Report of the Senate Investigating Committee; American State Papers, II, pp. 739–741.—[15] Annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury for 1905, p. 96.—[16] Records of the Adjutant-General's Office.—[17] Report of Major-General Macomb, commanding the Army. American State Papers, V, p. 29.—[18] Including the Florida War, 1835 to 1842; the Creek War, 1836 to 1838; and the Cherokee War, 1836 to 1838.—[19] Upton, p. 190.—[20] Records of the Adjutant-General's Office.—[21] General Call's report to the President, dated Jan. 9th, 1836. American State Papers, VII, p. 218.—[22] Annual report of the Commissioner of Pensions, June 30th, 1905, p. 10, gives the total pensions paid out for the Indian Wars as amounting to $7,637,268.53.—[23] Upton, p. 221.—[24] *Ibid*, p. 216.—[25] Alphabetical List of Battles, 1754–1900, pp. 236–237. Compiled from official records by Newton A. Strait.—[26] Annual report of the Commissioner of Pensions, June 30th, 1905, pp. 10–11.—

From a purely business standpoint, the above figures are indicative of puerile short-sightedness and criminal blundering, such as would not be tolerated for a moment in any properly managed company or corporation in the United States. One example drawn from Upton will suffice to demonstrate how needlessly extravagant we have been, considering how disproportionately small have been the results achieved:

"The troops called out during this fruitless campaign [1814] numbered: Regulars, 38,186; Militia, 197,653; total, 235,839.

"Of the militia 46,469 from the State of New York were employed on the Canadian frontier, while *more than 100,000 from Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia were called out to repel the incursion of the 3,500 British along the shores of the Chesapeake.*

"Notwithstanding these enormous drafts, *such were the faults of our organization and recruitments, that the utmost strength we could put forth on the field of battle was represented at Lundy's Lane by less than 3,000 men.* Nor was this evidence of national weakness our only cause of reproach. *Boasting at the outset of the contest that Canada*

[27] Phisterer, Statistical Record of the Armies of the United States (Campaigns of the Civil War Series), p. 11.—[28] Official records in the office of the Military Secretary; Memorandum relative to the probable number and ages of Army and Navy survivors of the Civil War, p. 4 (published by the Military Secretary's office, May 15th, 1905); Reply of the Military Secretary, dated Aug. 28th, 1905, to the writer's letter of inquiry. The total number of soldiers, both regular and volunteer, was 2,672,341.—[29] "Battles and Leaders of the Civil War," IV, p. 768. The numbers employed by the Confederacy have been variously estimated from 700,000 to 1,500,000. Livermore, "Numbers and Losses in the Civil War of America," p. 63, reckons the numbers as between 1,227,890 and 1,406,180. These calculations are at best conjectural, since, as the Military Secretary wrote, on August 28th, 1905, to the author of this article: "No compilation has ever been prepared by this [the War] Department from which even an approximately accurate statement can be made concerning the number of troops in the Confederate Army, and it is impracticable to make such a compilation because of the incompleteness of the collection of Confederate records in possession of the Department."—[30] Senate Executive Document No. 206, Forty-sixth Congress, Second Session. Letter of John Sherman, Secretary of the Treasury, to Hon. William A. Wheeler, President of the Senate, 1880, transmitting the statement of "Expenditures necessarily growing out of the War of the Rebellion, July 1st, 1816, to June 30th, 1879," a total of not less than $6,189,929,908.58.—[31] Report of the Commissioner of Pensions for 1905, pp. 10 and 11.—[32] Report of the Adjutant-General, Nov. 1st, 1898, in the report of the Secretary of War for 1898, pp. 145, 147 and 260.—[33] Statistical Exhibit of Strength of Volunteer Forces called into service during the War with Spain, issued by the Adjutant-General, Dec. 13th, 1899. Also Strait, pp. 208–209.—[34] International Year Book for 1898, p. 722; Lodge, "History of the War with Spain," p. 18.—[35] Report of the Secretary of the Treasury for 1905, p. 98.—[36] Report of the Adjutant-General, Nov. 1st, 1898.—[37] From May, 1898, to April, 1902, both inclusive, according to the statement sent to the Senate by the Secretary of War, June 19th, 1902.

*could be 'captured without soldiers, and that a few volunteers and militia could do the business,' our statesmen, after nearly three years of war, had the humiliation of seeing their plan of conquest vanish in the smoke of a burning capital."*

The lamentable policy of retrenchment in time of peace, to which our legislators have invariably adhered, is nothing less than the "penny wise, pound foolish" policy which every sane business man heartily condemns. The results entailed by this false economy furnish a further corroboration of the fact that our military policy has always been unsound from a financial as well as a numerical standpoint, as will appear from the following table:

COST OF U. S. MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT BY PERIODS

| Period. | Condition. | Cost. |
|---|---|---|
| 1791-1811[1] | Peace | $35,669,930 65 |
| 1812-1816 | Including the War of 1812 | 82,627,009 14 |
| 1817-1835 | Minor Indian Wars. Army averaging under 6,000 officers and men | 90,411,068 59 |
| 1836-1843 | Florida War | 69,751,611 50 |
| 1843-1845 | Peace. Army reduced | 13,873,146 89 |
| 1846-1849 | Including the Mexican War | 88,500,208 38 |
| 1850-1860 | Peace. Army reduced | 168,079,707 57 |
| 1861-1865 | Including the Civil War | 2,736,570,923 50 |
| 1866-1869 | Forces large, because of French occupation of Mexico | 583,749,510 99[2] |
| 1870-1897 | Peace. Army reduced | 1,211,321,300 94 |
| 1898-1899 | Including Spanish-American War | 321,833,254 76 |
| 1900-1902 | Including Philippine War | 391,662,681 06 |
| 1903-1905 | Peace | 355,830,004 97 |
| | Total cost since 1790 | $6,149,880,358 94[3] |
| | Total cost of pensions since 1790 | $3,359,185,901 02[3] |

What do American taxpayers who have had to foot some of these bills think of these figures? How long do they suppose that the stockholders in any bank or railway company would tolerate any such mismanagement? How long would the officials or directors be permitted to remain in power if they could produce no better results in return for such enormous expenditures? The mere expense of maintaining armaments, however costly, is by no means the only item to be considered in war; the outpouring of men to meet the call to arms, the disturbance of all business, economic and political conditions are additional factors which must not be disregarded. When one considers that sacrifices involving pecuniary loss to every individual have always

[1] Throughout this table the dates given are "both inclusive" in each instance.—[2] Including outstanding warrants amounting to $3,621,780.07.—[3] Annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury for 1905, pp. 96 and 98.

been willingly met, and that our military forces have nearly always been disgracefully beaten at the beginning of every war, save one, it is indeed a veritable enigma that the nation has not long ago awakened to the mismanagement of its affairs and risen in anger against the indignities to which it has been subjected by its own servants.

It may be worth while to examine briefly the military history of the United States, taking care, as Upton warns us,

"to bear in mind the respective duties and responsibilities of soldiers and statesmen. The latter are responsible for the creation and organization of our resources, and, as in the case of the President, may further be responsible for their management or mismanagement. Soldiers, while they should suggest and be consulted on all the details of organization under our system, can alone be held responsible for the control and direction of our armies in the field."

In a speech made to both Houses of Congress on December 3rd, 1793, Washington said:

"I cannot recommend to your notice measures for the fulfilment of our duties to the rest of the world without again pressing upon you the necessity of placing ourselves in a condition of complete defence, and of exacting from them the fulfilment of their duties towards us. The United States ought not to indulge a persuasion that, contrary to the order of human events, they will forever keep at a distance those painful appeals to arms with which the history of every other nation abounds. *There is a rank due to these United States among nations which will be withheld, if not absolutely lost, by the reputation of weakness. If we desire to avoid insult, we must be able to repel it; if we desire to secure peace,* one of the most powerful instruments of our rising prosperity, *it must be known that we are at all times ready for war.*"

This dictum is applicable with equal force to every nation and every era. Why did the United States not attain the front rank among the nations of the world until the autumn of 1898? There is only one answer: because at no time in its national career, except at the end of the Civil War, was it capable of showing itself fully prepared to repel insult by force of arms at a moment's notice.

The errors committed during the Revolutionary War are thus vividly told in a letter written on August 20th, 1780, by Washington to the President of Congress:

"To one who has been a witness of the evils brought upon us by short enlistments, the system appears to have been pernicious beyond descrip-

tion, and a crowd of motives press themselves to dictate a change. It may easily be shown that all the misfortunes we have met with in the military line are to be attributed to this cause.

"Had we formed a permanent army in the beginning, which, by the continuance of the same men in service, had been capable of discipline, we never should have had to retreat with a handful of men across the Delaware in 1776, trembling for the fate of America, which nothing but the infatuation of the enemy could have saved; we should not have remained all the succeeding winter at their mercy, with sometimes scarcely a sufficient body of men to mount the ordinary guards, liable at every moment to be dissipated, if they had only thought proper to march against us; we should not have been under the necessity of fighting Brandywine, with an unequal number of raw troops, and afterwards of seeing Philadelphia fall a prey to a victorious army; we should not have been at Valley Forge with less than half the force of the enemy, destitute of everything, in a situation neither to resist nor to retire; we should not have seen New York left with a handful of men, yet an overmatch for the main army of these States, while the principal part of their force was detached for the reduction of two of them; we should not have found ourselves this spring so weak as to be insulted by 5,000 men, unable to protect our baggage and magazines, their security depending on a good countenance and a want of enterprise in the enemy; we should not have been, the greatest part of the war, inferior to the enemy, indebted for our safety to their inactivity, enduring frequently the mortification of seeing inviting opportunities to ruin them pass unimproved for want of a force which the country was completely able to afford, and of seeing the country ravaged, our towns burnt, the inhabitants plundered, abused, murdered, with impunity from the same cause.

"Nor have the ill effects been confined to the military line. A great part of the embarrassments in the civil departments flow from the same source. The derangement of our finances is essentially to be ascribed to it. The expense of the war and the paper emissions have been greatly multiplied by it. We have had a great part of the time two sets of men to feed and pay—the discharged men going home, and the levies coming in. This was more remarkably the case in 1775 and 1776. The difficulty and cost of engaging men have increased at every successive attempt, till among the present lines we find that there are some who have received $150 in specie for five months' service, while our officers are reduced to the disagreeable necessity of performing the duties of drill sergeants to them, with this mortifying reflection annexed to the business, that, by the time they have taught these men the rudiments of a soldier's duty, their services will have expired and the work recommenced with a new set. The consumption of provisions, arms, accoutrements and stores of every kind has been doubled in spite of every precaution I could use, not only from the cause just mentioned, but from the carelessness and licentiousness incident to militia and irregular troops. Our discipline also has been much hurt, if not ruined, by such constant changes. The frequent calls upon the militia have interrupted the cultivation

of the land, and of course have lessened the quantity of its produce, occasioned a scarcity, and enhanced the prices. In an army so unstable as ours, order and economy have been impracticable. No person who has been a close observer of the progress of our affairs can doubt that our currency has depreciated without comparison more rapidly from the system of short enlistments than it would have done otherwise.

"There is every reason to believe that the war has been protracted on this account. Our opposition being less, the successes of the enemy have been greater. The fluctuation of the army kept alive their hopes, and at every period of the dissolution of a considerable part of it they have flattered themselves with some decisive advantages. *Had we kept a permanent army on foot the enemy could have had nothing to hope for, and would in all probability have listened to terms long since.*

"If the army is left in the present situation, it must continue an encouragement to the efforts of the enemy; if it is put upon a respectable one, it must have a contrary effect, and nothing, I believe, will tend more to give us peace the coming winter. Many circumstances will contribute to a negotiation. An army on foot not only for another campaign, but for several campaigns, would determine the enemy to pacific measures, and enable us to insist upon favorable terms in forceable language; an army insignificant in numbers, dissatisfied and crumbling to pieces, would be the strongest temptation they could have to try the experiment a little longer. It is an old maxim, that *the surest way to make a good peace is to be well prepared for war.*"

From a military point of view the errors of the Revolutionary War may be summed up under ten headings, viz.:

(1) Enlisting of volunteers for too short periods of service; (2) entirely too great a dependence placed upon the militia; (3) substituting or increasing the armies in the field by new and untrained organizations, instead of keeping the former up to their full strength; (4) pernicious use of bounties, both State and National—the logical result of short enlistments and dearth of proper provisions for recruiting; (5) depriving organizations of their officers by detailing them on detached duty, owing to the failure to provide the requisite number of officers for staff duty, recruiting, etc.; (6) final expedient of drafting troops; (7) enormously increased expense caused by the unnecessarily large number of troops under pay, the wanton waste resulting from lack of discipline and the heavy losses from sickness which is inevitable among raw troops; (8) needless protraction of the war, owing to the inefficiency of the troops employed; (9) absolute lack of definite policy by Congress at any time during the war—consequent inability of the commander-in-chief to frame any sound plan of campaign, and the necessity of resorting to inadequate and costly makeshifts; and (10) unnecessary increase in the pension list.

Let us now examine briefly the laws enacted by our sage legislators, and see how much profit they have derived from these awful lessons which so nearly lost us our independence.

In the midst of the most critical period in the history of the United States, when the national credit at home and abroad was completely exhausted, and when the country was rapidly drifting into a state of anarchy, Congress on June 2nd, 1784, resolved:

"That the commanding officer be, and he is hereby, directed to discharge the troops now in the service of the United States, *except twenty-five privates* to guard the stores at Fort Pitt and *fifty-five* to guard the stores at West Point, and other magazines, *with a proportionate number of officers;* no officer to remain in service above the rank of captain, and those privates to be retained who were enlisted on the best terms: *Provided,* That Congress before its recess shall not take other measures respecting the disposition of those troops."

On the very next day, totally ignoring the disasters occasioned by employing raw levies during the Revolution, Congress passed the following measure:

"Whereas a body of troops to consist of 700 non-commissioned officers and privates, properly officered, are immediately and indispensably necessary for securing and protecting the Northwestern frontiers of the United States, and their Indian friends and allies, and for garrisoning the posts soon to be evacuated by the troops of His Britannic Majesty:

"*Resolved,* That it be, and it is hereby, recommended to the States hereafter named, and as most conveniently situated, to furnish forthwith from their militia 700 men, to serve for twelve months unless sooner discharged, in the following proportions: Connecticut, 165; New York, 165; New Jersey, 110; Pennsylvania, 260; making in the whole 700:

"*Resolved,* That the Secretary of War take order for forming the said troops when assembled into one regiment to consist of eight companies of infantry and two of artillery, arming and equipping them in a soldierlike manner."

Within a year, Congress awoke to the realization that these militia were totally inadequate, and that regular troops were indispensable; accordingly, on April 1st, 1785, it resolved:

"That it is necessary that a body of troops consisting of 700 non-commissioned officers and privates be raised for the term of three years,

unless sooner discharged, for the protection of the Northwestern frontiers, to defend the settlers on the land belonging to the United States from the depredations of the Indians and to prevent unwarranted intrusion thereon, and for guarding the public stores."

On April 7th and 12th, supplemental legislation was enacted, specifying the States which were to furnish the recruits and defining the organization of this first regular regiment of the United States Army (the present 3rd Infantry).

Shay's rebellion (December, 1786) which seriously imperilled the Government arsenal at Springfield, Mass., coupled with a desire to "save the great expense of transporting new levies to the distant frontiers" and "to avail the public of the discipline and knowledge of the country" acquired by the Regulars raised in 1785, caused Congress to offer inducements to the men to reenlist by voting, on October 3rd, 1787, "that seven hundred noncommissioned officers and privates be raised for the term of three years, unless sooner discharged."

In consequence of the adoption and ratification of the Constitution, the military as well as the civil affairs required overhauling, and a War Department was created by the law of August 7th, 1789. The Act of September 29th laid the foundations of our present Army by recognizing "the establishment for the troops in the service of the United States," by requiring all officers and men to take an oath of allegiance, and by vesting the power to appoint officers in the President alone. By virtue of the 5th section the President was authorized, whenever it might be necessary to protect the frontiers against the Indians, to call into service such militia as he should deem requisite, such militia when in service to have the same pay and subsistence as the Regulars.

The first general organization of the Army under the Constitution was effected by the Act of April 30th, 1790, which fixed the strength of the regular establishment at one regiment of infantry and one battalion of artillery, numbering respectively 962 and 321 officers and men. General Harmar's expedition against the Miamis again demonstrated the folly of depending upon newly formed militia, and forced Congress to add another regiment of Regulars to be enlisted for three years. By virtue of the 8th section of this Act of March 3rd, 1791, the President was empowered to employ, "for a term not exceeding six months,"

a corps of 2,000 non-commissioned officers, privates and musicians in addition to, or in place of, the militia, and, if such a corps should not be raised in time for active operations, to make good the deficiency by raising additional levies or by calling into service an equal number of militia; while the 9th section authorized him "to organize the said levies, and alone to appoint the commissioned officers thereof, in the manner he may judge proper." As Upton remarks:

"The above legislation merits our closest scrutiny. Here was laid the foundation of the volunteer system, which attained its fullest development during our long Civil War. The 'levies,' known later as 'volunteers,' were authorized under the plenary power of Congress to 'raise and support armies,' and the power of appointing their officers was given the President, to whom it obviously belonged, as the 'levies' were wholly distinct from the militia or State troops.

"The subsequent transfer of this power from the President to the Governors of the States was a voluntary return to the practice under the Confederation and a surrender of the prerogatives of the General Government under the Constitution."

The disastrous rout of General St. Clair's expedition by the Indians caused Congress to increase the strength of the Army to 258 officers and 5,414 men, by the Act of March 5th, 1792. For the succeeding twenty years the legislative enactments, depending largely upon our foreign relations and upon the troubles with the Indians, caused the force of the Regular Army to vary greatly, as will be seen from the following table:

STRENGTH OF THE REGULAR ARMY AS AUTHORIZED BY CONGRESS.[1]

| Date. | Officers. | Men. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1796 to 1798..... | 233 | 3,126 | 3,359 |
| 1798..... | 783 | 13,638 | 14,421 |
| 1799..... | 2,447 | 49,244 | 51,691 |
| 1800 to 1801..... | 318 | 4,118 | 4,436 |
| 1802 to 1808..... | 241 | 3,046 | 3,287 |
| 1808 to 1812..... | 774 | 9,147 | 9,921 |

During this entire period, by far the most important measure was the Act of March 16th, 1802, in which the repeated urgings of Washington, Hamilton, Knox and Pickering were heeded by the establishment of a Military Academy at West Point; and only

[1] F. B. Heitman, "Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army, 1789 to 1903," II, p. 626. This work was compiled from official sources. The actual strength of the Army was naturally always less than the authorized strength.

second in importance to the above law, was the Act of March 2nd, 1799, the provisions of which would unquestionably have prevented most of our subsequent disasters had they only been retained in force. From 1802 to 1808, all Congressional measures, whether offensive or defensive, were directed toward the almost exclusive use of the militia and volunteers. Notwithstanding that a quarrel with England had been brewing since 1807, and by 1810 was recognized to be unavoidable, Congress was so culpably negligent of the urgent needs of the nation for additional protection that, in July, 1812, the Army did not actually exceed 6,686 officers and men, short enlistments were again resorted to and the outbreak of war found the entire military establishment in the utmost chaos. The fruits of the vicious military policy which had been so persistently followed by Congress were reaped in a succession of failures, defeats and disgraces, culminating with the burning of Washington, which are still an indelible blot upon our national history, and few of us realize that, in spite of our employment of nearly half a million militia and volunteers, *" the only decisive victory of the War of 1812 before the conclusion of the treaty of peace was at the battle of the Thames, where the force of the British regulars dispersed and captured numbered but little more than 800."*

In 1814, the Army numbered on paper 62,674 officers and men, whereas its actual strength in September of that year was only 38,186, and the succession of disasters caused desertion to such an extent that by February, 1815, it had dwindled to 33,424. At the close of the war, the policy of retrenchment was again resorted to, and by the Act of March 3rd, 1815, the Army was reduced to 10,024. The Act of April 24th, 1816, important as it was in many respects, did not affect the strength of the Army which fell off until it reached a minimum of 5,211 in 1822, by virtue of the Act of March 2nd, 1821, which reduced its paper strength of 12,664 to 6,183. The actual force of Regulars did not vary 2,000 from that number for seventeen years until the complications with Great Britain caused Congress to increase it to 12,539 by the Acts of July 5th and 7th, 1838, although the maximum actual strength of 11,169 was not attained until November, 1841. On August 23rd, 1842, only nine days after the official announcement of the termination of hostilities in the Florida War, Congress lost no time in reducing the Army to 8,613, which

constituted approximately its strength until the outbreak of the Mexican War on May 11th, 1846. Within the next ten months and by virtue of seven Acts of Congress, the military establishment was increased on paper to 30,865—although its actual numbers in November, 1847, did not exceed 21,686; but the very month after the ratification of the treaty of peace had been proclaimed, it was forthwith reduced to 10,317 (Act of August 14th, 1848), remaining within 1,000 of this number until November, 1854. The hostility of the Indians caused the President to avail himself of the authority given him by the Act of June 17th, 1850, and to order the companies west of the Mississippi to be recruited up to their full complement; this order, in conjunction with the Act of March 3rd, 1855, gave the Army an actual force of 15,752 officers and men, from which it did not vary 1,800 until the outbreak of the Civil War.

Throughout the entire period from 1802 to 1860 and notwithstanding the lessons of the Revolution, which each succeeding war demonstrated anew, Congress persisted, whenever hostilities were imminent or larger forces than the Regular Army were required, in confiding the destinies of the nation to a hurriedly collected militia, which, by the very nature of its composition and lack of training, was utterly unfit to cope with the situation. Added to the lack of a sound military policy displayed by our legislators in adhering to short enlistments, in increasing the armies in the field by raw organizations, in the use of bounties and in repeating all the mistakes made during the War of Independence, the incapacity of the militia obliged the Government to employ many times the number which would have amply sufficed had trained soldiers been used, needlessly prolonged wars that could have been terminated much sooner and caused expenditures which the magnitude of the operations never once justified. The Mexican War alone added real lustre to the American arms; and this may be reasonably attributed to the fact that circumstances permitted enough time to be gained at the beginning of the war to give the volunteers some much-needed training, and that the Government was wise enough to employ a larger percentage (30 per cent.) of Regular troops than in any war before or since. The value of trained forces is evinced by the fact that they achieved an unbroken chain of victories, notwithstanding that official documents prove that their suc-

cesses were won "under the very same system of laws and executive orders which, in the preceding foreign war (1812), had led to a series of disasters culminating in the capture and destruction of our capital."

How little heed had been paid by Congress to the lessons of the past has been thus admirably summarized by Upton:

"*At the close of the year 1860, we presented to the world the spectacle of a great nation nearly destitute of military force.* Our territory from ocean to ocean exceeded 3,000,000 square miles; our population numbered 31,000,000.

"*The Regular Army,* as organized, consisted of 18,093 officers and men, but according to the returns it *numbered only 16,367.*

"The line of the Army was composed of 198 companies, of which 183 were stationed on the frontier or were *en route* to distant posts west of the Mississippi. The remaining 15 companies were stationed along the Canadian frontier and on the Atlantic coast from Maine to the Gulf of Mexico.

"*As a guard for the national frontiers, the Army could not furnish two soldiers per mile; for protecting the settlements in the States and Territories west of the Mississippi but one soldier was available for every 120 square miles; to aid in the enforcement of the laws in the remaining States of the Union we had but one soldier for every 1,300 square miles.*

"*The militia for a sudden emergency were scarcely more available than the Army. Nominally they numbered more than 3,000,000, but mostly unorganized. So destitute were they of instruction and training that*—a few regiments in the large cities excepted—*they did not merit the name of military force.*

"Such was the condition of the national defence when, on the 20th of December, 1860, South Carolina in convention passed the ordinance of secession."

It is beyond the scope of this article to describe *in extenso* all the errors committed during the Civil War. Suffice it to say that, for want of a Regular Army of sufficient size and expansiveness, or a proper force of trained militia capable of crushing the Confederacy at its inception, recourse had to be had to raw troops, in which the President and his Cabinet showed at the outset the same blind confidence which their predecessors had manifested in 1812. The logical result followed; these undisciplined volunteers ran away in a most disgraceful manner at the first battle of Bull Run, and the opening year of the war was marked by an almost unbroken chain of disasters, in spite of the fact that the Government called out no less than 807,557

troops—669,243 of which responded—at a cost of more than $238,000,000. Oblivious to the lessons of preceding wars, the folly of short enlistments was again committed, the Constitution had to be violated in order to meet the sudden emergency, the armies in the field were reinforced by new and untrained regiments, which, through ignorance and lack of discipline, suffered from unnecessary sickness, causing at the same time criminal waste and expense. Large bounties and even forced drafting had to be resorted to within two years and, lastly, no definite military policy worthy of the name was followed until General Grant was appointed Commander-in-Chief. In a word, all the errors of the Revolution were repeated *ad nauseam*. Blunder after blunder was committed by volunteer officers whose ignorance was only excelled by their courage, yet Congress never permitted the Regular Army to be increased beyond a paper strength of 39,273 officers and men (Acts of July 29th and August 3rd, 1861). This dearth of properly trained soldiers at the beginning of hostilities caused the war to be needlessly prolonged for four years; and, indeed, it is highly doubtful if it would have been brought to a successful termination even then had it not been for the iron circle of blockade which the Navy drew around the coasts of the Confederacy At the close of the war, the volunteers had acquired a training which made them comparable to any armies that have ever existed, but at what an awful cost; more than 2,600,000 had had to be called into service, the United States Government spent no less than $5,775,910,672.78, and the pensions paid out for this war alone have amounted to the fabulous sum of $3,149,537,669.52. On March 31st, 1862—nearly one year after the outbreak of the war—the United States had in service an army of 637,126 regulars and volunteers, whereas the Confederacy possessed only 200,000 and nevertheless was unsubdued. The difference between the respective policies has been thus admirably epitomized by Upton:

"The Government sought to save the Union by fighting as a Confederacy; the Confederates sought to destroy it by fighting as a nation. The Government recognized the States, appealed to them for troops, adhered to voluntary enlistments, gave the Governors power to appoint all commissioned officers and encouraged them to organize new regiments. The Confederates abandoned State sovereignty, appealed directly to the people, took away from them the power to appoint com-

missioned officers, vested their appointment in the Confederate President, refused to organize war regiments, abandoned voluntary enlistments, and, adopting the republican principle that every citizen owes his country military service, called into the army every white man between the ages of 18 and 35."

When the Confederacy was at last crushed and the great armies of veteran volunteers had been disbanded, the disturbed condition of the South and the violation of the Monroe Doctrine by the French invasion of Mexico compelled Congress to increase the Regular Army to 54,641 by the Act of July 28th, 1866; but, three years later, when the French Government had withdrawn its forces, the Army was reduced to 37,313 by the Act of March 3rd, 1869. A succession of Acts, culminating in that of June 26th, 1876, effected a further reduction to 27,472 officers and men, the maximum of enlisted men being definitely fixed at 25,000 by the Act of June 16th, 1874. For the following twenty-two years, the actual strength of the military establishment never exceeded 28,000, until the Act of March 8th, 1898, added two regiments of artillery, thus bringing its number up to 28,747 on paper. In spite of all the lessons of the past, we have seen, as Captain Rhodes points out in his admirable Gold Medal Prize Essay of the Military Service Institution for 1904, that:

"The war with Spain, declared from the 21st of April, 1898, found us with the smallest Regular Army, in proportion to population, that we have had at the beginning of any of our wars. It consisted of but 2,143 officers and 26,040 enlisted men, *or less than four-tenths of one per cent. of our estimated population.*"

Although Congress, by the Act of April 26th, 1898, authorized an increase of the Regular Army to 64,719, the actual operations necessarily began much too soon to permit this augmentation to be effected in time to meet the emergency; and, as usual, recourse was had to the militia, from which 200,000 volunteers were called out by the President's proclamations of April 22nd and May 25th. As Captain Rhodes tells us:

"A not unexpected deduction from our experiences in the Mexican and Civil Wars was that the efficiency of American volunteers was to be measured by the previous training, professional zeal and soldierly discipline of their officers. The enlisted personnel has ever been of splen-

did natural quality, and has not varied considerably in different regiments. Trained officers have by no means been numerous.

"The Spanish War was no exception in this respect, because the same obsolete system of selection of officers was followed as in former wars, and naturally the same results followed."

The events of this war are still too vivid in the minds of all of us to require chronicling here. Congress, as usual, failed to provide the necessary supplies until the very eve of mobilization and concentration, so that some of the volunteer regiments reported for duty without arms, accoutrements, ammunition or clothing. The confusion in the various camps, the dearth of proper supplies and equipment, the lack of adequate means of transport, the wild chaos at Tampa, the criminal waste of provisions which could not be found, the bungling which marked the embarking at Tampa and the landing at Daiquiri and Siboney, the blundering conduct of the operations culminating at Santiago and the wholly unnecessary sufferings of the troops by reason of their ignorance, coupled with the paucity of medical stores, field and base hospitals, afford a spectacle of unpreparedness and incapacity of which we Americans ought to be heartily ashamed. Judged by a purely military standard, the invasion of Cuba was a trivial affair; but never in modern times has there been an expedition which contained so many elements of weakness; that it succeeded at all is, indeed, a marvel. *The disorders, demoralization and incapacity which attended the opening operations were nothing but the logical outcome of the unwillingness of Congress to prepare for war until the last possible moment, and merely demonstrated once again the utterly vicious system to which our legislators have persistently bound us, by neglecting to provide a force of thoroughly trained soldiers either large enough or elastic enough to meet the requirements of war as well as of peace, supported by a militia which has previously had sufficient training to make it, when called out as volunteers, fairly dependable against the regular forces of other nations.*

FREDERIC LOUIS HUIDEKOPER.

*(To be Continued.)*

# NEW YORK: SOCIAL NOTES.—II.

BY HENRY JAMES.

I MUST positively get into the gate of the Park, however—even at the risk of appearing to have marched round through Georgia to do so. I found myself, in May and June, getting into it whenever I could, and if I spoke just now of the loud and inexpensive charm (inexpensive in the æsthetic sense) of the precinct of approach to it, that must positively have been because the Park diffuses its grace. One grasped at every pretext for finding it inordinately amiable, and nothing was more noteworthy than that one felt, in doing so, how this was the only way to play the game in fairness. The perception comes quickly, in New York, of the singular and beautiful but almost crushing, mission, that has been laid, as an effect of time, upon this limited territory, which has risen to the occasion, from the first, so consistently and bravely. It is a case, distinctly, in which appreciation and gratitude for a public function admirably performed are twice the duty, on the visitor's part, that they may be in other such cases. We may even say, putting it simply and strongly, that if he doesn't here, in his thought, keep patting the Park on the back, he is guilty not alone of a failure of natural tenderness, but of a real deviation from social morality. For this mere narrow oblong, much *too* narrow and very much too short, has directly prescribed to it, from its origin, to "do," officially, on behalf of the City, the publicly amiable, and *all* the publicly amiable—all there could be any question of in the conditions: incurring thus a heavier charge, I respectfully submit, than one has ever before seen so gallantly carried. Such places, the municipally instituted pleasure-grounds of the greater and the smaller cities, abound about the world and everywhere, no doubt, agreeably enough play their part; but is the part anywhere else as heroically played in proportion to the

difficulty? The difficulty in New York, *that* is the point for the restless analyst; conscious as he is that other cities even in spite of themselves lighten the strain and beguile the task—a burden which here, on the contrary, makes every inch of its weight felt. This means a good deal, for the space comprised in the original New York scheme represents in truth a wonderful economy and intensity of effort. It would go hard with us not to satisfy ourselves, in other quarters (and it is of the political and commercial capitals we speak), of some such amount of "general" outside amenity, of charm in the town at large, as may here and there, even at widely scattered points, relieve the o'erfraught heart. The sense of the picturesque often finds its account in strange and unlikely matters, but has none the less a way of finding it, and so, in the coming and going, takes the chance. But the New York problem has always resided in the absence of any chance to take, however one might come and go—come and go, that is, before reaching the Park.

To the Park, accordingly, and to the Park only, hitherto, the æsthetic appetite has had to address itself, and the place has therefore borne the brunt of many a peremptory call; acting out year after year the character of the cheerful, capable, bustling, even if overworked, hostess of the one inn, somewhere, who has to take all the travel, who is often at her wits' end to know how to deal with it, but who, none the less, has, for the honor of the house, never once failed of hospitality. That is how we see Central Park, utterly overdone by the "run" on its resources, yet also never having had to make an excuse. When once we have taken in thus its remarkable little history, there is no endearment of appreciation that we are not ready to lay, as a tribute, on its breast; with the interesting effect, besides, of our recognizing in this light how the place has had to be, in detail and feature, exactly what it is. It has had to have something for everybody, since everybody arrives famished; it has had to multiply itself to extravagance, to pathetic little efforts of exaggeration and deception, to be, breathlessly, everywhere and everything at once, and produce on the spot the particular romantic object demanded, lake or river or cataract, wild woodland or teeming garden, boundless vista or bosky nook, noble eminence or smiling valley. It has had to have feature at any price, the clamor of its customers being inevitably *for* feature; which accounts, as we forgivingly

see, for the general rather eruptive and agitated effect, the effect of those old quaint prints which give in a single view the classic, gothic and other architectural wonders of the world. That is its sole defect—its being inevitably too self-conscious, being afraid to be just vague and frank and quiet. I should compare her again—and the propriety is proved by this instinctively feminine pronoun—to an actress in a company destitute, through an epidemic or some other stress, of all other feminine talent; so that she assumes on successive nights the most dissimilar parts and ranges in the course of a week from the tragedy queen to the singing chambermaid. That valor by itself wins the public and brings down the house—it being really a marvel that she should in no part fail of a hit. Which is what I mean, in short, by the sweet *ingratiation* of the Park. You are perfectly aware, as you hang about her in May and June, that you *have,* as a travelled person, beheld more remarkable scenery and communed with nature in ampler or fairer forms; but it is quite equally definite to you that none of those adventures have counted more to you for experience, for stirred sensibility—inasmuch as you can be, at the best, and in the showiest countries, only thrilled by the pastoral or the awful, and as to pass, in New York, from the discipline of the streets to this so different many-smiling presence is to be thrilled at every turn.

The strange thing, moreover, is that the crowd, in the happiest seasons, at favoring hours, the polyglot Hebraic crowd of pedestrians in particular, has, for what it is, none but the mildest action on the nerves. The nerves are too grateful, the intention of beauty everywhere too insistent; it "places" the superfluous figures with an art of its own, even when placing them in heavy masses, and they become for you practically as your fellow spectators of the theatre, whose proximity you take for granted, while the little overworked *cabotine* we have hypothesized, the darling of the public, is vocalizing or capering. I recall as singularly contributive in all this sense the impression of a splendid Sunday afternoon of early summer, when, during a couple of hours spent in the mingled medium, the variety of accents with which the air swarmed seemed to make it a question whether the Park itself or its visitors were most polyglot. The condensed geographical range, the number of kinds of scenery in a given space, competed with the number of languages heard, and the whole impression

was of one's having had but to turn in from the Plaza to make, in the most agreeable manner possible, the tour of the little globe. And that, frankly, I think, was the best of all impressions—was seeing New York at its best; for if ever one could feel at one's ease about the "social question," it would be surely, somehow, on such an occasion. The number of persons in circulation was enormous—so great that the question of how they had got there, from their distances, and would get away again, in the so formidable public conveyances, loomed, in the background, rather like a skeleton at the feast; but the general note was thereby, intensely, the "popular," and the brilliancy of the show proportionately striking. That is the great and only brilliancy worth speaking of, to my sense, in the general American scene—the air of hard prosperity, the ruthlessly pushed-up and promoted look worn by men, women and children alike. I remember taking that appearance, of the hour or two, for a climax to the sense that had most remained with me after a considerable previous moving about over the land, the sense of the small quantity of mere human sordidness of state to be observed.

One is liable to observe it in *any* best of all possible worlds, and I had not, in truth, gone out of my way either to avoid it or to look for it; only I had met it enough, in other climes, without doing so, and had, to be veracious, not absolutely and utterly missed it in the American. Images of confirmed (though, strangely, of active, occupied and above all "sensitive") squalor had I encountered in New Hampshire hills; also, below the Southern line, certain special, certain awful examples, in Black and White alike, of the last crudity of condition. These spots on the picture had, however, lost themselves in the general attestation of the truth most forced home, the vision of the country as, supremely, a field for the unhampered revel, the unchecked *essor*, material and moral, of the "common man" and the common woman. How splendidly they were making it all answer, for the most part, or to the extent of the so rare public collapse of the individual, had been an observation confirmed for me by a rapid journey to the Pacific coast and back; yet I had doubtless not before seen it so answer as in this very concrete case of the swarming New York afternoon. It was little to say, in that particular light, that such grossnesses as want or tatters or gin, as the unwashed face or the ill-shod, and still less the unshod, foot, or the

mendicant hand, became strange, unhappy, far-off things—it would even have been an insult to allude to them or to be explicitly complacent about their absence. The case was, unmistakably, universally, of the common, the very common man, the very common woman and the very common child; but all enjoying what I have called their promotion, their rise in the social scale, with that absence of acknowledging flutter, that serenity of assurance, which marks, for the impressed class, the schoolboy or the schoolgirl who is accustomed, and who always quite expects, to "move up." The children at play, more particularly the little girls, formed the characters, as it were, in which the story was written largest; frisking about over the greenswards, grouping together in the vistas, with an effect of the exquisite in attire, of delicacies of dress and personal "keep-up," as through the shimmer of silk, the gloss of beribboned hair, the gleam of cared-for teeth, the pride of varnished shoe, that might well have created a doubt as to their "popular" affiliation. This affiliation was yet established by sufficiencies of context, and might well have been, for that matter, by every accompanying vocal or linguistic note, the swarm of queer sounds, mostly not to be interpreted, that circled round their pretty heads as if they had been tamers of odd, outlandish, perching little birds. They fell moreover into the vast category of those ubiquitous children of the public schools who occupy everywhere, in the United States, so much of the forefront of the stage, and at the sight of whose so remarkably clad and shod condition the brooding analyst, with the social question never, after all, too much in abeyance, could clap, in private, the most reactionary hands.

The brooding analyst had in fact, from the first of his return, recognized in the mere detail of the testimony everywhere offered to the high pitch of the American shoe-industry, a lively incentive to cheerful views; the population showing so promptly, in this connection, as the best equipped in the world. The impression at first had been irresistible: two industries, at the most, seemed to rule the American scene. The dentist and the shoe-dealer divided it between them; to that degree, positively, that in public places, in the perpetual electric cars which seem to one's desperation at times (so condemned is one to live in them) all there measurably *is* of the American scene, almost any other typical, any other personal fact might be neglected, for consideration, in

the interest of the presentable foot and the far-shining dental gold. It was a world in which every one, without exception, no matter how "low" in the social scale, wore the best and the newest, the neatest and the smartest, boots; to be added to which (always for the brooding analyst) was the fascination, so to speak, of noting how much more than any other single thing this may do for a possibly compromised appearance. And if my claim for the interest of this exhibition seems excessive, I refer the objector without hesitation to a course of equivalent observation in other countries, taking an equally miscellaneous show for his basis. Nothing was more curious than to trace, on a great ferry-boat, for instance, the effect of letting one's eyes work up, as in speculation, from the lower to the higher extremities of some seated row of one's fellow passengers. The testimony of the lower might preponderantly have been, always, to their comparative conquest of affluence and ease; but this presumption gave way, at successive points, with the mounting vision, and was apt to break down entirely under the evidence of face and head. When I say "head," I mean more particularly, where the men were concerned, "hat"; this feature of the equipment being almost always at pains, and with the oddest, most inveterate perversity, to defeat and discredit whatever might be best in the others. Such are the problems in which a restless analysis may land us.

Why should the general "feeling" for the boot, in the United States, be so mature, so evolved, and the feeling for the hat lag at such a distance behind it? The standard as to that article of dress struck me as, everywhere, of the lowest; governed by no consensus of view, custom or instinct, no sense of its "vital importance" in the manly aspect. And yet the wearer of any loose improvisation in the way of a head-cover will testify as frankly, in his degree, to the extreme consideration given by the community at large, as I have intimated, to the dental question. The terms in which this evidence is presented are often, among the people, strikingly artless, but they are a marked advance on the omnipresent opposite signs, those of complete unacquaintedness with the admonitory dentist, with which any promiscuous "European" exhibition is apt to bristle. I remember to have heard it remarked by a French friend, of a young woman who had returned to her native land after some years of domestic service in America, that she had acquired there, with other advantages,

*le sourire Californien,* and the "Californian" smile, indeed, expressed, more or less copiously, in undissimulated cubes of the precious metal, plays between lips that render scant other tribute to civilization. The greater interest, in this connection, however, is that impression of the state and appearance of the teeth viewed among the "refined" as supremely important, which the restored absentee, long surrounded elsewhere with the strangest cynicisms of indifference on this article, makes the subject of one of his very first notes. Every one, in "society," has good, handsome, pretty, has above all cherished and tended, teeth; so that the offered spectacle, frequent in other societies, of strange irregularities, protrusions, deficiencies, fangs and tusks and cavities, is quite refreshingly and consolingly absent. The consequences of care and forethought, from an early age, thus write themselves on the facial page distinctly and happily, and it is not too much to say that the total show is, among American aspects, cumulatively charming. One sees it sometimes balance, for charm, against a greater number of other felicitous items, in that totality, than one would quite know where to begin naming.

But I have strayed again far from my starting-point and have again, I fear, succumbed to the danger of embroidering my small original proposition with too many, and scarce larger, derivatives. I left the Plaza, I left the Park steeped in the rose-color of such a brightness of Sunday and of summer as had given me, on a couple of occasions, exactly what I desired—a simplified attention, namely, and the power to rest for the time in the appearance that the awful aliens were flourishing there in perfections of costume and contentment. One had only to take them in as more completely, conveniently and expensively *endimanchés* than one had ever, on the whole, seen any other people, in order to feel that one was calling down upon all the elements involved the benediction of the future—and calling it down most of all on one's embraced permission not to worry any more. It was by way of not worrying, accordingly, that I found in another presentment of the general scene, chanced upon at a subsequent hour, all sorts of interesting and harmonious suggestions. These adventures of the critical spirit were such mere mild walks and talks as I almost blush to offer, on this reduced scale, as matter of history; but I draw courage from the remembrance that history is never, in any rich sense, the immediate crudity of what "happens," but the

much finer complexity of what we read into it and think of in connection with it. If a walk across the Park, with a responsive friend, late on the golden afternoon of a warm week-day, and if a consequent desultory stroll, for speculation's sake, through certain northward and eastward streets and avenues, of an identity a little vague to me now, save as a blur of builded evidence as to proprietory incomes—if such an incident ministered, on the spot, to a boundless evocation, it then became history of a splendid order: though I perhaps must add that it became so for the two participants alone, and with an effect after all not easy to communicate. The season was over, the recipients of income had retired for the summer, and the large clear vistas were peopled mainly with that conscious hush and that spectral animation characteristic of places kept, as with all command of time and space, for the indifferent, the all but insolent, absentee. It was a vast, costly, empty newness, redeemed by the rare quiet and colored by the pretty light, and I scarce know, I confess, why it should have had anything murmurous or solicitous to say at all, why its eloquence was not over when it had thus defined itself as intensely rich and intensely modern.

If I have spoken, with some emphasis, of what it "evoked," I might easily be left, it would appear, with that emphasis on my hands—did I not catch, indeed, for my explanation, the very key to the anomaly. Ransacking my brain for the sources of the impressiveness, I see them, of a sudden, locked up in that word "modern"; the mystery clears in the light of the fact that one was perhaps, for that half-hour, more intimately than ever before in touch with the sense of the term. It was exactly because I seemed, with the ear of the spirit, to hear the whole quarter bid, as with one penetrating voice, for the boon of the future, for some guarantee, or even mere hinted promise, of history and opportunity, that the attitude affected me as the last revelation of modernity. What made the revelation was the collective sharpness, so to speak, of this vocal note, offering any price, offering everything, wanting only to outbid and prevail, at the great auction of life. "See how ready we are"—one caught the tone: "ready to buy, to pay, to promise; ready to place, to honor, our purchase. We have everything, don't you see? every capacity and appetite, every advantage of education and every susceptibility of sense; no 'tip' in the world, none that our time is

capable of giving, has been lost on us: so that all we now desire is what you, Mr. Auctioneer, have to dispose of, the great 'going' chance of a time to come." That was the sound unprecedentedly evoked for me, and in a form that made sound somehow overflow into sight. It was as if, in their high gallery, the bidders, New-Yorkers every one, were before one's eyes; pressing to the front, hanging over the balustrade, holding out clamorous importunate hands. It was not, certainly, for general style, pride and color, a Paul Veronese company; even the women, in spite of pearls and brocade and golden hair, failed of that type, and still more inevitably the men, without doublet, mantle, ruff or sword; the nearest approach might have been in the great hounds and the little blackamoors. But my vision had a kind of analogy; for what were the Venetians, after all, but the children of a Republic and of trade? It was, however, mainly, no doubt, an affair of the supporting marble terrace, the platform of my crowd, with as many columns of onyx and curtains of velvet as any great picture could need. About these there would be no difficulty whatever; though this luxury of vision of the matter had meanwhile no excuse but the fact that the hour was charming, the waning light still lucid, the air admirable, the neighborhood a great empty stage, expensively, extravagantly set, and the detail in frontage and cornice and architrave, in every feature of every edifice, as sharp as the uttered words of the plea I have just imagined.

## III.

The American air, I take advantage of this connection to remember, lends a felicity to all the exactitudes of architecture and sculpture, favors sharp effects, disengages differences, preserves lights, defines projected shadows. Sculpture, in it, never either loses a value or conceals a loss, and it is everywhere full of help to discriminated masses. This remark was to be emphatically made, I found myself observing, in presence of so distinct an appeal to high clearness as the great Palladian pile just erected by Messrs. Tiffany on one of the upper corners of Fifth Avenue, where it presents itself to the friendly sky with a great nobleness of white marble. One is so thankful to it, I recognize, for not having twenty-five stories, which it might easily have had, I suppose, in the wantonness of wealth or of greed, that one gives it a double greeting, rejoicing to excess perhaps at its merely remain-

ing, with the three fine arched and columned stages above its high basement, within the conditions of sociable symmetry. One may break one's heart, certainly, over its only being, for "interest," a great miscellaneous shop—if one has any heart left in New York for such adventures. One may also reflect, if any similar spring of reflection will still serve, on its being, to the very great limitation of its dignity, but a more or less pious *pastiche* or reproduction, the copy of a model that sits where Venetian water-steps keep—or used to keep!—vulgar invasion at bay. But I hasten to add that one will do these things only at the cost of not "putting in" wherever one can the patch of optimism, the sigh of relief, the glow of satisfaction, or whatever else the pardonably factitious emotion may be called—which in New York is very bad economy. Look for interest where you may, cultivate a working felicity, press the spring hard, and you will see that, to whatever air Palladian piles may have been native, they can nowhere tell their great cold calculated story, in measured chapter and verse, better than to the strong sea-light of New York. This medium has the abundance of some ample childless mother who consoles herself for her sterility by an unbridled course of adoption—as I seemed again to make out in presence of the tiers of white marble that are now on their way to replace the granitic mass of the old Reservoir, *ultima Thule* of the northward walk of one's early time.

The reservoir of learning here shaping itself above great terraces—which my mind's eye makes as great as it would like—lifts, once more, from the heart the weight of the "tall" building it apparently doesn't propose to become. I could admire, in the unfinished state of the work, but the lower courses of this inestimable structure, the Public Library that is to gather into rich alliance and splendid form the great minor Libraries of the town; it was enough for my delight, however, that the conditions engage for a covering of the earth rather than an invasion of the air—of so supreme an effect, at the pitch things have reached, is this single element of a generous area. It offers the best of reasons for speaking of the project as inestimable. Any building that, being beautiful, presents itself as seated rather than as standing, can do with your imagination what it will; you ask it no question, you give it a free field, content only if it will sit and sit and sit. And if you interrogate your joy, in the connec-

tion, you will find it largely founded, I think, on all the implications thus conveyed of a proportionately smaller quantity of the great religion of the elevator. The lateral development of great buildings is as yet, in the United States, but an opportunity for the legs, is in fact almost their sole opportunity—a circumstance that, taken alone, should eloquently plead; but it has another blest value, for the imagination, for the nerves, as a check on the constant obsession of one's living, of every one's living, by the packed and hoisted basket. The sempiternal lift, for one's comings and goings, affects one at last as an almost intolerable symbol of the herded and driven state and of that malady of preference for gregarious ways, of insistence on gregarious ways only, by which the people about one seem ridden. To wait, perpetually, in a human bunch, in order to be hustled, under military drill, the imperative order to "step lively," into some tight mechanic receptacle, fearfully and wonderfully working, is conceivable, no doubt, as a sad liability of our nature, but represents surely, when cherished and sacrificed to, a strange perversion of sympathies and ideals. Anything that breaks the gregarious spell, that relieves one of one's share, however insignificant, of the abject collective consciousness of being pushed and pressed in, with something that one's shoulders and one's heels must dodge at their peril, something that slides or slams or bangs, operating, in your rear, as ruthlessly as the guillotine — anything that performs this office puts a price on the lonely sweetness of a step or two taken by one's self, of deviating into some sense of independent motive power, of climbing even some grass-grown staircase, with a dream perhaps of the thrill of fellow feeling *then* taking, then finding, place—something like Robinson Crusoe's famous thrill before Friday's footprint in the sand.

However these things might be, I recall further, as an incident of that hour of "evocation," the goodly glow, under this same illumination, of an immense red building, off in the clear northeast quarter, which had hung back, with all success, from the perpendicular form, and which actually covered ground with its extensions of base, its wide terrestrial wings. It had, I remember, in the early evening light, a homely kindness of diffused red brick, and to make out then that it was a great exemplary Hospital, one of the many marvels of New York in this general order, was to admire the exquisite art with which, in such a medium, it

had so managed to invest itself with stillness. It was as quiet there, on its ample interspace, as if the clamorous city, roundabout, as if the passion of the Elevated and of the Elevator in especial, were forever at rest and no one were stepping lively for miles and miles away; so that visibly, it had a spell to cast and a character to declare—things I was won over, on the spot, to desire a nearer view of. Fortune presently favored this purpose, and almost my last impression of New York was gathered, on a very hot June morning, in the long, cool corridors of the Presbyterian Hospital, and in those "halls of pain," the high, quiet, active wards, silvery-dim with their whiteness and their shade, where the genius of the terrible city seemed to filter in with its energy sifted and softened, with its huge good-nature refined. There were reasons beyond the scope of these remarks for the interest of that hour, but it is at least within the scope that I recall noting there, all responsively, as not before, that if the *direct* pressure of New York is too often to ends that strike us as vulgar, the indirect is capable, and perhaps to an unlimited degree, of these lurking effects of delicacy. The immediate expression is the expression of violence, but you may find there is something left, something kept back for you if that has not, from the first, fatally deafened you. It carries with it an after-sense which put on for me, under several happy intimations, the image of some garden of the finest flowers—or of such as might be on the way to become the finest—masked by an enormous bristling hedge of defensive and aggressive vegetation, lacerating, defiant, not to be touched without blood. One saw the garden itself, behind its hedge and approachable only by those in the secret—one divined it to contain treasures of delicacy, many of them perhaps still to be developed, but attesting the possibilities of the soil. My Presbyterian Hospital was somehow in the garden, just where the soil, the very human soil itself, was richest, and—though this may appear an odd tribute to an institution founded on the principle of instant decision and action—it affected me, amid its summer airs and its boundless, soundless business, as surpassingly delicate. *There,* if nowhere else, was adjustment of tone; there was the note of mildness and the sense of manners; under the impression of which I am not sure of not having made up my mind that, were I merely alone and disconcerted, merely unprepared and unwarned, in the vast, dreadful place, as must

happen to so many a helpless mortal, I should positively desire or "elect," as they say, to become the victim of some such mischance as would put me into relation again, the ambulance or the police aiding, with these precious saving presences, to re-establish for me, before the final extinction or dismissal, some belief in manners and in tone.

Was it in the garden also, as I say, that the Metropolitan Museum had meanwhile struck me as standing?—the impression of a quite other hazard of *flânerie* this, and one of those memories, once more, that I find myself standing off from, as under the shadow of their too numerous suggestion. That institution *is*, decidedly, to-day, part of the inner New York harmony that I have described as a touched after-sense; so that if there were, scattered about the place, elements prompting rich, if vague, evocations, this was recognizably one of the spots over which such elements would have most freedom to play. The original Museum was a thing of the far past; hadn't I the vision of it, from ancient days, installed, stately though scrappy, in a large eccentric house in West Fourteenth Street, a house the prior period, even the early, impressive construction of which one recalled from days still more ancient, days so far away that to be able to travel back to them was almost as good, or as bad, as being a centenarian? This superfluous consciousness of the original seat of the Museum, of where and what it had been, was one of those terrible traps to memory, about the town, which baited themselves with the cheese of association, so to speak, in order to exhibit one afterwards as "caught," or, otherwise expressed, as old; such being the convicted state of the unfortunate who knows the *whole* of so many of his stories. The case is never really disguisable; we get off perhaps when we only know the ends of things, but beyond that our historic sense betrays us. We have known the beginnings, we have been present, in the various connections, at the birth, the life and the death, and it is wonderful how traceably, in such a place as New York, careers of importance may run their course and great institutions, while you are just watching, rise, prosper and fall. I had had my shudder, in that same Fourteenth Street, for the complete disappearance of a large church, as massive as brown stone could make it, at the engaging construction of which one's tender years had "assisted" (it exactly faced the parental home, and nefarious,

perilous play was found possible in the works,) but which, after passing from youth to middle age and from middle age to antiquity, has vanished as utterly as the Assyrian Empire.

So, it was to be noted, had the parental home, and so the first home of the Museum, by what I made out, beyond Sixth Avenue—after which, for the last-named, had there not been a second seat, long since superseded too, a more prolonged *étape* on the glorious road? This also gave out a shimmer from the middle time, but with the present favoring stage of the journey the glorious road seems to stretch away. It is a palace of art, truly, that sits there on the edge of the Park, rearing itself with a radiance, yet offering you expanses to tread; but I found it invite me to a matter of much more interest than any mere judging of its dispositions. It spoke with a hundred voices of that huge process of historic waste that the place in general keeps putting before you; but showing it in a light that drew out the harshness or the sadness, the pang, whatever it had seemed elsewhere, of the reiterated sacrifice to pecuniary profit. For the question here was to be of the advantage to the spirit, not to the pocket; to be of the æsthetic advantage involved in the wonderful clearance to come. From the moment the visitor takes in two or three things—first, perhaps, the scale on which, in the past, bewildering tribute has flowed in; second, the scale on which it must absolutely now flow out; and, third, the presumption created by the vivacity of these two movements for a really fertilizing stir of the ground—he sees the whole place as the field of a drama the nearer view of the future course of which he shall be sorry to lose. One never winces after the first little shock, when Education is expensive—one winces only at the expense which, like so much of the expense of New York, doesn't educate; and Education, clearly, was going to seat herself in these marble halls—admirably prepared for her, to all appearance—and issue her instructions without regard to cost. The obvious, the beautiful, the thrilling thing was that, without regard to cost either, they were going to be obeyed: that inference was somehow irresistible, the disembodied voices I have spoken of quite forcing it home and the palace roof arching to protect it as the dome of the theatre protects the performance. I know not if all past purchase, in these annals (putting the Cesnola Collection aside,) has been without reproach, but it struck me as safe to gather that (put-

ting aside again Mr. Marquand's rare munificence) almost no past acceptance of gifts and bequests "in kind" had been without weakness. In the light of Sargent's splendid portrait, simply, there would have been little enough weakness to associate with Mr. Marquand's collection; but the gifts and bequests in general, even when speciously pleasing or interesting, constitute an object-lesson in the large presence of which the New York mind will perform its evolution—an evolution traceable, and with sharpness, in advance. I shall nevertheless not attempt to foretell it; for sufficient to the situation, surely, is the appearance, represented by its announcing shadow, that Acquisition—acquisition if need be on the highest terms—may, during the years to come, bask here as in a climate it has never before enjoyed. There was money in the air, ever so much money—that was, grossly expressed, the sense of the whole intimation. And the money was to be all for the most exquisite things—for *all* the most exquisite except creation, which was to be off the scene altogether; for art, selection, criticism, for knowledge, piety, taste. The intimation—which was somehow, after all, so pointed—would have been detestable if interests other, and smaller, than these had been in question. The Education, however, was to be exclusively that of the sense of beauty; this defined, romantically, for my evoked drama, the central situation. What left me wondering a little, all the same, was the contradiction involved in one's not thinking of some of its prospective passages as harsh. Here it is, no doubt, that one catches the charm of rigors that take place all in the æsthetic and the critical world. They would be invidious, would be cruel, if applied to personal interests, but they take on a high benignity as soon as the values concerned become values mainly for the mind. (If they happen to have also a trade-value this is pure superfluity and excess.) The thought of the acres of canvas and the tons of marble to be turned out into the cold world as the penalty of old error and the warrant for a clean slate ought to have drawn tears from the eyes. But these impending incidents affected me, in fact, on the spot, as quite radiant demonstrations. The Museum, in short, was going to be great, and in the geniality of the life to come such sacrifices, though resembling those of the funeral-pile of Sardanapalus, dwindled to nothing.

HENRY JAMES.

# THE CHRISTIAN ENDEAVOR MOVEMENT.

BY HENRY B. F. MACFARLAND, PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

A TINY seed, a great tree: from one society of less than fifty members to over sixty-six thousand societies and nearly four million members: from one small church in Portland, Maine, to churches in every Christian community and at most of the missionary stations the world round: from a few dollars a year, for missionary and other causes, to over half a million dollars last year from less than one-sixth of the whole number of societies: from obscurity to world-wide fame and influence—this is the quarter-of-a-century story of the Christian Endeavor movement. In much less than a generation it has reached this great growth. Its founder is still a comparatively young man. A modest gentleman, whose modesty and gentleness have concealed from many his exceptional ability and energy, with the sanity, the sentiment and the strength of the Puritan, he has been, so far as men are concerned, the head and front of it all. He has had the great good fortune,—almost unique,—to start a perfectly new organization, and then to lead it, through every increase and improvement and development, always keeping it to his thought for it. Sir George Williams, who had a somewhat similar experience, did not, in twice the time, impress his life as completely upon the Young Men's Christian Association movement; and even General William Booth, with autocratic authority, is not more intimately related to the Salvation Army than Dr. Francis E. Clark is to the Christian Endeavor societies, over which he has no authority, every one of them being absolutely independent, except of its own church.

The organizations which grew from the minds of these three men are, with those which are the practical outgrowths of them,

the most important of modern times. They are so unlike, except in the essential spirit, that they are not comparable. But, taken together, as having the same motive, inspiration and aspiration, they suggest that this should be called the Age of Faith, rather than the Age of Doubt. They are certainly worthy of more attention than they have received from the most intellectual observers, especially among editors and essayists. Men of letters are seldom in sympathy with evangelical Christianity, probably because they know too little about it. Simply as one of the facts of life in our day, the rise and progress of the Christian Endeavor movement, for example, is sufficiently important to be worthy the careful consideration of any thoughtful man, regardless of his views of religion. If a new political party had, in the same time, grown to such proportions and was showing the same virility and stability, it would be the frequent theme of men who, perhaps, do not know even the name of the Christian Endeavor Society. If four million people were keeping a pledge to read daily the plays of Shakespeare, or the poems of Dante, or the dialogues of Plato —to meditate upon them, to bring them to the attention of others and to put their highest teachings into practical living—that fact would interest immensely men who do not seem to know that the greatest book of all is having just such place and power in the lives of four million people. The Kingdom of Heaven cometh in all of its phases without observation, however, and it is not necessary, if desirable, that this particular phase of it should have that kind of observation. The vast majority of the members of the Christian Endeavor Society are happily unconscious of the fact that they are not under the eyes of certain critics, who, because they do not know that this and similar forms of religious life are giving Christianity new progress and power, write of it as if it were declining.

No philosopher who sees life whole, as it is to-day, can ignore the immense significance of such an organization as the Christian Endeavor Society. Not to speak of its importance to the individual church, or to the individual state, its value as an interdenominational and an international league, binding the churches together, and binding the states together, with the invisible ties of affection, sympathy, and a good purpose, can hardly be overestimated. Standing always for loyalty to the church denomination, and taking no partisan stand in politics, national or inter-

national, it has been one of the most efficient forces in bringing about that better understanding between churches and that better understanding between countries which are among the most prominent signs at the opening of the twentieth century. The cause of international peace through international justice, for instance, has already profited in a most practical way by the Christian Endeavor Society's active support of international arbitration and conciliation as means of settling international differences. For its members in every country are in constant communication with each other, through their organs and other channels. Patriotism, expressed in good citizenship, is a cardinal teaching among them, and hand in hand with it goes the doctrine that all men are brothers and that all nations should be friends, under the government of the principles of Jesus Christ. No wonder that it has had the official recognition and commendation of Presidents and Premiers, who have seen that it was of practical importance sufficient to entitle it to their particular notice. Sagacious statesmen see more quickly than men of letters, or even theologians, the meaning and effect of such things. They know that in the actual life of peoples they are more real and effective than political parties or governmental machinery, to say nothing of the power of literature or philosophy.

Yet nothing was further from the mind of the young Congregational minister of the Williston Church of Portland, Maine, when, on the evening of the 2nd of February, 1881, he organized his young parishioners into the first Christian Endeavor society, than that it would figure in the affairs of the nation, much less in the affairs of nations. Like Sir George William and General William Booth, he had no ambitious dreams and did not plan on paper a national or international organization, but, in the ordinary course of his pastoral duties, and to meet a need which stared him in the face, he began his work, unconscious of its future development and possibilities. Like Sir George Williams and General William Booth, he believed that his seed-thought was from God, and therefore had life, with all its possibilities, but he could not foresee its growth. He had the "faith in God, faith in man, faith in work"—the New England creed which Lowell pronounced "ample enough for this life and the next." He saw that he needed a better organization for the young people of his church, many of whom had recently been brought

into active membership in special meetings, than the old-fashioned types of young people's societies, and particularly that there must be a larger opportunity for them in the life and work of the church, and also an acknowledgment and obligation on their part to make the most of it. Accordingly, he prepared—having none to copy,—a constitution ("whose germs had lain in his mind for a long while"), for a society of Christian Endeavor, under an iron-clad obligation, which he read to the young Christians whom he had asked to his house on that winter Wednesday evening. In describing afterward what took place, he wrote that, after reminding them of their principles and duties, he read it to them, page by page, and then, he says, "a deathly stillness fell upon the meeting. These provisions were evidently more than the young people had bargained for. They had not been accustomed to take their religious duties so seriously . . . it seemed as though the society would die still-born. . . . But God ordered it otherwise. In that company were two who were especially influential and helpful. These were W. H. Pennell and the pastor's wife. Seeing that the matter was likely to fall through —at least for that meeting—Mr. Pennell affixed his signature to the constitution, and called upon his class of young men to do the same. Mrs. Clark quietly circulated among the girls, persuading them that it was not such a dreadful promise to make as they had at first supposed, telling them that the provisions of this constitution any earnest young Christian could live up to, and promising herself to be a member, although at first she shrank from the pledge as much as any of them.

"One by one the young men and women affixed their names to the document; a few minutes were spent in conversation, a closing prayer was offered and a hymn sung, and the young people went out into the frosty night and into their homes with many a merry 'Good-night' to each other, and the first society of Christian Endeavor was formed."

The constitution, which has now been copied in principle by over sixty-six thousand societies, gave, as the object of the society, "to promote an earnest Christian life among its members, to increase their mutual acquaintance and to make them more useful servants of God." But the most important clause—the stumbling-block to the young people and the potent cause of their after-success—related to the prayer-meeting, and stated: "It is

expected that all of the active members of this society will be present at every meeting unless detained by some absolute necessity, and that each one will take some part, however slight, in every meeting." This contained Dr. Clark's root idea, "that the young Christian must be trained into strong Christian manhood, as by the industrial training-school, which teaches apprentices how to work by working, how to use tools by using them, how to exercise hand and foot and eye and brain in order that hand and foot and eye and brain may become expert in life's vocation."

Besides this, there was provision for a monthly meeting of rededication and also for the officers and committees.

Under the flexible plan of the wise founder, the constitution has grown so as to provide for additional committees, and for the special circumstances of particular societies; but the basic principle in all the forms is that the active members shall both attend and take part in meetings and shall as faithfully carry on various kinds of work, always in and through the parent church and the leadership of its pastor. The pledge provides for personal, systematic and united endeavors. It always provides for daily Bible-reading, regular church attendance and participation in meetings, unless an excuse can be given conscientiously "to his Lord and Master," and the pledge has proved fascinating rather than repellent, and spiritual rather than mechanical. It is all as might have been expected from the ardent and mighty spirit of youth. American ingenuity has been shown in the progressive application of Christian Endeavor principles so as to take in people of all ages, and associate as well as active members, made up of those who, while not church members, are willing to attend the meetings; and in the division of work, so as to give everybody something definite to do, which is arranged among committees to cover every variety of possible endeavor in and out of the church. Its adaptation to all races, as well as churches and ages, is one of the proofs, to those who founded it, of its divine origin. A great company of witnesses in all lands testify to this.

Speaking of the church side of its work, Amos R. Wells says:

"There is the lookout committee, which spurs the careless, reclaims those who fall back or fail, and seeks and instructs new members; a conserving, an evangelizing, a missionary committee. There is the prayer-meeting committee, which selects leaders, plans new features for the meetings, and assists the leader in making the meeting a success. There

is the social committee, whose ingenuity in devising ways of reaching the young outside of the church, through social gatherings and pure amusements, has certainly been marvellous. The good-literature committee gathers subscriptions to denominational periodicals; collects for hospitals and missionaries the waste reading-matter of the congregation; opens church reading-rooms, literature tables, or book and magazine exchanges; supplies with religious reading barber shops, railroad waiting-rooms, and the like; keeps scrap-books bearing on the work of the different committees; edits and publishes the church paper, and often prints for circulation the pastor's sermons. The flower committee decorates the pulpit, and afterwards, with loving messages, distributes the flowers among the sick or poor. The calling committee seeks out strangers. The relief committee dispenses charitable gifts. The Sunday-school committee prepares itself to fill gaps in the ranks of the teachers, hunts up absent scholars, gathers in new ones. Missionary and temperance committees agitate those causes by special meetings and by literature. The usher committee welcomes visitors, and keeps the back seats clear. There are invitation committees, to distribute printed invitations to church meetings; correspondence committees to watch over members as they pass from one place to another, and introduce them into some new society and church home. There are pastors' aid committees, to do little odd jobs for the pastor. The ingenious young folks sometimes even form baby committees, to tend small children while their mothers go to church. By the time an Endeavorer has served a term on each of these committees in a live society he will have gained a pretty extensive training in applied Christianity.

"Christian Endeavorers are always prompt to put the seal of system on good ideas, as in the 'front-seat brigades,' the 'hand-shaking circles,' even the 'band of first getters-up!' They are ready to engage in a church census, or in out-district work. Similar committees from different societies often hold committee conferences, or correspond for an exchange of ideas; and, in the conventions, no part of the crowded programme, except, possibly, the question box, is so eagerly enjoyed as that unique Endeavor feature, the 'Open Parliament' for the discussion of methods of work."

The present-day condition among the Endeavor societies is full of promise. There is a growing number of societies, with forms and features differing from model suggestions. There are societies with two or three pledges. There are some that are practically a federation of different groups of young workers in the church. There are some which conduct various boys' and girls' clubs as feeders. Good citizenship and philanthropy are emphasized.

No one has done more to stimulate this tendency than the young General Secretary, Mr. Von Ogden Vogt, in conferences

in all parts of the country. He believes that all the young people of a church ought to be given some work to do to express their religion practically. But in many large parishes all the young people cannot be won to the same mode of expression. This is where a group form of society is valuable.

Some churches that have had several organizations for the youth are unifying them into one common Endeavor society. This dignifies the spiritual phases of the work in the minds of those interested in the practical only. It also minimizes machinery, enables church authorities to control more fully all the work for the young and makes for a better democracy among the youth of a church.

Mr. Vogt points to the growing intelligence in Sunday-school work, and declares that a like careful guidance will soon come to be given to the other things that need to be done for the boy besides teaching him.

The idea was taken from the Williston Church first by a Congregational church in Newburyport, Massachusetts. Four years ago, its pastor, Charles Perry Mills, wrote to Dr. Clark:

"If it is any comfort to you to know how the earliest pastor to imitate your example feels about Christian Endeavor after twenty years, let me say in deepest sincerity, 'I believe in it with my feet and my hands, with my eyes and my ears, with my tongue and my nostrils, for it tastes and smells sweet; I believe in it with my head and my heart; I believe in it north, south, east, west, and in every point of the compass between the four cardinal points, for it is to-day, on its merits and by the favor of God, world-wide.'"

This enthusiastic utterance is quite characteristic of the tributes given on all occasions and in all countries by its oldest as well as its newest friends. Many societies have doubtless dropped out, but very few of the leaders have left it during the years, while it has steadily grown in numbers and achievement.

As the news of the new organization was spread by the press, it was gradually introduced in many churches; but there were only six societies when the first convention was held at Williston Church, in June, 1882. There were fifty-three, with an enrolled membership of 2,630, when the second convention was held the next year. Before ten years passed, 5,000 delegates were present in a national convention held in Chicago, representing thirty-

three States and Territories, societies had been started in England, and Dr. Clark had been induced to retire from the pastorate to become the President of the United Society of Christian Endeavor, and Editor-in-Chief of "The Golden Rule," the Christian Endeavor organ, now named "The Christian Endeavor World." By the time the national convention met in Philadelphia in July, 1899, 6,500 delegates were sent, a number of foreign countries were represented, and the President of the United States sent a telegram of greeting. Prominent clergymen and other public speakers were glad to address this convention. These conventions have become an important feature in the life of the movement. Not even the political conventions have commanded such an attendance or shown such earnestness of enthusiasm, and no religious gatherings are comparable with them in numbers or public interest. Twenty thousand delegates from outside of the convention city, and an attendance of over fifty thousand, are the astonishing reports of these national conventions. They have been supplemented by State and local conventions. In all of these gatherings, every effort has been made to deepen the spiritual life and to instruct and inspire the societies through their representatives. Although many famous men and women have addressed these conventions, no one has had such an influence in them as the founder himself. Through his writings and through his public addresses, in this country and in his world tours in behalf of the Christian Endeavor movement, he has gained a personal hold upon the members of the societies which is unequalled by that of any other man in any other organization, and this is because he has drawn out the admiration and the affection of his followers. Those who know him best admire and love him most:

> "With living breath of all the winds, his name
> Is blown about the world; but, to his friends,
> A sweeter secret hides behind his fame,
> And love steals shyly through the loud acclaim
> To murmur a 'God bless you!' and there ends."

Dr. Clark has so put his life into the Christian Endeavor movement that it seems like his body. It is impossible to write its history without seeming to write his biography. He is its typical man and represents its ideals as completely as any man can. It is

entitled to be judged by him and those who are most like him. All Christian Endeavorers are not like him, although the proportion of those who fail entirely and publicly is not large. The churches will testify, and, more important, the cities—and especially those in which Christian Endeavor conventions have been held—will testify that the impression made by the great majority of Christian Endeavorers is a favorable one, and no one sees more quickly the mistakes of any of the societies or individuals than does its leader, or has been more quick to adopt suggestions or proposed amendments or improvements. Open-mindedness and teachableness are characteristic of the Christian Endeavor leaders, as of the Christian Endeavor societies. The fears of those who apprehended that pharisaism, spiritual pride and formalism would soon appear in the new organization proved as unfounded as the fears that the young people would be made bold and disagreeable by it. No men have been more grateful or more loyal to the Christian Endeavor movement than the pastors of the churches; and even those denominations which have preferred to have denominational societies of their young people have carried on the Christian Endeavor work by adopting its principles. Well may the churches show gratitude! Dr. Clark has stated that, "on the average for ten years past, nearly two hundred thousand each year of the associate members of the society have connected themselves with some branch of the church of God." Although he does not claim that this is due wholly to the society, no one can doubt that it is largely due to the society. He has also stated that: "It is far below the actual facts to say that the Endeavorers annually give, through their own organizations, in addition to all that they give through other channels of the church, not less than a million dollars a year for the home churches and for missions at home and abroad," and he justly claims that very much of this is an extra asset, additional to what would have been given otherwise, as shown by what was given before the Christian Endeavor movement began.

It cannot be too often repeated that the United Society, which is the international headquarters, does not draw for its support one dollar from the individual societies, but is maintained by the profits of its own publications. Dr. Clark has supported himself by his own writings. Ten thousand dollars a year is gathered from the societies in America and Great Britain, solely to pro-

mote the cause of Christian Endeavor in countries where the English language is not spoken, on the invitation of the church missionaries.

Dr. Clark's character, as well as his consistent purpose, is well shown in the four great objects which he set before the societies at the convention of 1905, in Baltimore, namely:

1. That they give $1,000,000 to denominational missions;
2. That they should bring into the church one million new church attendants;
3. That they should induce one million persons to join the church;
4. That they should bring one million new members into the Christian Endeavor societies.

It is most natural that the other leaders of the movement, without Dr. Clark's knowledge, planned to set up a memorial of his work which should also serve to perpetuate it, in celebration of its first quarter of a century of life, in the form of a building for the international headquarters of the national society, and a fund for its maintenance to be provided by the gifts of the Christian Endeavorers of the world. The proposition that each Endeavorer should give a small sum—twenty-five cents, if no more—has been received, as might have been expected, with enthusiasm all over this country and Canada, and in all foreign countries where the Christian Endeavor flag flies. An international committee for the promotion of the Christian Endeavor quarter-century memorial fund has been formed, with representatives of all churches and countries, and a strong finance committee which promises success for the undertaking.

Sir George Williams was knighted by Queen Victoria for founding the Young Men's Christian Association, celebrated its jubilee in Westminster Abbey, and was made a freeman of the City of London, and similar honors might have been given Dr. Clark if he had done his work from London. Not only the Endeavorers, with their personal devotion to him, but all of those who can appreciate the value of his services to society and its increasing influence upon the future, will feel that to give Dr. Clark the honor that is proposed for him, and which he will appreciate chiefly because it will be of lasting benefit to his life-work, is not too great for this benefactor of mankind.

HENRY B. F. MACFARLAND.

# ELASTICITY OF WRITTEN CONSTITUTIONS.

BY HANNIS TAYLOR.

JOHN MORLEY once said that "the great fault of political writers is their too close adherence to the forms of the system of state which they happen to be expounding or examining. They stop short at the anatomy of institutions, and do not penetrate to the secret of their functions." That fault has reached its highest development among the "political writers" of the United States for the reason that it has become a habit of life with them to expound, as absolute truths, certain dogmas embedded in our written constitutions which, in fact, embody only half truths. At the head of that list stands the dogma that the legislative, executive and judicial powers of government are separate and distinct, a dogma which was first brought to the attention of political thinkers by Montesquieu, who, in his "Spirit of Laws," simply indicated the extent to which it was applied in the English constitutional system. As Madison has told us in the "Federalist":

> "The British constitution was to Montesquieu what Homer had been to the didactic writers on epic poetry. As the latter have considered the work of the immortal bard the perfect model from which the principles and rules of the epic art were to be drawn, and by which all similar works were to be judged, so this great political critic appears to have viewed the constitution of England as the standard, or, to use his own expression, as the mirror, of political liberty."

Montesquieu looked into that mirror, and then outlined the very imperfect separation he saw there between the three cardinal powers of government; and the result of his reflections became current in time to be utilized by the framers of our State constitutions—George Mason being the first American statesman to give precise form to the new dogma by embodying it in the

Virginia Declaration of Rights, drafted by him in 1776. When the time came for it to be lifted into a higher sphere, through incorporation into our Federal Constitution of 1787, Madison was careful to explain that it was so incorporated only in the modified form in which Montesquieu had expounded it. Speaking of the constitution of the Mother Country, Madison said:

> "On the slightest view of the British constitution, we must perceive that the legislative, executive and judiciary departments are by no means totally separate and distinct from each other."

Speaking of the constitutions of the States he said:

> "If we look into the constitutions of the several States, we find that, notwithstanding the emphatical and, in some instances, the unqualified terms in which the axiom has been laid down, there is not a single instance in which the several departments of power have been kept absolutely separate and distinct."

And yet, as a theory, the unqualified dogmatic assertion was embedded in our constitutional system as an absolute truth which, it was supposed, would preserve for all time an exact co-ordination between three powers incapable of living on side by side in a state of perfect equality. In any scheme of liberty under law in which the ultimate defining power is vested in the judiciary, that department of government necessarily becomes the supreme power. In the progress of civilization nothing has been more difficult than to expand and adapt the primitive codes and constitutions of infant states to the ever-changing conditions of progressive societies. The history of jurisprudence, when viewed as a whole, demonstrates that that subtle and silent process of adaptation is too refined for formal legislation, which must ever remain, as it has ever been, the mere handmaid of judicial interpretation. Only that conserving and adapting force has prevented our otherwise rigid and inelastic system of written constitutions from going to wreck, while the infant society to which they were applied has been passing, in an incredibly short time, through an unparalleled national expansion.

Not until the establishment of the Empire at Rome did formal legislation, in the modern sense of that term, become important. As it is very unusual in the infancy of a nation for the legislature to be appealed to for the general reform of private law,

statute law, which became voluminous under the Empire, was scanty during the Republic. The enactments of the Emperors extend in increasing massiveness from the consolidation of the power of Augustus to the publication of the code of Justinian. During the creative period in which the jurisconsults were putting forth their wonderful treatises, the power of legislation passed from the people to the Senate, and then through a gradual process of usurpation from the Senate to the Emperor. It is, therefore, to the republican period that we must look for the early history of the process through which the primitive code of the greatest of city-states was expanded and adapted to the ever-increasing wants of a progressive society, by that silent and subtile agent known as "judge-made" law. At the outset, Roman law was simply a body of unwritten municipal customs, which lost their elasticity by being condensed into the Code of the Twelve Tables, put forth at a time when Roman society had barely emerged from that intellectual condition in which civil obligation and religious duty are inevitably confounded. When archaic law is thus condensed into a code, there is, of course, an end to its spontaneous development; all after-changes in it must be effected, if at all, deliberately and from without. As law is stable, and societies of the higher type progressive, how are the latter to be kept in harmony with the former? The problem of problems for students of constitutional law is involved in the process through which the strait-jacket put on by an infant state, in the form of a written code, is to be made sufficiently elastic to adapt itself to all the changing conditions of the after-growth. Leaving out of view legal fictions which, at certain stages of social progress, are invaluable expedients for overcoming the rigidity of law, the most important instrumentality through which the primitive Roman code was expanded, beyond the wants of the citizens of a single city to those of the citizens of a vast league of cities, was that known as "equity," a name given to a body of principles built up by Roman magistrates and Roman lawyers alongside of the original civil law, which it claimed the right to supersede by virtue of a superior sanctity inherent in such principles. In theory, the supreme judicial power was vested in the *praetor,* who was either a jurisconsult himself, or a person entirely in the hands of those who were. When a suit was commenced, the litigants appeared before the *praetor,* who made a

preliminary examination in order to ascertain the precise points in controversy. After hearing the statements and counter-statements of plaintiff and defendant, he constructed a brief technical outline of the disputed issue called a "formula." That formula was then put into the hands of the *judex* (something very different from the modern presiding judge), who, after hearing the evidence of the witnesses and the argument of the advocates, returned his decisive judgment to the *praetor* who appointed him. The entire proceeding thus carried on by the *praetor, judex,* and advocates was under the intellectual guidance of the jurisconsults, the makers of the scientific law-literature of Rome, who were regarded as law experts, and respected and resorted to as such by all concerned in the administration of justice. Primarily, the *praetor* was a great statesman or politician whose function was to enforce the law; the *judex,* or as we would now call him the "referee," might have no technical knowledge of law whatever. Under such conditions, the unlearned judicial magistrates naturally looked for light and leading to the jurisconsults who instructed them through their *responsa prudentium,* the technical name given to their opinions as experts. The jurisconsults thus became the reservoir from which was drawn that body of principles heretofore described as "equity," and finally known at Rome as the "*jus gentium,*" law common to all nations, which Cicero said was not one law for Rome, and another law for Athens, one law to-day, and another law to-morrow, but one eternal and immortal law for all time and for all nations, as God the common master and ruler is one. Or, according to the constitutional treatise published under the authority of Justinian: "The law which a people enacts is called the civil law of that people, but that which natural reason appoints for all mankind is called the law of nations, because all nations use it,"—something entirely different, of course, from the law of nations as now understood. Such was the general nature of the process by which the primitive and unelastic Roman code was liberalized and adapted to the changed conditions of an expanding society, through the growth of that system of judge-made law called "equity," built up alongside of the primitive code by the jurisconsults during the period that preceded the overthrow of the Republic and the advent of Augustus. When a new condition arose for which the inadequate primitive code did not provide, the juriscon-

sults simply wrote a commentary and filled the vacuum from a reservoir which was supposed to be supplied by natural reason. In that way, the Roman Bar became the real source of legislation.

When we pass from Rome to England, we there find a repetition of the old story of a body of customary law, which had crystallized into a written form, being expanded and adapted to the ever-increasing wants of a progressive society, through the results of at least six centuries of judge-made law. The primitive system of customary law which matured in the popular courts of England, like all archaic law, took on an iron rigorism of form which rendered it unelastic. Its entire inadequacy never became apparent, however, until the Norman Conquest drew England into the march of the Continental nations. The most important single outcome of that event was the centralization of justice through the establishment of a great court at Westminster, by whose agency a new system of royal law, which found its source in the person of the King, was brought in to remedy the defects of the old, unelastic system of customary law prevailing in the provincial courts of the people. As soon as the new judicial system put into operation by the Normans was in working order, "decisions of tribunals," as Digly has expressed it, "came to constitute in the strictest sense of the term a source or cause of law. Judge-made or judiciary law, henceforth, gradually displaces customary law." The English common-law judges, in the exercise of perfectly normal functions, thus undertook to enlarge the unelastic and inadequate primitive code by engrafting upon it new principles, either formulated by themselves or borrowed freely from the current compendiums of the Roman and Canon law. Mr. Dicey has said very lately that:

> "As all lawyers are aware, a large part, and, as many would add, the best part, of the law of England is judge-made law, that is to say, consists of rules to be collected from the judgments of the courts. This portion of the law has not been created by act of Parliament, and is not recorded in the statute book. It is the work of the courts; it is recorded in the reports; it is, in short, the fruit of judicial legislation. The amount of such judge-made law is in England far more extensive than a student easily realizes. Nine-tenths, at least, of the law of contract, and the whole, or nearly the whole, of the law of torts are not to be discovered in any volume of the statutes."

While the customary law of England has thus, in fact, been extended, modified and improved through case-law, in very much

the same way in which the primitive Roman code was transformed through the responses of the jurisconsults, in theory, the means employed have ever been held to be incapable of altering one jot or one line of the existing jurisprudence. By the baldest of legal fictions, the new principles announced were assumed to be drawn from a preexisting nebulous body of English law called the "common law," ample enough to supply doctrines applicable to any conceivable set of circumstances. And yet, effective as such means were in liberalizing and improving the English common law as such, they fell far short of the task to be accomplished. Just as it became necessary at Rome to build up, outside of and apart from the primitive code, a distinct set of principles capable of superseding it, called "equity," so it became necessary to build up alongside of and apart from the English common law a like system under the same title. That process began with the growth of the equitable jurisdiction of the English Chancellor, which Lord Campbell has defined to be "the extraordinary interference of the Chancellor, without common-law process, or regard to common-law rules of proceeding upon petition of the party aggrieved, who was without adequate remedy in a court of law." Thus the new body of equitable rules, which began to flow from a royal source, openly avowed that its right to supersede or supplement the primitive code rested upon the indisputable inadequacy of that code to then existing conditions. As the praetorian equity at Rome and the equity of the English Chancellor thus grew out of the same necessity, it is natural that their comparative histories should reveal many common features. As Sir Henry Maine has expressed it:

> "The *praetor* was the chief equity judge as well as the great common-law magistrate, and as soon as the edict had evolved an equitable rule, the *praetor's* court began to apply it in place of or by the side of the old rule of the civil law, which was thus directly or indirectly repealed without any express enactment of the legislature."

No better statement can be made of the process through which the same result was worked out in England. At Rome, the growth of equity had its limits; it seems to have exhausted itself when the succession of jurisconsults comes to a close with the reign of Alexander Severus. Then followed a period during which, Gibbon tells us, "the oracles of jurisprudence were almost mute."

From that time, the history of Roman law is the history of the imperial constitutions and of all the attempts finally made to subject the unwieldy body to codification. In the same way, the expansion of English equity seems to have ended with the chancellorship of Lord Eldon, who devoted himself rather to harmonizing and explaining the principles announced by his predecessors than to the germination of new ones in *gremio magistratuum*. The most striking point of difference, of course, between Roman and English equity is embodied in the fact that the latter, despite its bulk, has always abhorred codification.

The dominating and moulding principle which has ever been the lion rampant of Roman and English law,—really the only two systems of jurisprudence to which progressive history has so far given birth,—was supposed to be caged at last when the framers of our written constitutions decreed that the legislative, executive and judicial powers of government should forever remain separate and distinct. Henceforth, there was to be no more judicial legislation, no more adapting and expanding of the constitution of an infant state to the ever-increasing wants of a progressive society through the subtile and silent influence of judge-made law. Elaborate and cumbrous machinery was provided for amending our written constitutions, State and Federal, whenever changed conditions should render such a procedure necessary. Certainly so far as our Federal Constitution is concerned, such an expedient has proven a lamentable failure. Leaving out of view the first twelve amendments, which were nearly contemporaneous with it, and really a completion of it, but three remain, whose adoption, as all the world knows, was the outcome of civil war. Nothing is more generally admitted in the politics of this country than the fact that any reform is practically hopeless that depends upon the amendment, under normal conditions, of the Constitution of the United States. Experience has shown that the ponderous machinery provided for that purpose can only be moved by the giant of revolution. Under such conditions, who can doubt, when the marvellous rapidity of our national development is taken into account, that our Federal Constitution would have been a hopeless failure but for the expanding and adapting power of judge-made law, promulgated by the Supreme Court of the United States. At the outset, neither the nature nor the extent of its powers was at all clearly understood. As late as Jaunary 2,

1801, John Jay, the first Chief Justice, in declining a reappointment, wrote to President Adams:

> "I left the Bench perfectly convinced that, under a system so defective, it would not obtain the energy, weight, and dignity which was essential to its affording due support to the national government; nor acquire the public confidence and respect which, as the last resort of the justice of the nation, it should possess. Hence, I am induced to doubt both the propriety and the expediency of my returning to the Bench under the present system."

Fortunately for the cause of good government throughout the world, Jay's wail of despair was a bugle-call to a jurist who has exercised a wider influence, perhaps, than any other in the history of mankind.

On the day of the first meeting of the Supreme Court in the permanent capital of the nation, John Marshall took his place for the first time as Chief Justice, and, as such, he sat in the midst of six associates for thirty-four years. The time was ripe for the advent of a jurist and statesman clear-visioned enough to sweep the entire horizon of federal power, and bold enough to press each element of it to its logical conclusion. The success of his life-work was assured by the manner in which he solved the problem that awaited him. Thirteen years after the organization of the Supreme Court, he announced, for the first time, in the case of Marbury *vs.* Madison, that it possessed both the right and the power to declare null and void an act of Congress in violation of the Constitution. The invincible logic employed in the demonstration rested necessarily upon an admission that the august right in question was a mere deduction from the general nature of a system of government whose constitution had failed to grant it in express terms. Such deduction was, of course, a pure creation of judge-made law. The only precedents that existed were to be found in the States, where it had frequently been held that a State court could declare an act of the legislature void because of repugnancy to the State constitution. The States had borrowed the idea from the action of the English Privy Council, which sometimes annulled the acts of colonial legislatures when in conflict with colonial charters. After such charters were transformed into State constitutions, the judicial committee of the Privy Council was superseded by the Supreme Courts of the sev-

eral States. Finally, when the new system of constitutional limitations on legislative power, born in the States as a purely American invention, widened into national importance through its application to the legisative power vested in the unique Federal Republic created by the Constitution of 1787, the inevitable outcome was the Supreme Court of the United States, the only court in history ever endowed with the right to pass on the validity of a national law. When Marshall lifted that right into the highest possible sphere, he wrought a revolution in the jurisprudence of the world by giving to judge-made law its widest possible expansion; an expansion for which no precedent could be found in history. In the absence of any particular words in our Federal Constitution from which the existence of the right could be drawn, even by implication, the Supreme Court declared in Marbury *vs.* Madison that its right to annul a national law was a legitimate deduction from the entire instrument considered as a whole. And yet no jurist ever recognized more religiously than Marshall the difference that divides a system of organic law from a mere code of municipal law.

He well understood that the fathers, in their wisdom, had undertaken to do no more than construct a framework of governmental timbers, leaving the filling out of the interior details to legislation and to the defining and expanding hand of judicial interpretation. While no one was more content to dwell within the sacred circle marked by the outer walls of the temple, no one was more resolute than Marshall in harmonizing and adorning its interior through the application of the resources of judge-made law. Such an application was never more necessary than when the Supreme Court was called upon to create a body of rules sufficiently comprehensive to give effect to that brief and vague constitutional provision, providing that "The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States." Vast areas of territory were to be acquired and governed without any definite grant of power to do either. Fortunately, Marshall and his associates clearly understood that the history of colonization, from the Greeks' days down, put beyond question the fact that inhabitants of undeveloped states while in a colonial condition, have no right, natural or historical, to be admitted at once to the full citizenship

guaranteed by the constitution of the parent state. Jefferson, the real founder of our territorial system, perfectly understood that truth, and Gouverneur Morris, the draftsman of the provision in question, wrote at a later day that: "I always thought that, when we would acquire Canada and Louisiana, it would be proper to govern them as provinces and allow them no voice in our councils." Fortunately, that conservative view as to the proper relations between newly acquired territory and the parent state, entertained by the makers of the Constitution, and coined into judge-made law by Marshall and his associates, and which has imparted the necessary elasticity to the Constitution in that regard, has not been supplanted by the romantic yet dangerous afterthought of a later time.

Nothing has been more remarkable in the history of our Federal Constitution than the ease with which it has adapted itself, by the aid of judicial interpretation, to the ever-increasing wants of a rapidly swelling population, continually organizing new systems of local government beyond our original limits. When, during Jefferson's second term, the application of steam to navigation was made by Robert Fulton, a revolution was wrought in the commerce of the country. A notable legal result of the change was a substitution for the ancient English rule of admiralty jurisdiction, resting on the ebb and flow of the tide, of a new one better adapted to totally different physical conditions. In Taney's time, the navigable character of the water was made the test; and thus, by the silent stroke of the judicial pen, the admiralty jurisdiction of the Federal courts was extended, not only beyond the flow of the tide in all public navigable waters, but even over the great fresh-water lakes as well. No one will deny that the unparalleled material development of this country has been largely worked out through the agency of corporations, the public confidence in whose stability has rested largely upon the famous decision rendered in 1819, in the Dartmouth College case, wherein it was held that the charter of a corporation is a contract, and as such protected against violation by State legislative action by Article I, Section 10, of the Federal Constitution. Thus, by a momentous stroke of the judicial pen, American corporations were placed in a condition of security as to the legislative power of the States never before occupied by such bodies in any other country in the world. If,

in the great case in question, Marshall, with the concurrence of his associates, had simply added the little word "not" to the phrase declaring that such charters are contracts within the meaning of the clause in question, the problems now presented by the growth of trusts and monopolies would appear in an entirely different light. In England no such problems exist. If they did, they would be summarily disposed of by the omnipotent Parliament, which can any day entirely remodel the basis upon which the privileges and immunities of English corporations rest. Under our system, the main hope of relief is in an appeal to the judicial power, which created the immunity of corporations from interference from State legislation. Now that an appeal for relief is being made to the judicial tribunals, the fact cannot be ignored that the power that made can unmake, that the power that built up can destroy. In this grave matter, a silent stroke of the judicial pen could work a revolution. No other department of government is so capable as the judicial of dealing with a problem whose complexity is as great as its influence is far-reaching. Our experience has demonstrated the fact that nothing so rapidly advances commercial and industrial interests as legitimate corporations, exercising normal powers according to law. The problem is how to protect such in their legal rights, and at the same time crush out the illegitimate and abnormal. After formal legislation has exhausted its limited resources, the ultimate solution of the problem will still remain for the judicial power; the last decisive word must be spoken by the Supreme Court of the United States. When the growth of the jurisdiction of that tribunal is viewed as one unbroken development, is there anything in its history, taken as a whole, to disquiet us? When the intricacy and delicacy of the mighty task which it has been executing for more than a century is calmly considered, must not the scientific jurist frankly admit that it could only have been performed through the agency of judge-made law—that agency which silently and safely expanded and adapted the primitive and unelastic codes of Rome and England to the ever-increasing wants of progressive societies?

HANNIS TAYLOR.

# THE ELDER STATESMEN OF JAPAN: THE POWER BEHIND THE PORTSMOUTH TREATY.

BY THE REV. WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS, AUTHOR OF "THE MIKADO'S EMPIRE."

In its moral significance, the treaty of Portsmouth is the high-water mark in the history of nations. It sets a lofty standard for twentieth-century civilization. It means the victory of right reason over passion, of science over emotion, of sober self-control over bluff and sham, the rout of militarism and the enthronement of true statesmanship as the rule of the commonwealth. Two of the youngest nations of the world, at the invitation and on the soil of the youngest of all, have settled their differences in a spirit of magnanimity, in deference to the dictates of humanity, and with a view to "the greatest good to the greatest number." Broadminded statecraft, obedient to the vision of the better Japan to come, rather than the anger of the misinformed multitude, or the pride of the exultant warrior, has ruled. Yet the victory of the wise in 1905 at the council-table, as fully as that of the valorous in the field, is but the repetition of the victory of Kioto in 1868, when a band of fifty-five young leaders turned their backs on feudalism and the sword to enter the brotherhood of humanity, vowing to win by brain, to uplift a nation, and to make trade honorable. They have steadily persevered in the determination to give Japan a régime of might based on right. Between the effusive self-styled "victor" and the real winner at Portsmouth, what contrast to the advantage of the latter! Japan has forever laid the spectre of the "Yellow Peril."

The best time for the making of a mutually beneficial treaty is just when armies are at their largest, and each has the expectation of overwhelming the other. A model treaty is that which breeds mutual self-criticism and discontent of a sort which, when

properly directed, becomes the motor of home reforms. Japan, as well as Russia, is far from "finished." Her greatest victory was over herself. She won by ruling her own spirit—a greater feat even than the taking of Port Arthur.

Americans, who are probably the most conceited people in the world, imagined that they secured the results at Portsmouth, and that they and their chief ruler deserve the crowning fame of the achievement. Possibly they do. One who reads only the newspapers may well rest in that calm delusion. So also can those who know Japan only in poster, but not those who see in perspective. With all honor to our American people, and President—too great to need an adjective—the real powers that, in the teeth of an opposing press at home, an over-conceited populace and unsleeping hostile partisans, though refusing a meeting on European soil, responded instantly to President Roosevelt's call, framed the scheme of possibilities, decided the final issue, and accepted the responsibility, were Japan's rulers, the Emperor and his Elder Statesmen. A half-dozen Genro, or Senators in the Privy Council, best incarnate the nation. Their mind has been one with the Mikado's, ever since New Japan, on the 3rd of January, 1868, was born. Their prenatal political potency as well as public career has been one with his. One word of an "Elder" weighs a milliard of tons. Compared with his judgment, that of a young man, however able or brilliant, avails little or nothing. The characters formed in the sevenfold-heated furnace of the pre-Restoration decade, from 1858 to 1868, and beaten, like a Muramasa sword, to finest temper on the anvil of the events which preceded the constitutional year of 1889, count supremely with nation and chief ruler. The giving of a written constitution magnified the Genro, while it reduced other men to a common calibre. Tested amid storm and stress with their protégé and comrade, the young Emperor, whose boyhood's baptism was one of exile, fire, war, and struggle between contending forces of reaction and advance, the Elder Statesmen enjoy the absolute confidence, both of sovereign and people. They numbered in 1868, as our own First Continental Congress did in 1774, fifty-five, and they stood for nationality as against feudal division, for popular freedom as against despotism, for progress instead of reaction. They are now to be counted almost on the fingers of one hand.

Despite the folly of Tokio toughs,—wonderfully in their be-

havior like our own New York "Jay treaty" and "draft-riot" mobs—and the frantic raving of a press guided by young men who have never learned through centuries of training the right use of "liberty," the verdict of the Genro will yet be fully and gratefully accepted, and their names shine as stars, not only in Japan's "River of Heaven," but in the firmament of the world's history. Téi Koku Dai Nippon is a country ruled not by mobs, but by law. Article XIII of the Constitution says that "the Emperor declares war, makes peace and concludes treaties." The commentary of the chief and still most trusted statesman, who, in 1889, by the Mikado's order, drew up the text of Japan's fundamental law, says: "The Emperor shall dispose of all matters relating to foreign intercourse, with the advice of his Ministers, but allowing no interference by the Diet therein." Talk, in 1905, of "revolution against the Mikado" was gibberish.

How comes it to pass that, despite her modern Diet, or Houses of Parliament, her press, and all those outward phenomena of representative government, Japan is still practically ruled, as little Holland is, by a select (or Privy) Council of experienced statesmen, who can virtually annul the apparent will of the Chambers and "the people"—a phrase which in our sense in the Japan of fifty years ago was not only unknown, but absolutely incapable of being generally understood? Yet more, why does the whole Japanese nation usually trust these few men, as a little child trusts its father? Why is it that the Constitution gives to the Privy Council the whole question of treaty-making, thus virtually telling the Emperor what, if he is a true lover of his people, he must do. Why is it that, immediately after the Princes of the Imperial blood, in the order of precedence at Court, the power to approach the throne at any time is given to Marquis Ito, a man of gentle, but not of noble, blood? As President of the Privy Council, he could stand before all else, ministers, nobles, and gentry. One reason for this is grounded in the eternal truth that war is based on passion, and statesmanship is based on reason. Certain it is that

> "*Beneath the rule of men entirely great,*
> The pen is mightier than the sword."

The italics are ours.

Forty years ago, in Yedo, Ito, young and full of hot blood as he was, a Bushido swashbuckler, threw down the flaming torch

and bloody sword as weapons against the hated bureaucracy of the Shogunate. Then and there, he placed his faith for life in law, reform, and "brain victories" as the grander forces, even in war, and in peace, ever to be striven for as the noblest policy, and in making the merchant the social equal of the soldier. Unscathed by the ever-lurking assassin, he yet lives, the greatest all-round servant of nation and Emperor, and the one longest in service. Why, again, is it that Yamagata, Matsugata, Inouyé civilians, stand near the throne in equal honor with Oyama, even though he be the supreme commander of Japan's embattled hosts; while not far below, before generals and admirals, though holding no office and wishing none, and even in Government Opposition, Count Okuma, peaceful educator, ecomomist and philanthropist, and Itagaki, the ceaseless agitator for the expansion of popular rights? Why, if not that Japan's real spirit, incarnated in Emperor and Genro, is for peaceful achievement as against martial glory, and for humanity in preference to acquisition through bloodshed? Can anything demonstrate more clearly Japan's real aim and love of peace?

Such matters deserve closest study if we wish to know the age-old tap-roots of Japan's government policy and her real, as opposed to her imagined, ambitions; or if we would appraise rightly the oft-predicted "menace" of Japanese to American success. The fears of European "Defenders of the Faith," or even of Yankee covetousness, are the last things to be taken counsel of, when seeking either facts or truth about "Orientals." The yellow dreams conjured up by the *delirium tremens* of sham "Christianity" ought not to disturb us. It is well to stand above the clouds of newspaper misinformation, and to take long views in the perspective of history, while for a forecast of the future nothing is better than a correct knowledge of the Japanese man. For, though mountains may melt, clothes, custom, and food change their fashion, and the once garden landscapes become factory-lands, that old conservative, the human heart, in Japan as elsewhere, remains the same. That which has been will be. Those who understand best the Japanese movement of the last half-century know that it was not one generated in the Occident, or by influences from the West, but that, however tremendous the reinforcement from without, it is true development of life from within.

I can remember Japan when there was not a telegraph, railway, rifled cannon, public hospital, Christian church, or newspaper; when Yedo bureaucracy, not so very different from that in St. Petersburg, was hardly more than destroyed; and when, poverty stricken, and often famine-cursed, a pitifully large number of her people, under the rule of the sword, supported one-tenth, the armed gentry and nobles, in non-tax-paying privilege, when millions in beggary or caste-slavery suffered unspeakable disease, or outside of humanity rotted on the roads, and when for all there was no more liberty of mind or conscience than in Russia. Thirty millions of human beings lived in compulsory frugality on a soil unable to furnish meat food, or even sufficient grain for its inhabitants. Pitiless economics allowed only the hopefully strong, but never a deformed, child to survive its birth. Japan had need of life and life more abundantly. The full programme of Mikadoism, which meant national unity, required that, first of all, the Yedo bureaucracy should be abolished and feudalism swept away. Only when these demolitions were accomplished could reconstruction begin. Four great clans led in the work. They faced colossal tasks not yet finished. "What are we to reform?" was once asked of Ito by a typical pro-Oriental. "Everything," was the answer. With Choshiu's civil and Satsuma's war talents, Tosa's liberty-loving instincts, and Hizen's balance, the assemblage of abilities was superb.

The great embassy, which was to turn the face of the nation toward Christendom started round the world in 1872. Of the four envoys, Ito alone survives. With a septuagint of official men, bent on blending the East and the West, in a new translation, went five of Nippon's daughters. Sweet little maids they were, as I saw them in their flowery costumes. To-day one is the wife of Field-Marshal Oyama, and another of Admiral Uriu, while a third is the leading woman educator of Japan, who has sent scores of her sisters to American colleges. Those who know only the *geisha* and Nippon women of stage and fiction know not Japan. The Empire would never have arrived at its stadium of assured progress, without her noble women, true helpmeets, matching Nippon's manly strength with devotion and service manifold. In a thousand other ways, not willingly but resolutely, out of principle and conviction, defying Chinese, Buddhist, and traditional customs, these champions of Mikadoism, taking as their motto,

"Education the basis of all progress," consecrated themselves to the ideal, "No second place for Japan." Alas that our newspaper writers and tourist interviewers dub this, that or the other statesman, "the Bismarck of Japan," until Japan has in alien rhetoric a whole battalion of Bismarcks, but in seeming not one Gladstone, Lincoln or McKinley! Yet it may be that history will award to Japan's historic fifty-five a fame equal to that same number in our first Continental Congress. With clear consciences, with eyes ever towards Heaven's judgment on them, should they quail in duty as they saw it, they were ever under the hair-hung sword. Never a step forward taken without sacrifice! Continually environed by assassins and reactionaries, the reformers persevered. Every end of an era was in crimson. Against the lives of each of the ten Imperial ministers in his Majesty's cabinet, whom I knew in 1870, plots were woven. As for martyrs, what a bloody list, yet what a shining roll! Yokoi, Omura, Hirosawa, Okubo, Mori, and scores of men of lesser name, were slain by fanatics who imagined they were "executing Heaven's decree." According to the ferocious ethics of Bushido, each assassin masked murderous hate and damnable selfishness under patriotism's plea. No wonder that, when riding in the funeral train of some new victim, Marquis Ito smoked a cigarette. Etiquette aside, perhaps, he needed it to steady his nerves. The feudal *ronin* gave way to the modern *soshi,* and the killing of cabinet ministers became the fad of cranks.

But, and this is our point, what an education for the young Mikado in knowledge and choice of men! What answers did he give before the nation to the fanatics who travestied "Heaven" in their egotistic folly? Always one and the same—higher honors and more glorious reward to his statesmen-servants, Katsu, Iwakura, Okuma, Itagaki, who escaped the pistol, sword and bomb, gaining scars and losing limbs; while upon his dead servants he poured out with generous hand all imaginable honors, while ennobling their sons. One by one, that little band of fifty-five passed beyond the shadow, until the Emperor was left with only a handful of those most trusted sons of the gods. As we can easily understand, each survivor, because of the bereaved Emperor's increasing loneliness, became more dear to the Imperial mind and heart. As with the Cumean sibyl of old, the lessening volumes of life held the price of all. To-day, when all told, the survivors

exceed scarcely one hand's count, the reasons are manifest why these living oracles speak so authoritatively concerning the policy of a nation. To the Emperor, increase of knowledge has been increase of sorrow. Thus has he learned how to take the measure of a man.

Those who know the Genesis, in 1868, and succeeding books, of Japan's Pentateuch of progress, leading up to consummation in that Deuteronomy—which is not yet written—understand easily that while there are Liberals and Conservatives, Progressists, and Friends of the Constitution, so called, there have never been in constitutional Japan any real reactionaries. Even in the Tokio mob of 1905, there was nothing antiforeign, and no trace of anti-Americanism. With the new army, moved on the wings of steam and electricity, various insurrections, whether of farmers with banners of matting and spears of bamboo, or of knights of feudal spirit, under beetle-headed helmets and in laced armor of silk, bamboo and steel, were put down with ease. Then in 1877 came that mighty uprising under the ex-Field-Marshal of 1868, Saigo, the Satsuman, to crush which cost seven months of blood, 30,000 lives and $60,000,000. This closed the era of reaction. Yet it so tested triumphantly the mettle of the peasant army that, after Saigo, Japanese laughed both at the idea of fearing either Chinese or Russians, or of ever becoming foreign-haters. To my mind, Japan accomplished nothing greater in 1905 than in 1877.

The Privy Council, consisting mostly of Elder Statesmen, was formed in 1886, and to them it was given to weave the text of the Constitution, sworn to in 1868 and proclaimed in 1889. In it, the whole question of treaties was foreseen, and the power to make and ratify settled—or, rather, reaffirmed. For, from "ages eternal," that power had resided in the Emperor alone. It was the gathering wrath of centuries that in 1860 flamed out against Ii, the Yedo premier, for daring without the Mikado's consent to sign the American treaty negotiated by Townsend Harris. The spur of the Restoration of 1868 was the determination to reclothe the Emperor with powers which the Shogun had usurped. Hence, while that Constitution is what it is, all such absurdities as Tokio mobs or "interference of the Diet," or semitreasonable newspapers, or the nonsense of "a revolution against the Mikado" —figment of ignorant foreigners—are beyond serious concern, while on the other hand, the liberties of the nation are sure.

While Article IX of the Constitution declares that "the Emperor issues, or causes to be issued, the Ordinances necessary for the carrying out of the laws, or for the maintenance of public peace and order, and for the promotion of the welfare of the subjects," it also adds: "But no Ordinance shall in any way alter any of the existing laws." Thus the Throne binds itself to maintain the liberties of the nation. Besides having supreme control of the Army and Navy, Article XIII, in grand simplicity, announces that "the Emperor declares war, makes peace and concludes treaties,"—for which no consent of the Diet is required, nor is any interference of the Diet allowed; while Article LVI makes it the duty of the Privy Council to "deliberate upon important matters of State (outside the scope of the powers of Diet, cabinet minister or envoys) when they have been consulted by the Emperor." Sublimely beautiful and rich in the heroism of prophecy, are the words of Ito's commentary of 1889: "It is not in an advisory body like the Privy Council that subjects should seek for fame and glory of the outside world."

The writer need not tell all he knows of the secrets of the old Dai-Jo Kan, or Supreme Council, table in the troublous early seventies, when, at times, because of fear of this or that clan, Satsuma or some other, or of reaction threatening colossal proportions, the Emperor was actually deserted at the council-table by his advisers. Under the written Constitution, Privy Councillors can neither shirk their duty, whether easy or terrible, nor give the slightest publicity to their opinions without the Emperor's express permission. Nor have they ever quailed for a moment. Compared with the wind and wave of St. Petersburg, Tokio has been a rock. Certainly, on that Monday in August, 1905, when summoned by the Emperor to deliberate and advise, the Elders had an unpleasant duty to face. The newspaper-roused populace expected the humiliation of Russia, the cession of all Saghalin, and, most confidently of all, a swollen indemnity for a bigger navy, a larger army and, more particularly, for commercial expansion and financial speculation. These popular hopes were never, I think, for a moment shared by the veteran advisers of the Mikado.

Since everything has been done according to the Constitution, anything in the expression of opinions by Japanese concerning the provisions of the treaty, when exceeding respectful and loyal

utterance, is not only unconstitutional, but tends to anarchy. To dictate terms to the Emperor in matters of treaty stipulations is not only preposterous, but it is suicidal. If a Japanese subject does not like what the Treaty of Portsmouth covenants, he need not be fool, rebel, or traitor. Let him rather seek to reform the conditions which in 1889 made the Constitution the thing of limits, as well as of law, that it is; but which cannot, in either patriotism, law or decency be changed at once. Nor can any but desperate characters expect revolution in place of slow evolution. Do some Japanese even think that the Constitution ought to have been made like that of England, where the ministers are responsible, not to the Sovereign, but to Parliament; or that in its text it ought to have read like that of the United States—the servants of the nation being mediately responsible for the people? Very good; but this means in effect a disguised republic like England, or a real one like the United States. Is Japan ready for this? Hardly. Nations are *not* born in a day, nor constitutions "struck off," nor does a true Parliament arise at the wave of a wand.

Every law-abiding Japanese still rejoices that the liberal provisions of the fundamental law, put into writing in 1889, are so full and explicit. All the world was amazed at the Emperor's enormous limitation of his Imperial prerogative. Though I speak with the furnace of Japanese party politics in near view, I can recall that when in Boston in 1889, with the faces of Japan's mighty dead, of the fifty-five of 1868, in memory, I first read this august text, every line of which seemed to me written in martyr blood, I wondered why meetings were not held in Faneuil Hall and the bells of the nation rung in sympathy with this Asian people. So wonderful an event, taking place in Asia and within a hundred years of the Philadelphia instrument, seemed a political miracle. One almost expected the Independence bell to heal its crack and ring out congratulations. To impugn or threaten that Constitution, or even to insult or lampoon the Elder Statesmen in the Privy Council, whose loyalty has been tried in fire, and whose patriotism grew in a field of swords, seems to me, an alien outsider, to be the height of folly,—the committing of national hara-kiri in the wrong age of the world. No sensible Japanese can go back of the text of the Constitution. Let him rather fight the conditions if he wants to, agitate for extension of the franchise, and strive for the political education,

in duties even more than rights, of the fifty million of his brethren. Make the Upper House of the Diet a true Senate with treaty-making power like that in Washington, and demand that the imperial ministers be responsible to the Diet and not to the Throne—but hardly yet. It is as certain as that the sun rose this morning that because of the victories in Manchuria, a great extension of political privileges in Japan is to be looked for. Nevertheless, the very experiences of the Japanese people since the late war began, show that they are not yet ready for universal suffrage. Better, a thousand times, Count Okuma's policy of steady agitation and solid education than a single hour of mob demonstration!

For, without denying the satisfactory side and some noble features, war is little more than incarnated lust. Its moral consequences reveal hell's crop, as of poisonous toadstools. Nothing is more ultimately disappointing than success in many battles. To this effect, Count Okuma had already sounded warning. The inevitable aftermath is social plague and moral pestilence. Twice has the Japanese populace been deluded by the deceitfulness of war. In 1894-5, to the Occident ignorant of the real organization of that amazing racial agglomeration called "China," there was a war between Japan and China, in which Japan won first glory, then humiliation, and again money indemnity,—with the certainty of having to spend it all quickly and of entailing an awful debt in fighting Russia. In reality, there never was any war between Japan and China, because there is no such thing in existence as a Chinese Empire in the sense that there is a German, British, or Russian Empire. What southern Chinaman cared for what went on in Chili, or Shing King? It was "only north man's pidgin." What did happen was a war between all Japan and Peking backed by but four or five out of the twenty-one Chinese provinces. And with what results to Japan? After the mobs and newspaper outbreaks against the Treaty of Shimonoseki, wild financial speculations led the nation into extravagance, neglect of real education, awful moral deterioration, and the necessity of wasteful military and naval expansion, with exhausting outlay in getting ready for the carefully prearranged war with Russia.

How has it been in 1905? Even more deceitful was this war with its victories. The nation girded for the fray in January and February, 1904. At once followed the postponement or paralysis of internal improvement, deterioration of education, and

self-denial of the poor almost to starvation. The land was drained of its youth, and the old men and women worked in the fields, widows and orphans uttered no cry. For a while, modesty, self-control, sacrifice, made the Japanese not only admirable, but models. But continued success made millions of them drunk in mind and imagination, while the statistics of loss were suppressed or manipulated with a secrecy that was horribly misleading. Forgetting that, with their leaders educated by British, German and American instructors, with modern machinery and forces borrowed from the most advanced nations, and near their base of supplies, they ought by all calculations to have won,—for their enemy, not only the most backward of Europe, and far behind in training, experience and science, fought at the fag end of his attenuated empire—the populace failed also to realize that, "compared with European and American development, Japan's has been a mere bagatelle." These quoted words are not the cold decision of an alien, they are those of the Elder Statesman, Count Okuma. Again, as the same level-headed wise man, who has all along given economical and moral warnings to his countrymen, made vivid in his article on "Militarism and the Rise and Fall of States," he warned against bloodthirstiness, and scouted the old popular worship of hara-kiri, the sworded bully and the theatrical assassin. "Violence is the rule of Bushido (the Warrior's code), and on violence it has been nurtured. It is out of touch with civilization."

In 1905, especially after the Mukden victory, the moral tension of the nation was dangerously loosened. Rampant, degenerate, and over-fat with Russian blood, visions of the great mulct, so confidently expected, intoxicated the less wise among the Japanese. After Togo's victory, they felt already the clinking of the Russian roubles in their hands. Again the atrocious proverb of the rebel reactionaries of 1877, who refused to lay aside the sword, pay taxes and work, came into vogue: "Though the eagle be starving, it will not eat grain." After so interrupted a feast, during nineteen months, on (double-headed) eagle, Great-Bear pie and war jam, the peace milk of Portsmouth was loathsome to the new baby among the nations. Hear again the far-seeing Count Okuma, who was once made legless by the dynamiter's bomb concealed in the umbrella of a champion of decadent Bushido, clad in European evening dress. On a like occasion with the

present, in the face of parochial patriotism and insular bigotry, he failed not in warning rebuke. In July, 1905, he wrote again:

"To-day Japan has entered the country of competitive nations. If she imagines that the sources of a nation's advancement do not lie in civilization, but are to be sought in the remnants of feudal ideas, and if she relies on armed victories, which encourage militarism and vitiate popular sentiment, she will be injuring her own progress and sowing the seeds of national decay."

In a word, the Elder Statesmen knew Japan's real conditions, soil, resources, and the problems awaiting solution. They had but slight expectations of indemnity or of anything save what Japan fought for and has won. As valuable as air-brakes on the train, or steel shoes on the tire, is this body of old heads, whose pure mind and aim would screen the evolution of the Japanese into modern men and keep their country in the path of sure progress and the permanent respect of the world. In 1787, old Franklin and well-balanced Washington were better, while Hamilton, Jefferson, Adams, and Clinton were good; so to-day we appraise the Genro of Japan. The treaty of Portsmouth crowns their work. How superb their record! Not alone with a Bismarck's energy of blood and iron, but with the patient, calm, exquisite balance, unremitting industry and gifts of patient adjustment, of a Washington, or a Lincoln, they swept away medieval feudalism, then made a new nation, and finally have won a place in the world's council of leading states.

Like Washington, having given free rein to the coursers of Empire, they stop the steeds firmly at the goal.

All the better off for not getting an indemnity, that would tempt the nation into extravagance, insolence and folly, Japan will now fall back on the ancient virtues of her sons and daughters, and within a decade reclaim her fallow land, suck abundance from the seas new and old, redeem Formosa, settle Yezo, exploit the metallic riches of southern Saghalin, set again in motion her paralyzed industries, open the mines of Korea, and make the peninsula a rice-field, and by trade in Manchuria and on the five continents win solid, permanent wealth in place of slippery war spoil. Every true friend must congratulate Japan that she got no indemnity from Russia. Apart from considerations of humanity, sound economics are the basis of history; and dependence on cardinal virtues the only safeguard of the future.

This is the end of an era. Japan's greatest and nobler problems are ahead. Let the people ponder this—her "progress so far a bagatelle." Let her face the truth and not the flatterer. The time for Bushido is past. Tradition and mythology will not serve her. Let the Japanese drop the ridiculous fiction of "2500 years of history," enforce a policy of truth in all things as the best weapon, accept the glorious fact of her youth and rawness, cease to suppress academic freedom, gradually relax that excess of secrecy which easily degenerates into deception and that has recoiled on both nation and government, and allow liberty to the individual and in the home—where it does not yet exist—educate her fifty millions, still mostly *heïmin,* and make the merchant's career honorable. Asia's fertility is like eternity itself, its mineral treasures practically untouched, its ocean's wealth inexhaustible, and the possibilities of commerce undreamed of. The old ethnic hates are lessening, and the world is slowly but surely learning that, though religions are many, religion is one. Thus the seed-beds of war may one by one become the gardens of arbitration and reason. Japan has honored the sword and the fighter long enough. Let the peace-promoter have his turn. Predominant in Eastern Asia and in the Northern Pacific, her supreme opportunity has come to show herself what she professes to be—"second to none." Let the spirit of the Emperor and the Elder Statesmen be followed, and she will surely actualize her dream.

WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS.

# POWER OF CONGRESS TO REDUCE REPRESENTATION IN CONGRESS AND IN THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE: A REPLY.

BY JOSEPH WARREN KEIFER.

In the October number (1905) of this Review is a well-tempered article on the right and expediency of Congress to reduce representation in the House of Representatives and in the Electoral College.

The writer first admits that such right was conceded by the Second Section of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution; then he asserts that in so far as it bears upon the denial of the suffrage to colored men, the Fifteenth Amendment of the Constitution repealed that section.

The discussion of the old question of State or Federal citizenship, and of the Dred Scott decision, holding that "a free negro of the African race, whose ancestors were brought to this country and sold as slaves," is not a citizen of the United States, is foreign to the matter under consideration. The part of the article which deals with that subject, therefore, may be passed over very briefly.

The Constitution did not originally define citizenship. It assumed that all freemen were citizens, with equal political rights; and they were so regarded in all the original States, even to granting to them the elective franchise, unless restricted by State constitution or law.

This right of restriction existed in States as completely against the white as the black race, and still so exists, under the limitation of the Fifteenth Amendment, which only prohibits disfranchisement "on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude."

The "Articles of Confederation," adopted July 9, 1778, did undertake (Article IV) to define citizenship thereunder, thus:

"The free inhabitants of each of these States, paupers, vagabonds and fugitives from justice excepted, shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several States."

The partisan Dred Scott case, decided March 6th, 1859, seized on the absence of a constitutional definition of citizenship, in the interest of slavery, to deny it to the African race, free or not.

It was unchangeably decided by the Civil War that the original principles of liberty and of the Declaration of Independence on which the Republic was founded should be reestablished, and forever maintained in all their purity. The Fourteenth Amendment was one of the blood-bought decrees of the war, set down in written form. It was the natural and logical successor of the Thirteenth Amendment, freeing all slaves; and then followed the Fifteenth Amendment abolishing race and color distinctions in the exercise of the elective franchise.

To put an end to the question of citizenship in the United States, Section 1 of the Fourteenth Amendment contains this language:

"All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside."

The first clause of Section 2 of this Amendment is a substantial repetition of the Constitution (Article I, Section 2), requiring representation to be apportioned in the States according to the number of "free persons" in each, excluding Indians not taxed. Then follows this language:

"But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State."

By Section 2 of Article I of the Constitution, all "persons" were regarded as citizens entitled to be counted for representation.

The writer falls early into a cardinal error which he maintains throughout his article. He rejects the fundamental principle of equality of political power between States and the voting citizens thereof in the administration of the Federal Government, and asserts the sole purpose of the provision quoted was to penalize any State that did not accord to its citizens "the unrestricted right of suffrage."

No such purpose appears either in the history of the adoption of the Amendment, or from its language. On the contrary, it is manifest that it was intended to provide for a voter in one State, or district of the same State, having an equal and only an equal voice with a voter in another State or district. It was intended to prevent just what has happened, that of a district in one State electing a member of the House with less than two thousand voters, whereas in a normal district of most States it now takes about forty thousand votes to elect a member. In a less degree, this inequality has arisen between districts of the same State; and in at least one State the whole vote cast has elected eight members of the House, whereas in other States, with more than double the vote in a single district, only one member is chosen.

Recurring again to Section 2, Article I of the Constitution, it will be seen that, in addition to all free persons, Indians not taxed being excluded, "*three-fifths of all other persons*" were added in determining the number of Representatives in the House of Representatives, and, consequently, in the Electoral College. This permitted the counting of three-fifths of the slaves.

When the War, with the Thirteenth Amendment, freed the slaves, it was claimed that all the colored race should be counted in securing representation, and that the white voters should vote for them as they had formerly done for three-fifths of the slaves. To deny this to the Southern people, it is pretended, would be to punish them. The day of punishment, if there ever was such a day, has long gone by, and an era of good-will has long since been inaugurated. But to promote and secure peace and good-will does not require a surrender by a large majority of the people to a small minority, or the surrender of the principle of equality of political rights and power, in administering the affairs of the Republic.

What justice is there in a citizen of one State having even

double power in electing a President of the United States or a Representative in Congress over a citizen of another State? There are instances where a voter in a district of one State has enjoyed the equivalent in voting for a President and Representative of more than twenty voters in another State.

Waiving the question of the provision being a penalty to disfranchising States, it would be pertinent to consider the wisdom of its enforcement by Congress for its good effect on such States. It would place them on a higher and better political and moral plane than they are on now. An unfair or unequal enjoyment of political power, like the enjoyment of any other wrong thing, is demoralizing and degrading. When the people of all the States are on an equal political basis, the objects sought to be attained by a free government will be more nearly realized, and the political brotherhood of mankind will be more nearly attained than it has ever been in any form of government, or under any flag. So long as one class of people in any State seek to gather to themselves governmental power they are not willing to concede to the people of the other States of the Union, there can be no proper equality, and there will be the danger and distrust that injustice always necessarily engenders.

The author of the article seems to think that the second section of the Amendment was adopted only with reference to the colored race. In this he is manifestly mistaken, as we shall presently see.

But, first, has there been a denial of the right of any "male inhabitants" qualified by age to vote for President, etc., or has such right been "*in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion,*" etc.?

Here is not the place to digest the Constitution and laws of States to show how or why, both white and black, "male inhabitants" have been denied the right to vote, or such right has been in some way abridged. The fact must speak for the efficacy of the methods adopted, and their execution, in securing that end.

I take one State for an example, which will strongly illustrate the disfranchisement of both white and black. The population at last census of Mississippi was, white, 641,200; colored, 907,630; total, 1,548,830, with a white voting population of 150,530, and colored of 197,936. The present ratio of representation in Congress is 194,182.

Comparisons will help us to understand. By the same census, California had a population of 1,485,053, and Kansas of 1,470,405, each less than Mississippi, but each of the three States had eight Representatives. The total vote for Congress cast in 1902 in Mississippi was 18,058, in California 291,008, and in Kansas, 274,253, and the average vote to elect a member that year in Mississippi was 2,257; in California, 36,376; and in Kansas, 34,282. The highest vote, that year, for a member in Mississippi was 3,245, and the lowest was 1,146. It is fair to say that, in that year, after making due allowance for ordinary stay-at-homes, at least 30,000 voters to a district in Mississippi were, in some way, deprived of the privilege of voting, for eligible voters do not, without a controlling cause, refrain from voting, especially the more illiterate, as they are almost universally jealous of the few substantial powers or rights they possess.

But what has become of the white voter of Mississippi? At least three of the eight Representatives of that State were apportioned on the white population, and the usual white vote should have been at least 115,000 (excluding above 35,000 of the white voting population as ordinary stay-at-homes), whereas it was, in 1902, only 18,058, about 97,000 short of a normal white vote, and in 1904 its total vote was 58,383, about one-half of the natural white vote of the State.

But, in contrast, in 1902, the whole vote of California was 317,820, and of Kansas 287,168; and in 1904, the vote of California was 331,545, and of Kansas 324,588, each of these States electing the same number (8) of Representatives as Mississippi. It is interesting to note that Missouri (once a slave State, where now equal political rights are accorded to its citizens as voters) with only double (16) the number of Representatives and population (3,106,665) of Mississippi, in 1904 polled 643,861 votes: one congressional district (the tenth) alone casting 58,383 votes, substantially the same number cast the same year in the whole State of Mississippi to elect eight Representatives and ten Electors.

It is also of interest, in this connection, to note the vote formerly cast in certain States where much was said about the use of troops and special deputy marshals at the polls to keep the peace deterring the honest voter from voting. Let us turn to the vote in Mississippi in 1872, the year of Grant's second

election as President. In the third congressional district the Democratic vote was 6,440; Republican, 15,047; total, 21,487—more than in the whole State thirty years later, the State then having less population than in 1902. This was not exceptional, as in 1872 the fourth district polled 6,870 Democratic, and 15,595 Republican votes; the sixth, 8,509 Democratic and 15,101 Republican votes. Presumably, the Democratic vote was then all white. Statistics of other States for the same and other years also show the disappearance of white and black voters alike, and furnish the same demonstration.

The plans adopted in several of the States disfranchise white citizens of a certain class as effectually as colored citizens. It has been shown that the proposition to amend the Constitution of Maryland this year would disfranchise a large number of her white citizens—probably more white than black citizens.

If there be educational, property, or other, disfranchising laws of any State, not common to other States, the same rule of reduction of representation should apply.

It is not within the scope of this paper to review, or even point out, the various plans adopted to produce the result. It is enough to know that they are effective, and that State constitutions and laws are so administered as to do their work. The "Atlanta Constitution" not long since published a report from Alabama, saying:

> "The disfranchisement of the negro under the new Constitution [Ala.] was complete, and the records show that less than 3,000 in the entire State have registered under the temporary plan. It is scarcely possible for the combined opposition of Republicans, Populists and Socialists to poll more than 20,000 votes in the whole State."

This prediction came true in the 1904 election.

The necessity of equalizing the voting power is thus shown not to be on account of the disfranchising of the colored race alone.

Disfranchisement is not confined to the States named, nor are the methods adopted to deny or abridge the right to vote uniform. The utmost wit of man has been drawn on to accomplish the desired end, and successfully. It is not, however, important to know, for the purposes of enforcing the Amendment, just how disfranchisement is brought about; it is sufficient for Congress to ascertain that it has been accomplished.

It is no objection to say that, while Section 3 of the Amendment expressly empowers Congress "to enforce by appropriate legislation the provisions of the article," it must find out judicially how the disfranchisement has been accomplished, or exactly to what extent it has taken, or will take, place. The fact that such power is, by the Constitution, vested in Congress is a full answer to the claim that it would be the exercise of a "judicial function" Congress does not possess. The supposed conflict between the Congress and the Supreme Court cannot possibly arise. The power of Congress to enforce the Amendment involves its finding, conclusively, whatever facts are requisite to its enforcement.

If a constitutional provision requires Congress to do anything requisite to its enforcement, the fact that another tribunal is usually charged by the same instrument with the power to do the same, or a like, thing does not take away the constitutional duty or right of Congress to act. The President is very frequently required, both by the Constitution and the laws, to find facts precedent to executive action, and, when found, there can be no review, either as to his finding or to the action he has based thereon. So, as to the exercise of the legislative powers of Congress which are plainly vested in it by the Constitution. If it were true, as claimed, that all judicial power was vested in the courts by one section of the Constitution, it is equally true that another and later one gives Congress the exclusive right to do whatever is necessary, whether judicial in its nature or not, to enforce the Fourteenth Amendment. It is not conceded that an incidental finding, necessary to the exercise of a legislative duty, is the exercise of a judicial power.

What is meant by the "judicial power of the United States" need not be discussed here; it is enough to know that it does not include any congressional power. That there are difficulties in the way of exercising a power, is no argument against its existence. Congress, when it submitted, and the States, when they ratified, the Amendment, understood the difficulties in the way of its execution; yet the anticipated necessity for a remedy to preserve the underlying principle of equality among the sovereign people of the States was so great that they enjoined the important duty on Congress alone.

The claim that the Fifteenth Amendment, in any sense, repealed the Fourteenth is not new.

The history of the Amendments is instructive. Each is an evolution. The "Ohio idea" was first advanced, providing that negroes should be counted in making up representation only in States where they were permitted to vote. Then came Mr. Stevens's plan to base it on legal voters alone. Then followed Mr. Conkling's plan to apportion Representatives among States according to number, with the proviso:

> "that whenever in any State, the elective franchise shall be denied or abridged on account of race or color, all persons of such race or color shall be excluded from the basis of representation."

This being referred to the Joint Committee on Reconstruction was reported back in a new form, but in substance the same; it passed the House, but, after many attempts so to amend it as to incorporate what is now the Fifteenth Amendment, prohibiting disfranchisement on account of race or color, etc., it was altered and passed by both Houses in its present form, the conclusion being then reached, Southern members aiding, to vest Congress with power to reduce representation where the right to vote was denied or in any way abridged for any cause, whether in consequence of an educational or property qualification, or on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude. There was almost a general agreement that if inequality in voting power arose between States, Congress should have power to adjust it.

The fundamental principle of equality of citizenship is as much overthrown, and the natural evil consequences resulting are the same, however produced.

If we keep steadily in view that the central principle embodied in the second section of the Fourteenth Amendment was to secure, as nearly as possible in human affairs, universal equal political power, as exercised through the elective franchise in the several States of the Union, we will avoid technical theories.

If the Fifteenth Amendment had prohibited an educational test or a property qualification of a voter, it would have as much affected the Fourteenth as it does in its present form.

When the Fifteenth Amendment was adopted, it was not dreamed that it abrogated the Fourteenth, and the necessity for the latter is now more apparent than when it was framed.

The three War-Amendments were proclaimed and ratified in the order of their numbers, December 18th, 1865, July 28th,

1868, and March 30th, 1870. (Virginia ratified the Fourteenth after the Fifteenth had been submitted.) And substantially the same Senators and Representatives, after the Fifteenth Amendment was ratified, gave their understanding of the continuing existence of the Fourteenth by passing a law, never repealed, dated February 2nd, 1872 (now Sec. 22, R. S. U. S.), embodying the language of Section 2, thus:

"Should any State deny or abridge the right of any of the male inhabitants thereof, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, to vote at any election named in the amendment to the Constitution, article fourteen, section two, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the number of representatives apportioned to such State shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of male citizens shall have to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State."

The pretence that the last amendment repealed the one preceding was not pressed, if thought of.

The settled rule of construction is against repeals by implication; and this rule is enforced with more rigor when interpreting constitutional provisions, because they are known to be more deliberately framed and adopted than statute laws. But, keeping in mind the evil sought to be avoided or remedied, and finding that the cause of the evil is not alone on account of disfranchised colored citizens, it is patent that no inconsistency exists between the two amendments which could give rise to any implication that the latter was intended to repeal the former.

The supposed absurdities which, it is claimed, would arise in reducing representation when citizens are prohibited from exercising suffrage because they are criminals, idiots, uneducated, non-taxpayers, etc., have no bearing on the question. If there be such a difference in the disqualification of voters for these or other like reasons as to produce a substantial inequality in voting between States, Congress should promptly reduce representation proportionately, as the Amendment provides. This may never be found necessary, as experience shows that disfranchisement for such causes has been so nearly the same in all the States as not to produce any substantial difference. The existing conditions, as we have seen, are great enough to command action, and while their injustice is being attended to, the smaller ones can also be attended to.

There is nothing sectional in enforcing a constitutional provision, especially one guaranteeing equality of political power. If the proposition were to grant unequal representation (such as now exists) among States of the Union, is there a statesman, patriot or voter in the Union who would openly advocate it? To do so would require the claim to be made that a voter in one State of the Republic possesses higher political rights, and is a safer depositary of governing power than a voter, or a number of voters, in some other States, and would necessarily require an investigation as to whether the preferred voter should be endowed with double or treble political rights—an affirmative decision on this point leading inevitably to but one conclusion, that the few should govern the whole. Then autocracy and monarchy would be in sight.

The asserted right of the self-elect few in a State to vote for the disfranchised many, because the latter, white or black, are not sufficiently endowed, mentally or morally, to vote intelligently, needs no discussion here. If there are those who cannot be trusted with suffrage, they should not be trusted, if they would, to confer their right of suffrage on more favored citizens of their States. Suffrage cannot be delegated; if it could, it should be delegated in a Republic based on equality of citizenship, as is ours, to all voters in the Union alike.

The assertion that the Amendment did not vest in Congress the power to reduce the representation of a State, provided its disfranchising "regulations were uniform and did not discriminate on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude," finds no warrant anywhere. The Amendment does not refer to uniform suffrage regulations within a State, nor to discriminations on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude. Subject to the limitations of the Fifteenth Amendment, the regulation of the elective franchise is left to each State, with the duty enjoined on Congress so to regulate representation as to secure equality among the voting citizens of the Union.

The constitutional provision is quite plain. The denial of suffrage is not even necessary; for if it is "*in any way abridged*" the duty—not mere right—devolves on Congress to reduce the basis of representation in the State denying or abridging suffrage "in the proportion which the number of such male citizens [meaning the so disfranchised] shall bear to the whole number of

male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State." This constitutional duty enjoined on Congress, being in the interest of equality of sovereign, or individual, power, the basic principle upon which our nation professes to be founded, and the preservation of which is absolutely necessary to its permanency and perpetuity, leaves no room for strict construction in the interest of those enjoying an unjust share of political power in the choice of a President and Vice-President, Representatives in Congress, etc. The article under review does not deny the existence of disfranchisement, but it seeks to find a way to defeat the plain purpose of the constitutional provision.

The author is to be congratulated for not claiming that the provision should not be enforced for fear of inciting race conflicts in the States denying or abridging suffrage. He doubtless understands, as do others, that there is more danger that the disfranchised whites and blacks, seeing that a few only are allowed to vote and govern, will, in some form, sooner or later, rebel against the injustice, and seek a remedy.

The Constitution requires that "the United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government." This is not secured alone by mere form, but by regulating, within constitutional requirements, the exercise of the powers of each State, so that no inequality shall exist between the people thereof in their relation to each other and to the people of all the other States.

The Constitution was created by and for the people of all the States. Its preamble recites:

> "We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

A perfect union cannot be formed, nor justice established, domestic tranquillity insured, common defence provided for, general welfare promoted, and the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity secured by establishing and maintaining an inequality in political power by allowing a few in one State, regardless of conditions or methods, to exercise the elective franchise given to the many in other States of the Union.

JOSEPH WARREN KEIFER.

# THE FIRST AMERICAN IMPERIALIST.

BY WILLIAM S. ROSSITER.

THE present colonial policy of the United States did not originate in the conditions growing out of the war with Spain. It was advocated fifty-two years ago by a commodore of the United States navy, who wrote of his purposes and impressions to the Navy Department from the old side-wheeler "Susquehanna," cruising in 1853 in the Japan Sea. This man was Matthew C. Perry, a product of the early navy, trained in the school of Bainbridge, Hull and Decatur, brother of "Perry of the Lakes," and his superior in most matters of administration and judgment.

The treaty which resulted from the American expedition to Japan, commanded by Commodore Perry, was signed at Kanagawa, beside the Bay of Yedo, March 31st, 1854. This historic document terminated the Japanese policy of seclusion which had been strictly enforced for two centuries, and marked the beginning of intercourse and trade with the United States, and subsequently with other foreign nations.

The immediate occasion for the American expedition was the barbarous treatment experienced by American sailors wrecked on the coasts of Japan. In the treacherous waters of the Indian Ocean and the China and Japan Seas, shipwrecks were frequent. Prior to the negotiation of the treaty, foreigners had been so rigidly excluded that ships of other nations, even when in distress, were not permitted to enter Japanese ports, and shipwrecked seamen had been subjected to the most cruel treatment. Even Japanese sailors, driven to sea in the frail junks employed in coastwise traffic and picked up by foreign vessels, or cast upon foreign shores, were not permitted to return to their native land if brought in foreign ships.

Had the expedition to Japan been an ordinary event in naval history, satisfaction over the successful outcome of it would have died out long ago. The contrary has occurred. Each turn in the rapid movement of affairs in the Orient, and our own entry, within a decade, into the company of ruling Powers across the Pacific, have emphasized the importance of the expedition, the influence of which still lingers in the cordial relations existing between the United States and the Japanese Empire.

After the beginning of the nineteenth century, Japan's policy of seclusion, which had been in force since 1638, became increasingly impracticable. Western nations were beginning to compete actively for Eastern trade, and the large population and reputed wealth of this hermit nation offered great temptations to mercantile enterprise. The Portuguese, who had been the first to secure a foothold in the islands (in 1542), and to whose religious activity the Japanese policy of exclusion was principally due, repeatedly attempted to reestablish commercial relations. The French, Dutch, Spanish, English, Russians, and Americans, successively endeavored to trade or negotiate treaties, but failed; although the Dutch were allowed to send a trading-ship annually to Nagasaki and to keep, under humiliating conditions, a resident Commissioner at that point. As the century advanced, the Japanese, indeed, showed a tendency to enforce exclusion even more strictly. They observed closely the course of events in the East, and perceived that England was gaining a foothold on the mainland at Shanghai and Hong Kong, and elsewhere in the Orient. They feared that a similar policy would be attempted in connection with their own country.

The early visits of Americans to Japan were unofficial and commercial; but, prior to the expedition commanded by Commodore Perry, the Federal Government had made three attempts to open communication with Japanese authorities. In 1832, a commercial agent, Mr. Roberts, was appointed; but, unfortunately, he died before reaching the islands; in 1846, Commodore Biddle, acting under the instructions of the Navy Department, visited Uraga with the ship of the line "Columbus" and the sloop "Vincennes," but was unable to secure any concessions; and, in 1848, Commander Glynn entered the harbor of Nagasaki in order to rescue fifteen seamen wrecked from the whaling-ship "Ladoga." He forced respect for the American flag and the

release of the seamen by threatening to fire upon the city unless his demands were complied with.

By the middle of the century, Japan's policy of exclusion had become of greater importance to the United States than to any other nation. It involved far more than mere commercial extension. The sperm-whale had been nearly exterminated in the North Atlantic, but it was still abundant in the North Pacific, and the base of the whale-hunting industry was being shifted to the Pacific coast. Many incidental but important changes resulted from this transfer. In 1845, when whaling had reached its greatest prosperity, more than fifteen million dollars of American capital were invested in this industry in the Far East. At least ten thousand men were employed in connection with it. The Japanese themselves state that in one year, shortly before the arrival of Commodore Perry, nearly one hundred American whalers passed Matsumae.

This transfer of the whaling industry to the Orient necessitated relations with Japan. In 1846, two whaling-ships were wrecked on the island of Nippon; their crews were captured and treated with great barbarity, their lives being spared only through the intercession of the Dutch Commissioner. So serious did this matter become that, in discussing the attitude of Japan, the American Secretary of State declared that the Japanese were derelict in those responsibilities which devolve upon every independent nation; and he laid down the rule that, if a nation habitually and systematically disregarded the plain requirements of civilization in the treatment of unfortunate persons cast on their shores by stress of weather, as if they were the most atrocious criminals, such a nation must be regarded as the common enemy of mankind.

Moreover, if permitted to remain undisturbed, conditions were liable to grow worse rather than better, for the navigation of the ocean by steam, the acquisition and rapid settlement by the United States of the vast territory on the Pacific, and the rapid communication established across the Isthmus had brought the United States into much closer proximity to the East than ever before; and, although the consequences of these events had scarcely begun to be felt, intercourse had already greatly increased.

Thus, by 1851, the necessity of protecting American citizens

navigating the China and Japan Seas had become urgent. In that year, the bark "Auckland" picked up at sea a number of Japanese waifs and carried them to San Francisco. Learning of this event, Commodore Aulick interested the Secretary of State in a plan for opening communication with Japan; and Mr. Webster addressed an official note to Mr. Graham, the Secretary of the Navy, suggesting that the incident offered an opportunity for opening commercial relations with Japan, or, at least, for securing some relief from the unfavorable conditions then prevailing.

Meanwhile, affairs within the Japanese Empire were also approaching a crisis: the anomalous dual government of Mikado and Shogun was soon to cease, and conditions were ripe for a complete change of policy. Commodore Perry, therefore, anchored off Uraga at a moment favorable to the success of his mission. So successful, indeed, was the expedition that it does not appear that any inquisitive historian has ever raised the question as to what would have happened had diplomacy failed. For just such a contingency, however, the methodical and far-sighted Perry was fully prepared.

In case of failure, Commodore Perry planned to seize a conveniently located island, and to hold it in the name of the United States until ordered to let go; to create a harbor of refuge for Americans stranded in that distant region, and to found a centre of influence for American trade, in order to counteract the colonizing and commercial invasion of the East by Great Britain. Incidentally, he expected to bring good government and prosperity to the natives.

Half a century later, the policy which Commodore Perry outlined was to be known in the controversies of American politics as "Imperialism." In the light of this interesting fact, the official correspondence between Perry and the Navy Department, which may be found in the neglected pages of a volume of Miscellaneous Documents of Congress (1855), assumes an importance quite apart from its historical character.

Of all persons in the service of the Government at that time, Commodore Perry was probably best fitted to succeed in the delicate task upon which he was despatched, and to form an intelligent forecast of future conditions in the East. He was the product of the early navy, having become a midshipman in

1809 at the age of thirteen; and he was only seventeen when, under Rodgers in the frigate "President," he chased and fought the British in the second war with England. At eighteen he was a lieutenant, and at twenty-five the commander of a 12-gun schooner. The years that followed these early and stirring experiences ripened the knowledge thus gained. He made cruises in the now long-forgotten "line-of-battle ships" and frigates, such as the "North Carolina" and "Brandywine," manned by men of Nantucket and Cape Cod; he saw honorable and most important service in the Mexican War; and, by study and patient experiment in adapting steam to successful use in war-vessels, he won the title of "Father of the Steam Navy." When Perry received his last and most important assignment, the Japan expedition, he had completed forty years of active service and achievement. Throughout his long service, whether chasing slavers, stamping out scurvy, improving the morals and discipline of his crew, or commanding a fleet, he accomplished his task with conspicuous fidelity and attention to detail.

The instructions of the Navy Department to Commodore Perry enclosed a communication from the State Department. "The objects sought by this Government," wrote Mr. Conrad, Acting Secretary of State, to Mr. Kennedy, the Secretary of the Navy, "are these:

"1. To effect some permanent arrangement with Japan for the protection of American seamen and property wrecked on these islands, or driven into their ports by stress of weather.

"2. The permission to American vessels to enter one or more of their ports in order to obtain supplies of provisions, water, fuel, etc., or, in case of disasters, to refit so as to enable them to prosecute their voyage. . . .

"3. The permission to our vessels to enter one or more of their ports for the purpose of disposing of their cargoes by sale or barter. . . . This Government, however, does not seek by this expedition to obtain any exclusive commercial advantage for itself, but, on the contrary, desires and expects that whatever benefit may result from it will ultimately be shared by the civilized world, as there can be no doubt that if the ports of the country are once opened to one nation they would soon be opened to all. . . . If, after having exhausted every argument and every means of persuasion, the Commodore should fail to obtain from the Japanese Government any relaxation of their system of exclusion, or even any assurance of humane treatment of our shipwrecked seamen, he will then change his tone, and inform them in the

most unequivocal terms that it is the determination of this Government to insist that hereafter all citizens or vessels of the United States that may be wrecked on their coasts, or driven by stress of weather into their harbors, shall, so long as they are compelled to remain there, be treated with humanity, and that, if any acts of cruelty should hereafter he practised upon citizens of this country, whether by the Government or by the inhabitants of Japan, they will be severely chastised. . . . It is impossible by any instructions, however minute, to provide for every contingency that may arise in the prosecution of a mission of so peculiar and novel a character. For this reason, as well as on account of the remoteness of the scene of his operation, it is proper that the Commodore should be invested with large discretionary powers, and should feel assured that any departure from usage or any error of judgment he may commit will be viewed with indulgence."

At the outset, Perry clearly was not sanguine concerning the success of the Japan expedition; and, in his systematic way, he began at once to outline possible procedure in case of failure. Touching at Madeira on his outward journey, he wrote the Department under date of December 14th, 1852:

"Since leaving the United States, I have had leisure to reflect more fully upon the probable result of my visit to Japan; and, though there is still some doubt in my mind as to the chances of immediate success in bringing that strange Government to any practicable negotiation, yet I feel confident that in the end the great object in view will be effected. As a preliminary step, and one of easy accomplishment, one or more ports of refuge and supply to our whaling and other ships must at once be secured; and, should the Japanese Government object to the granting of such ports upon the mainland, and they cannot be occupied without resort to force and bloodshed, then it will be desirable in the beginning, and indeed necessary, that the squadron should establish places of rendezvous at one or two of the islands south of Japan, having a good harbor and possessing facilities for obtaining water and supplies. . . . The islands called 'Lew Chew group' are said to be dependencies of Japan, as conquered by that Power centuries ago, but their actual sovereignty is disputed by the Government of China. . . . Now, it strikes me that the occupation of the principal ports of those islands for the accommodation of our ships of war, and for the safe resort of merchant vessels of whatever nation, would be a measure not only justified by the strictest rules of moral law, but—what is also to be considered—by the laws of stern necessity; and the argument may be further strengthened by the certain consequences of the amelioration of the condition of the natives—although the vices attendant upon civilization may be entailed upon them. . . . When we look at the possessions in the East of our great maritime rival, England, and of the constant

and rapid increase of their fortified ports, we should be admonished of the necessity of prompt measures on our part. By reference to the map of the world, it will be seen that Great Britain is already in possession of the most important points in the East India and China Seas, and especially with reference to the China Seas. . . . Fortunately, the Japanese and many other islands of the Pacific are still left untouched by this unconscionable Government; and, as some of them lie in a route of a commerce which is destined to become of great importance to the United States, no time should be lost in adopting active measures to secure a sufficient number of ports of refuge. . . . I have thus exhibited, in this crude and informal communication, my views upon a subject which is exciting extraordinary attention throughout the world, and I trust that the Department will approve the course I propose to pursue."

This letter was answered by Mr. Edward Everett, Secretary of State, in part as follows:

"Your despatch of the 14th of December has been referred by the Secretary of the Navy to this Department, and by me submitted to the President. The President concurs with you in the opinion that it is highly desirable,—probably necessary for the safety of the expedition under your command,—that you should secure one or more ports of refuge of easy access. If you find that these cannot be obtained in the Japanese Islands without resort to force, it will be necessary that you seek them elsewhere. The President agrees with you in thinking that you are most likely to succeed in this object in the Lew Chew Islands. They are, from their position, well adapted to the purpose; and the friendly and peaceful character of the natives encourages the hope that your visit will be welcomed by them. . . . The President is gratified to perceive that you are impressed with the importance of the enterprise confided to your direction, the success of which will mainly depend upon your prudence and address. It will attract a large share of the attention of the civilized world; and the President feels great confidence that the measures adopted by you will reflect credit on your own wisdom and discretion, and do honor to your country."

This approving letter from the distinguished Secretary of State was the last word of the Fillmore administration to the Japan expedition. It is of especial interest because it expresses hearty approval of the Commodore's definite announcement of his plans, the repetition of which later on disturbed the equanimity of the Pierce administration.

On April 9th, Commodore Perry reported to the Department his arrival at Hong Kong. Late in May, he sailed for the Lew Chew Islands. The squadron, consisting of the steamers "Sus-

quehanna" (flagship) and "Mississippi," the sloop "Saratoga" and the store-ship "Supply," anchored on May 26th in the harbor of Napa, on the island of Okinawa-shima, called by Perry "Great Lew Chew." The following month was occupied, in accordance with the Commodore's programme, in exploring this island and also the Bonin Islands, lying to the westward.

Personal investigation of conditions in the Far East appears to have strengthened the opinions outlined by Commodore Perry in his communication from Madeira. It is equally clear that his early impression of the availability of one of the Lew Chew Islands as a sphere of American influence was fully confirmed, for he evidently leaned toward appropriating both Great Lew Chew, and even Peel Island also, of the Bonin group. From the harbor of Napa, Lew Chew, under date of June 25th, he wrote at length to the Secretary of the Navy. Parts of this letter relate to the urgent need of a line of steamers across the Pacific, and the remainder to the characteristics, history, and value of the Bonin Islands. He wrote:

"I have, from the commencement of the cruise, kept constantly in view the port in which we are now at anchor [Napa, Lew Chew] and the principal harbor of the Bonin group, as well for general convenience of resort as to furnish connecting links or suitable stopping-places for a line of mail-steamers, which I trust may soon be established between some one of our Pacific ports and China, an event so much to be desired, and, if accomplished, one that will be distinguished, even in the history of these remarkable times, as of the highest importance to the commerce of the United States. . . . It is impossible to estimate in anticipation the advantages that may grow out of an intercourse so rapid and so certain.

"I cannot in this letter give a full description of the Bonin Islands. It is enough to say Port Lloyd is admirably adapted for a coal depot and stopping-place for steamers; its geographical position is convenient either for a route to Shanghai or Hong Kong from the Sandwich Islands. The climate is salubrious, and the harbor commodious and safe, and perfectly easy of access either by day or night. . . . Should the Department, however, deem it desirable for me to take possession of the islands in the name of the United States, I will do so and adopt the best means of holding them. . . . Lew Chew is a direct and valuable dependency of Japan, and we have, even now, all the control over it necessary for our present purposes. . . . I shall keep a ship here whenever one can be spared."

The despatch to the Department from the steamer "Susque-

hanna," dated at sea, August 3rd, makes it clear that the indecisive visit to Japan, then just ended, had left the Commodore still more favorably inclined to the policy of gathering in a convenient island or two for the United States. He wrote:

"Every day of observation strengthens the opinion so often expressed in my communications to the Department, that the large and increasing commerce of the United States with this part of the world makes it not only desirable, but indispensable, that ports of refuge should be established at which vessels in distress may find shelter."

This letter did not reach Washington until the following November; and, taken in connection with the previous reports and confidential communications, disturbed the new Secretary of the Navy, who rejoiced in the steady-going name of Dobbin. The Pierce administration appeared to be less interested than its predecessor in the Commodore's plans, and showed a marked unwillingness to accept responsibility for aggressive measures. Under date of November 14th, Secretary Dobbin replied to the Commodore's letter at some length, in part as follows:

"Your several despatches, bearing date of August 3rd, 1853, have been received. I have perused them with much interest and have availed myself of this occasion to assure you of my gratification that your long and perilous voyage to Japan has been accomplished successfully. . . . These communications have all been submitted to the President, who, while he would be happy to see your interesting mission crowned with success, and would aid you as far as he can legitimately, desires to impress you with his conviction that the great end should be attained, not only with credit to the United States, but without wrong to Japan. I need not remind you that your mission is one of peaceful negotiation, and that, although in consideration of the peculiar character of the Japanese much importance may well be attached to the exhibition of impressive evidences of the greatness and power of our country, no violence should be resorted to except for defence.

"It is very desirable to make our navy a useful branch of the Government, both in extending and protecting commerce and trade; but, as Congress alone has power to declare war, too much prudence cannot be exercised, even in the great work in which you are engaged. These suggestions are not made to discourage your laudable zeal, nor to detract from the magnitude of your mission. Every confidence is reposed in your judgment and patriotism. They have, however, been called forth by a portion of your interesting notes in which you express some hope of success in the spring by operating on the fears of the Japanese, and speak at the same time of the number of batteries already erected on the shore to 'expel the Americans,' and of the

probability of more being constructed before spring, therefore indicating the opinion that they are prepared to give you a warlike reception."

The Secretary then declines for various reasons to despatch the additional ships which had been promised when the Commodore was ordered to the East, and adds:

"The President entertains the opinion that this [your] force will be amply sufficient for purposes of defence, and will be an exhibition of power calculated to impress the Japanese and favorably effect the object of your mission, so far as naval force can effect it, unless landing large bodies of men and invasion be contemplated, which Congress in its wisdom, I presume, will not be disposed to sanction in a country so remote, without great provocation. . . .

"In consideration of the vast expense and the great need of some of your squadron for other purposes, it is much to be regretted that final action should have been postponed to so late a period as next spring. The President desires that, as you have advanced thus far, and have given notice of your intention to return in the ensuing spring, you will accordingly proceed to Japan and resort to every honorable and reasonable effort to persuade the Japanese to abandon their inhospitable and unsocial system and to effect a treaty of amity and commerce."

Meantime, Commodore Perry, conscious of having accomplished much by his first visit to Japan, expresses the hope that he will not be interfered with. On September 2nd, he writes:

"I trust there will be no change in my instructions that will divert me from this great object of my life. I had the assurance of the former administration, especially of Mr. Webster, that I should act alone in this responsible duty, and such was the understanding when I assumed command. As the service is one strictly naval and must be managed by naval means, the free and uncontrolled command of my whole force is absolutely necessary to secure anything like success. The pursuance of the rules of ordinary diplomacy cannot have the slightest effect upon these sagacious and deceitful people."

The attitude of the Pierce administration is clearly revealed in Secretary Dobbin's letter, dated October 28th. He wrote:

"The President trusts that it may not seriously incommode your operations in regard to Japan to cooperate with our commissioner in the interesting undertaking of bringing about further intercourse with the Government of China, to form commercial treaties of vast benefit

to the American people, and introduce a new era in the history of trade and commerce. The mission in which you are engaged has attracted much admiration and excited much expectation. But the present seems to be a crisis in the history of China, and is considered by many as throwing around China as much interest and attraction as Japan presents. To have your name associated with commercial intercourse with Japan may well excite your pride, but to be identified also with the great events which I trust may yet transpire in connection with China may be well esteemed a privilege and an honor."

This despatch does not appear to have influenced Commodore Perry in the least; but his personal observation of affairs in China confirmed his belief in the necessity for a more vigorous American policy in the Far East. Under date of December 24th, while preparing at Hong Kong for the second visit to Japan, and much annoyed by the inquisitive interest of Russian, French and English naval officers, he wrote the Department:

"I shall in no way allow any infringement upon our national rights; on the contrary, I believe that this is the moment to assume a position in the East which will make the power and influence of the United States felt in such a way as to give greater importance to those rights which, among Eastern nations, are generally estimated by the extent of military force exhibited.

"Considering that I am acting very much upon my own responsibility, I should desire to be instructed as to the policy, which I do not hesitate to recommend, of continuing the influence which I have already acquired over the authorities and people of the beautiful island of Lew Chew; an influence, in truth, acquired without the commission of a single wrong upon the people, but rather contributing to their advantage.

"The Department will be surprised to learn that this dependency of Japan, tracing its royal genealogy in regular succession from the twelfth century, is in such a state of political vassalage and thraldom that it would be a merit to extend over it the vivifying influence and protection of a Government like our own.

"It is self-evident that the course of coming events will ere long make it necessary for the United States to extend its territorial jurisdiction beyond the limits of the Western Continent; and I assume the responsibility of urging the expediency of establishing a foothold in this quarter of the globe, as a measure of positive necessity to the sustainment of our maritime rights in the East.

"I shall continue to maintain the influence over the authorities and people of the Lew Chew which I now command, but it is important that I should have instructions to act promptly, for it is not impossible that some other Power, less scrupulous, may slip in and seize upon the advantages which should justly belong to us."

From Napa, at Great Lew Chew, a month later, January 25th, 1854, the Commodore reported to the Department, summarizing the policy he proposed to follow in Japan, and outlined in no uncertain fashion his intentions in case of failure. It appears from this letter that he expected to obtain concessions from the Japanese concerning treatment of American citizens, but was very doubtful as to his ability to secure the opening of Japanese ports to American vessels, or any commercial privileges. He wrote:

"It will, therefore, become necessary, in the absence of specific instructions, for me to assume certain responsibilities, and to act according to circumstances, and as my best judgment may dictate.

"To this end, it is my intention, should the Japanese Government refuse to negotiate, or to assign a port of resort for our merchant and whaling ships, to take under the surveillance of the American flag, upon the ground of reclamation for insults and injuries committed upon American citizens, this island of Great Lew Chew, a dependency of the Empire, to be held under such restraint until the decision of my Government shall be known, whether to avow or disavow my acts. Until such action is had, the responsibility will rest solely upon me; and I shall assume it as a measure of political precaution, for it is certain that, if I do not take preliminary steps before leaving this port for Yedo for adopting such course, the Russians or French, or probably the English, will anticipate the design.

"It will be understood that in no way will the authorities or people of the island be molested or interfered with, nor will any force be used, unless in self-defence; in truth, we already possess all necessary influence in the island, which has been acquired by kindness and non-interference with their laws and customs.

"The Americans have stronger claims for redress upon the Japanese than any other civilized nation; and, though it does not belong to the spirit of our institutions to extend our dominion beyond sea, positive necessity requires that we should protect our commercial interests in this remote part of the world, and in doing so, to resort to measures, however strong, to counteract the schemes of Powers less scrupulous than ourselves.

"Therefore, in my present position, I cannot but feel the weight of responsibility which this peculiar state of things imposes upon me; and, being aware of the expectation of the Government and people of the United States, with respect to Japan, I shall not flinch from the exercise of powers, the propriety of which may be, at first, questioned by many, but the avoidance of which would be pronounced by all as showing a want of sagacity and firmness on my part."

The island which Commodore Perry thus selected for seizure

in the name of the United States, should he fail in the object of his expedition to Japan, was the largest of a chain of islands, about 400 miles northeast of Formosa. Of the fifty-five islands composing the group thirty-six are inhabited. They originally formed the kingdom of Loo Choo, but are now a part of th Empire of Japan. The spelling employed by Commodore Per appears never to have been followed by others, as the islands have been variously known as Loo Choo, Lu Chu, Liu Kiu, Liu Chiu, and Riu Kiu, the last mentioned being the name now in use. The total area of the group is about 1,000 square miles. The largest and most important island, now called Okinawa-shima, the "Great Lew Chew" referred to by Commodore Perry, is about sixty miles in length and narrow. The climate is healthful and pleasant, with an average temperature of 70 degrees Fahrenheit; the soil is fruitful and well cultivated, sugar and sweet-potatoes forming the principal crops. The people are of Japanese origin, with a fondness for the Chinese language and literature. Since 1874, when China relinquished all claims by treaty with Japan, the islands have formed a prefecture in the Japanese Empire, and a garrison is stationed at Shoudi, the principal city. The present population of the entire group of islands is about half a million.

In the volume commemorating the Perry expedition, published by order of Congress, and practically edited by the Commodore himself, there is an extended account of the Lew Chew islands, most of which was written by Bayard Taylor. From this account, it is clear that the officers of the expedition shared the Commodore's favorable impressions of Great Lew Chew. They described the shores as green and beautiful, diversified with groves and fields of richest verdure. Sweeping hills, which rose immediately from the water's edge, increased in height toward the centre of the island, and were picturesquely broken by projecting rocks and crags which rose here and there, giving evidence of volcanic action. From the dividing ridge or crest of the island, a magnificent panorama opened. The hills were cultivated to their very tops, and carefully terraced. Some of the thoroughfares were almost equal to the macadamized roads of England, while the roofs of red tiles, the dark green foliage of the trees, the walls touched with cactus, and the occasional appearance of a palm or banana, suggested the towns of Sicily.

The inhabitants possessed a Japanese cast of countenance and dusky olive complexions. They were much quicker in perception than the Chinese, as well as much more agreeable in features and neater in appearance.

The object of Commodore Perry's second visit to Japan had been attained, and the event was nearly two months old when his noteworthy communication of January 25th was received at Washington in the following May. The despatch appears to have created consternation in the Cabinet of President Pierce. The naval expedition to Japan had caught the fancy of the American public, and excited widespread interest both in this country and abroad; possibly for this reason the administration had fallen in with the plans of its predecessor, and had advanced the project with reasonable energy, but lacked the enthusiasm of Mr. Webster and Mr. Everett. Still in ignorance of the successful outcome of the negotiations with Japan, and confronted by the embarrassing fact that the United States might even then be the possessor of an island colony in the Far East, the Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Dobbin, under date of May 30th, hastened to reply to the Commodore's remarkable despatch. Omitting the opening reference to routine Department matters, the letter was as follows:

"Your despatch No. 39, dated at Napa-Keang, Great Lew Chew, January 25th, 1854, has been received. . . . Your suggestion about holding one of the Lew Chew islands 'upon the ground of reclamation for insults and injuries committed upon American citizens, should the Japanese Government refuse to negotiate or to assign a port of resort for our merchant and whaling ships,' is most embarrassing. The subject has been laid before the President, who, while he appreciates highly the patriotic motive which prompts the suggestion, is disinclined, without the authority of Congress, to take and retain possession of an island in that distant country, particularly unless more urgent and potent reasons demanded it than now exist. If, in future, resistance should be offered and threatened, it would also be rather mortifying to surrender the island, if once seized, and rather inconvenient and expensive to maintain a force there to retain it. Indulging the hope that the contingency may not arise to occasion any resort to the expedient suggested, and that your skill, prudence and good judgment may enable you to triumph over the ignorant obstinacy of the Japanese without violence, it is considered sounder policy not to seize the island as suggested in your despatch."

It must be remembered that the ocean cable was still unknown,

and that the movement of mails about the world was slow and perilous. This despatch from the Navy Department, which contained a virtual order to scuttle from Lew Chew, should that island have been seized, was not received by the American commander until early in August. Thus, had the negotiations with Japan failed in March and the American flag been raised over Lew Chew, the government of that fertile and valuable island would have been administered by American officials for nearly five months before the arrival of the instructions dated May 30th. Meantime, events in the East might easily have led to the necessity for additional and more specific instructions from the Department before relinquishing territory which had been actually seized.

While it is profitless to pursue the "might have beens" of history, the temptation is great to pause a moment on the threshold of this interesting possibility. It must be remembered that the American people have had many opportunities to pass upon the question of acquisition of territory, and that invariably they have decided in the affirmative. Prior to the period under consideration, they had added all the contiguous territory we now possess; distant and inaccessible Alaska was secured not long afterward; next, Hawaii, still farther away; and, lastly, we have acquired dominion in the Far East on a grander scale than probably even the far-sighted Perry ever dared to hope for. Each of these additions to our national domain was opposed. Concerning even the retention of the Philippines—much debated and vigorously opposed—the American public appears to be in no doubt, for at three general elections a decisive verdict, culminating in a gigantic majority, has been rendered in favor of retention without qualification. It is quite within possibility, therefore, that, if the news that the Stars and Stripes were flying over Great Lew Chew had been received, it might have aroused considerable popular enthusiasm. Commodore Perry was so widely known and universally admired and respected that his opinions and acts would have carried much weight with his countrymen; the expedition which he commanded had attracted attention throughout the world, and American national pride had been deeply stirred; the period, moreover, was one of commercial awakening. Even the Secretary, with no previous occurrences of the kind to suggest caution, foresaw that the with-

drawal of the flag, if once raised, would be "mortifying." The truth of his comment was long afterward proved by the Cleveland administration in connection with Hawaii.

This, however, is merely speculative. Success, even greater than was hoped for, resulted from the squadron's second visit to Japan, and the new treaty met every reasonable requirement of the period. In America there was an outburst of approval over Perry's success. The rising tide of enthusiasm reached even the timorous Dobbin, who wrote, September 19th, 1854:

"I tender you my warm congratulations on the happy success of your noble and interesting mission. You have won additional fame for yourself, reflecting new honor upon the very honorable service to which you belong, and, we all hope, have secured for the country, for yourself, and for civilization, a triumph the blessings of which may be adopted by generations as yet unborn."

Escape from the embarrassment of a colony on the other side of the world, no doubt, accounts for part of the Secretary's enthusiasm; and yet the first of those "unborn" generations to which he poetically refers, led by the course of recent events in the Far East, has endorsed in all its essential particulars the policy outlined by Matthew C. Perry, the first American Imperialist.

WILLIAM S. ROSSITER.

# WHAT ENGLISH POETRY OWES TO YOUNG PEOPLE.

BY THE REV. FRANCIS E. CLARK, D.D., PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED SOCIETY OF CHRISTIAN ENDEAVOR.

BEFORE leaving their teens some lads have written that which the world has not yet let die. At the age when most boys are learning to swing the bat, or to cut a pigeon's wing on the ice, Henry Kirke White was writing some of the best hymns that are sung in the churches, and Keats was proving that he had few peers among those who have written the English language, and Chatterton was hoaxing grave professors and acute *literati* with his old-fashioned verses.

At the age when most young men are learning how to fall in love and how to fall out again with celerity and despatch, Shelley was entrancing the world with his wonderful verses, and Pollok was discoursing in Calvinistic diction on the "Course of Time" and wrestling with theology and metaphysics in poetic guise, and George Farquhar was convulsing the English public with his comedies. I will confine myself to the impression made upon literature by young people who have died before completing their twenty-fifth year. Should a very few more years be added to this limit, I should be able to add many other distinguished names to this list of literary young people, such as Shelley and Pollok already mentioned, for the former died when he was thirty, and the latter was but twenty-eight when he finished his "Course of Time."

Charles Wolfe was but thirty-two when he died and only twenty-eight when he wrote the dirge familiar to every schoolboy, "The Burial of Sir John Moore." Christopher Marlowe, who has been called "the greatest of Shakespeare's precursors in the drama," was only twenty-nine when he penned his last distich; while

Francis Beaumont, one of the greatest dramatists who followed the "myriad-minded" bard of Stratford, was but thirty when he breathed his last.

But to mention the contributions to literature of those who died in their early youth is my intention in this article, and the name of Thomas Chatterton naturally comes first to mind, for he was one of the most famous as well as the youngest of all this band of adolescent poets. In fact he was, as Wordsworth called him, "a marvellous boy," for he was three months less than eighteen when, on the 25th of August, 1770, discouraged and hopeless, he put an end to his own life. His father had died three months before he was born, and he was brought up by his mother, who seems to have been almost the only person he ever truly loved. He sent her presents from London when he was almost starving himself, to lead her to suppose that he was getting on well and supporting himself comfortably. When he was eleven years old he wrote the following hymn, in praise of the Saviour:

"Almighty Framer of the skies,
O let our pure devotion rise
Like incense in Thy sight!
Wrapt in impenetrable shade,
The texture of our souls was made,
Till Thy command gave light.

"How shall we celebrate the day
When God appeared in mortal clay,
The mark of worldly scorn?
When the archangel's heavenly lays,
Attempted the Redeemer's praise,
And hailed Salvation's morn?

"A humble form the Godhead wore,
The pains of poverty He bore,
To gaudy pomp unknown.
Though in a human walk he trod,
Still was the man Almighty God,
In glory all His own."

Both in metre and religious sentiment, these verses remind us of Sir Walter Scott's lines on the setting sun, written when he was but eleven:

"Those evening clouds, that setting ray
And beauteous tint serve to display
Their great Creator's praise.
Then let the short-lived thing called 'man,'
Whose life's comprised within a span,
To Him his homage raise."

But, to return to Thomas Chatterton, it seems very singular that a boy who could write such poetry should be esteemed a dunce. So it was, however, with young Chatterton, who was taken out of the first school he was sent to, because the master could do nothing with such a stupid pupil. Afterwards he was sent to another school, and there, too, he was considered very dull; but it is altogether probable, from what we know of him afterwards, that he was concealing all this time, under an appearance of stupidity, much hard work and careful study, for one great aim of his life seems to have been to hoax people, and he evidently began his tricks in his early teens.

He did not fulfil the promise of his first poem, but became reckless and dissipated; and in his later verses he shows none of the reverence for holy things indicated by the verses quoted. When he was twelve, he finished a long poem entitled "Elinoure and Juga," and when he was fifteen he began the wonderful series of impostures which for a time deceived the world. He pretended that he had found some old parchments of great literary value in a neglected chest, and these he would bring out from time to time as suited his convenience. At one time, when he was sixteen, a new bridge was finished at Bristol; he thereupon sent to a Bristol newspaper the account of the opening of the old bridge three hundred years before. This account the good people of Bristol solemnly accepted as gospel truth.

Again, he found a silly old man named Burgum, who made pewter dishes, and who was very desirous to have a long pedigree and a coat of arms; so young Chatterton went to work and made up heraldic honors to suit him, tracing his lineage back to an ancient Norman family, named De Bergham.

For theologians, he would invent ancient sermons; for wealthy citizens, he would write poems which he claimed were composed by their ancestors hundreds of years before; and, to antiquarians, he would send accounts of ancient buildings as they looked when first completed. One of his most daring forgeries was an account

of the eminent "Carvellers and Peyncters" of Bristol, which he sent to Sir Horace Walpole, who was then writing a history of British painters. The pitcher went once too often to the well, however; for Walpole, though at first deceived, submitted the manuscripts to two good judges of ancient literature, who at once pronounced them forgeries. Nevertheless, they were all very cleverly done, and it was only an expert who would suspect that they were not genuine. Says Sir Walter Scott, he "created the person, history and language of an ancient poet," and this he justly calls "an herculean task."

Soon after he had passed his seventeenth birthday, Chatterton went to London to engage in a literary life, having high hopes and strong confidence in himself, declaring that "he would settle the nation before he had done." But he did not succeed as he hoped; he could hardly earn enough to keep body and soul together, and yet he was so proud that, when he had eaten nothing for three days, he would not accept his landlady's invitation to dinner. He had become an infidel, too, and had no religious comfort and hope. Thus poor young Chatterton, proud, haughty, conceited, and yet stung to the quick by his lack of immediate success, could find no way out of his troubles, except by a dose of arsenic. He was buried in a pauper's grave near London.

A favorite hymn found in almost all Protestant collections begins:

"When, marshalled on the nightly plain,
The glittering host bestuds the sky,
One star alone, of all the train,
Can fix the sinner's wandering eye.
Hark! hark! to God the chorus breaks,
From every host, from every gem;
But one alone the Saviour speaks,
It is the 'star of Bethlehem.'"

Its author, Henry Kirke White, may be reckoned as the youngest of all hymn-writers, for he died but a few days after attaining his majority. To be sure, Joseph Grigg, a lad only ten years old, is said to have written the familiar hymn beginning:

"Jesus! and shall it ever be
A mortal man ashamed of Thee?
Ashamed of Thee whom angels praise,
Whose glories shine through endless days!"

Yet, with one exception, these were the only lines which he wrote that have lived; while White not only wrote a number of beautiful hymns which are found in nearly all the collections, but much other poetry of a high order. White's father was a butcher, who apprenticed his son to a stocking-weaver when he was only fourteen years old. The brilliant boy disliked the idea of "shining and folding up stockings for seven years," so he set out to be a scholar, quietly and by himself at first, but he made such remarkable progress that his friends exerted themselves to procure for him a university education; and very soon after entering he stood the first man of the year. When he was but seventeen he published a volume of poems of which the following, "To an Early Primrose," is a specimen:

"Mild offspring of a dark and sullen sire!
Whose modest form, so delicately fine,
Was nursed in whirling storms,
And cradled in the winds!

"Thee, when young Spring first questioned Winter's sway,
And bared the sturdy blusterer to the fight,
Thee, on this bank he threw,
To mark his victory.

"In this low vale, the promise of the year,
Serene, thou openest to the ruffling gale,
Unnoticed and alone,
Thy tender elegance.

"So virtue blooms, brought out amid the storms
Of chill adversity, in some lone walk of life
She rears her head,
Obscure and unobserved;

"While every bleaching breeze that on her blows,
Chastens her spotless purity of breast,
And hardens her to bear
Serene the ills of life."

Young White, like many another ambitious boy, was not strong and well-seasoned enough to carry out the commands of his vigorous brain, and he died, lamented by all his friends, in October, 1806, when just twenty-one years and two months old.

Some years afterwards, a young American, Mr. Francis Boot of

Boston, placed a tablet to his memory in All Saints' Church in Cambridge, the inscription on which ended with these lines:

> . . . . . "Far o'er the Atlantic wave,
> A wanderer came, and sought a poet's grave.
> On yon low stone he saw his lonely name,
> And raised this fond memorial to his fame."

One of our young bards stands in the very forefront of English poets—John Keats. He was but twenty-five when he died. He was intended for a surgeon, but he soon found that his hand was not steady enough nor his health firm enough for that profession. When he was twenty-two, his first volume of poems was published, but it received very rough handling from the reviews.

Byron called his poems "the drivelling idiotism of the mannikin," though he afterwards praised Keats as strongly as he at first condemned him. Some writers say that these bitter criticisms dreadfully hurt the young poet's sensitive nature, and in part brought on the consumptive decline and hemorrhage of the lungs, from which he so early died. Byron refers to this idea when he says in "Don Juan":

> "'Tis strange the mind, that very fiery particle,
> Should let itself be snuffed out by an article."

Others say, however, that Keats regarded these assaults on his poetry only with contempt and indignation, and that they had no effect upon his health, that he came of a consumptive race and would have been early carried off by the family scourge had there been no hostile Croker to review his book.

In 1820, he set out for Rome with a faithful friend, hoping to regain his health, but it was too late, for on the 23rd of February, 1821, he passed away. Just before his death, he pathetically remarked that he "felt the daisies growing over him"; and he expressed a hope that, "after his death, he might be among the poets of England," a wish that has been most fully realized. He was buried in Rome, and on his tomb is the characteristic epitaph written by himself: "Here lies one whose name was writ in water." Evidently, he little dreamed of the esteem in which posterity would hold him.

Most of these young poets who achieved any distinction met

with much hostile criticism and rasping opposition from older poets and book-reviewers, but it is also true that many of them found generous friends to champion their cause. Thus Chatterton, though not, to be sure, till long after his death, found a Campbell to say that "no English poet ever equalled him at that age"; and Keats, at the time he was receiving the bitterest criticism from the "Quarterly Review," did not want a Jeffrey to say in the "Edinburgh Review" that "his poems are flushed all over with the rich lights of fancy, and it is impossible to resist the intoxication of their sweetness, or to shut our hearts to the enchantments they so lavishly present."

Among all the older poets who gave kindly encouragement to the younger, none was more generous than Southey. He was among the first to appreciate the genius of Henry Kirke White, and he also introduced to the world another young poet, Herbert Knowles by name, who died when he was but eighteen, only one year older than Chatterton. As we quote a few lines from one of his poems, let us remember that a boy of eighteen wrote them. The poem is founded on the fourth verse of the seventeenth chapter of Matthew, where the bewildered Peter says to the Saviour on the Mount of Transfiguration, "Let us make here three tabernacles":

"Methinks it is good to be here,
If thou wilt let us build—but for whom?
Nor Elias nor Moses appear;
But the shadows of eve that encompass the gloom,
The abode of the dead and the place of the tomb.

"Shall we build to Ambition? Ah, no!
Affrighted, he shrinketh away;
For see, they would pin him below
In a small narrow cave, and, begirt with cold clay,
To the meanest of reptiles a peer and a prey.

"To Riches? Alas! 'tis in vain;
Who hid, in their turns have been hid;
The treasures are squandered again;
And here in the grave are all metals forbid,
But the tinsel that shines on the dark coffin-lid."

Thus, through many stanzas, he pursues his inquiry, shall we build to Beauty, to Pride, to Mirth, to Sorrow? and thus the poem ends:

"The first tabernacle to Hope we will build,
And look for the sleepers around us to rise!
The second to Faith, which insures it fulfilled;
And the third to the Lamb of the great sacrifice;
He bequeathed us them both when he rose to the skies."

Another youthful poet who deserves mention died in the year 1800, when he was twenty-four. His name was Richard Gall, and he wrote some very pleasing Scotch songs, which were extremely popular in their day. The following, "My only Jo and Dearie, O," with its light and tripping metre, is one of the best:

"Thy cheek is o' the roses' hue,
My only Jo and dearie, O;
Thy neck is like the siller-dew
Upon the banks so briery, O!
Thy teeth are o' the ivory,
O, sweet's the twinkle o' thine ee!
Nae joy, nae pleasure blinks on me,
My only Jo and dearie, O.

"When we were bairnies on yon brae,
And youth was blinking bonny, O,
Aft we wad daff, the lee-lang day,
Our joys fu' sweet and mony, O;
Aft I would chase thee o'er the lea,
And round about the thorny tree,
Or pu' the wild-flowers a' for thee,
My only Jo and dearie, O.

"I hae a wish I canna tine,
'Mang a' the cares that grieve me, O;
I wish thou wert forever mine,
And never mair to leave me, O;
Nor ither worldly care wad hae,
Till life's warm stream forgot to play,
My only Jo and dearie, O."

Another Scotch poet who died when he was but twenty-three was Robert Nicoll. He was a political writer as well as a poet, and struck vigorous blows in the paper which he edited at Leeds for justice and liberty. The following manly verses, "We are Brethren A'," tell us, not only of his poetical gift, but of the sturdy opinions of human equality and brotherhood which he advocated bravely during his short life:

"A happy bit hame this auld world would be,
If men when they're here could make shift to agree,
And ilk said to his neighbor in cottage and ha',
'Come, gie me your hand—we are brethren a'!'

"I ken na why ane wi' anither should fight,
When to 'gree would make a' body cosie and right,
When man meets wi man, 'tis the best way ava,
To say: 'Gie me your hand—we are brethren a'!'

"My coat is a coarse ane, an' yours may be fine,
An' I maun drink water, while you may drink wine,
But we baith hae a leal heart unspotted to shaw;
Sae gie me your hand—we are brethren a'!

"The knave ye wad scorn, the unfaithfu' deride;
Ye would stand like a rock wi' the truth on your side;
Sae would I, an' naught else would I value a straw;
Then gie me your hand—we are brethren a'.

"We love the same summer day, sunny an' fair,
Hame? Oh, how we love it, an' a' that are there!
Frae the pure air of heaven the same life we draw;
Come, gie me your hand—we are brethren a'.

"Frail, shakin' auld age will soon come o'er baith,
An' creeping along at his back will be death;
Syne into the same mither-yird we will fa':
Come, gie me your hand—we are brethren a'."

The only poet of much promise whom we find in the annals of English literature, within the last sixty years, who has died under the age of twenty-five, is David Gray, who was but twenty-three when he breathed his last. The story of his death is very pathetic. He was intensely ambitious, and started out with high hopes of gaining a great name. He was amiable, pure and upright, and made many friends who were glad to help him. But they could not ward off the approaches of consumption, and little by little he yielded to its attack. His first book of poems was in press, and it was his ardent desire to see it before he died. To please him, the first page which had been put in type was brought to him. It gratified him greatly, and he expressed himself as willing to die. The day after he had received the first proof sheet, the earthly life of this young poet came to an end. I will quote some lines,

"If it must be that I die young," that seem prophetic in view of his early death:

> "If it must be, if it must be, O God!
> That I die young and make no further moans;
> That, underneath the unrespective sod,
> In unescutcheoned privacy, my bones
> Shall crumble soon—then give me strength to bear
> The last convulsive throe of too sweet breath!
> I tremble, from the edge of life, to dare
> The dark and fatal leap, having no faith,
> No glorious yearning for the Apocalypse;
> But, like a child that in the nighttime cries
> For light, I cry; forgetting the eclipse
> Of knowledge and our human destinies.
> O peevish and uncertain soul, obey
> The law of life in patience till the day!"

The last half-century has been singularly barren in the production of young poets, or at least of poets who have died young. Whether it is that the divine afflatus is not bestowed as early as formerly, or that the modern poet takes better care of himself than his brother of the olden time, and, living to a good old age, eclipses the work of his boyhood by the superior merit of his later productions, we will not undertake to decide.

This article does not pretend to be an exhaustive account of youthful poets. If we should enlarge its self-imposed limits to include poems written by the young men and women who afterwards lived to middle life or old age, we should find it a most interesting story, but too vast for the moderate proportions of a REVIEW article. Many of our greatest bards have "lisped in numbers, because the numbers came." Neither have we attempted to trace the poetic flights of many obscure poets whose early swan-song has been heard by an admiring group of personal friends and relations, but not by the world at large. The poets' corners of country newspapers undoubtedly entomb a multitude of youthful but not inglorious Miltons; and, very likely, every reader would like to add one more adolescent bard to this list, but it is already long enough to make clear one or two points that will strike most readers with surprise. One is the serious cast of the youthful mind. Scarcely anything that is humorous, comparatively little that is heroic, almost nothing that is tragic do we

find in their writings, but largely their works consist of descriptions of natural scenes, or praise of abstract virtues, or the amplification of the religious impressions they had gained at their mothers' knees. Even light and tripping love-songs, which you would expect from them, they have largely left to their elders. The supposed sparkle and effervescence of young life are usually absent, and the shadow of the Unseen seems to be all about them. Perhaps this may be attributed in part to their early decline in health. Many of them had already entered the Valley of the Shadow, and their poems reflected the seriousness of ill-health and approaching death.

But not in this way alone can this characteristic of youthful poets be accounted for. There is a vein of earnest purpose running through most young lives, and those who have the poet's gift of expression simply speak for the race of youth, or, rather, the youth of the race. The boy often lacks the sense of humor which the man develops. He has not perhaps found out how necessary it is in rounding off the sharp corners of life. The young man or woman is seldom a wit. That gift, if it comes at all, is a development of later years. Our brilliant after-dinner speakers have, for the most part, left their 'teens far behind them. The "boy orator" is usually serious, earnest, strenuous. The boy poet is not different.

The strong religious cast of the youthful poet's mind is also very noticeable. The heaven that lies around his infancy is still his poetic vision. He has not learned the raillery and the cynicism which often give an unholy spice to the work of his older comrade.

N. P. Willis, when asked in his later life to write a poem for a religious occasion, sadly replied that he could not do it; that such efforts belonged to his youth and were not the gift of his later and lesser years. The annals of poetry, as well as of war and business and scholarship and statesmanship, teach us that not in vain will the world look to its youth for leadership in all things strong and heroic; that, however old age may deteriorate and trifle, the young man who has leadership in his veins can be counted on for high purpose and strenuous endeavor.

FRANCIS E. CLARK.

# THE UNITED STATES A PARSIMONIOUS EMPLOYER

BY THOMAS L. JAMES, FORMERLY POSTMASTER-GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE world knows us as a great nation—great, not only in diplomacy, in military and naval prestige, but in the wealth that has accrued to us from commerce and industry. Indeed, our material progress has far outstripped that of any other people. We have accumulated riches to such an extent that our citizens of all classes enjoy more of the comforts, even the luxuries, of life than the residents of any other country. Needless is it to discuss the wages received by the humblest laborer in contrast to what the employers of the Old World pay for the same work, nor to detail the salaries which men of ability not only receive, but are enabled to command, in positions of trust. We can safely say that there has never been a time in the history of the United States when the employer realized the monetary value of service more than at the present day. If a man brings results to the factory-owner, the merchant or the railroad company, that make his time and effort worth $10,000 or $20,000 or $50,000 a year, he gets it, just as the attorney who wins the lawsuit, or the surgeon who performs the operation, receives a fee in proportion to his professional reputation and the skill required. As a business or industry expands and prospers, those who have most materially aided in its prosperity are paid accordingly—not as a benefaction, but from purely business motives.

This is what we do as individuals and corporations. As a people, we do otherwise. The United States, as a nation, recompenses those who serve it with sums that are but a fraction of what the representatives of much smaller countries receive for similar services. Even the President, who may be termed the people's

business manager, is obliged to be satisfied with a smaller salary than that paid to the heads of some minor European countries; yet, no man in America, probably in the world, fills an office of such responsibility. I might mention a score of Americans in private life who draw from 25 to 50 per cent. more money annually for effort that is less arduous. But the same argument applies when we analyze the duties of the Cabinet officers, of the Federal judiciary, of the chiefs of department bureaus and of the consular service. While in private life we are the world's most generous employers, as a nation we are among the most penurious in the treatment of our public servants.

In the admirable history of American diplomacy written by Professor John Bassett Moore, twice Assistant Secretary of State at Washington, there is reference to an opinion once expressed by Hamilton Fish, who was Secretary of State during the administration of President Grant. Professor Moore, in speaking of the American diplomatic service, says that Secretary Fish was firmly of the opinion that the grade of the missions from the United States to the chief commercial nations of the world should be raised from that of Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary to that of Ambassador. Secretary Fish, however, did not feel justified in taking any action that would bring about this change, and he gave as his sole reason for his reluctance to urge the matter that he was satisfied Congress would not increase the salary to the amount which an Ambassador, the personal representative of the President, should receive. The grade has been advanced since Secretary Fish's day, so that the missions of Great Britain, Russia, Germany, France, Italy, Mexico, Austria-Hungary and Brazil are now represented by Ambassadors at Washington, while the United States and the President are represented by those who have been received as Ambassadors in these various countries. But Congress did not increase the salaries, and to-day it is imperative that a rich man shall be named as Ambassador to any of these nations, if he is to live in a manner in keeping with the office, even though he spends only what is actually necessary. Furthermore, it is an open secret that one of the qualifications for Ambassadorial service—not in every instance, but in some—has been a generous contribution to partisan campaign funds—the honor of holding the post tempting wealthy men of ambition.

I recall that one of my associates in the Cabinet of General Garfield—the Honorable Robert T. Lincoln, who served as Minister to the Court of St. James's, the last to represent us at that Court with the rank of Minister—found, after his four years' term, that his total expenses were just twice the amount of his salary, and he had, therefore, been compelled to draw upon his private purse and his business for an amount exactly equal to the salary he received from the Federal Government. Mr. Lincoln led a life of simplicity. He entertained only when necessary as became his official station, but not lavishly; and this charge upon his private purse represented chiefly official work done in connection with his ministerial responsibilities. I believe many will agree with me that it was a charge which should have been paid by the United States; and it is in no sense an answer to this statement that the minister was paid in part by the honor conferred upon him by that appointment. I have known of several cases where men distinguished for ability have been compelled to resign office and return home, not daring to face serious inroads into their modest fortune which longer public and diplomatic service would entail.

The European nations—even those which have no such wealth or capacity to pay sufficient salaries as may be compared with that of the United States—always recognize the dignity and the responsibility which the high diplomatic posts involve. Therefore, Great Britain pays her Ambassador to the United States a sum almost equal to that received by the President of the United States. In addition, he is provided with a house and accessories worthy of the dignity of Great Britain, and, furthermore, a sufficient allowance is granted him for entertainment. Many persons may look upon an allowance of that kind as unworthy the simplicity of a Democratic-Republican form of government, but not any who have served in important diplomatic capacity, for it is well known to them that the most important of the negotiations, the most delicate questions of state, are often brought to a satisfactory conclusion at what appear to be merely private and personal entertainments. These are charges which cannot be set forth in detail or entered up in *minutiae;* but they are involved in responsibilities, exacting and inexorable, which every diplomatic representative of the United States to the higher Courts must accept, if he is to succeed at all in his work.

The consular service has been greatly improved and has aided much in the development of American commerce, through the inauguration under Mr. Evarts, when Secretary of State, of a system of consular reports. This service has been considerably extended recently, so that what were once monthly reports are now published daily. I do not hesitate to say that the information gathered, the labor which it involves, the experience and good judgment which are required, would be rewarded, in the case of representatives if they were of a commercial house or a great corporation, by salaries far in excess of those which the United States consuls receive. It is well enough to talk about establishing the consular service upon a civil service basis; but the first step, it seems to me, in the direction of securing competent, permanent service, is the payment of salaries that will be adequate for the work required. We shall then eliminate from the consular service the method which has characterized appointments heretofore, for competent business men, young men having high ambition and looking for a career, will be appointed, instead of political favorites or men who have political influence. The wonder is that our consular service has done as well as it has done. I am certain that, if there were a readjustment of salaries, an adequate compensation, with the certainty that the vocation would be a life one, and promotion in recognition of merit, American consuls the world over would do a great work in extending American commerce. Our consuls and consular agents have it in their power greatly to develop our export trade, and, indeed, they have done much in that way.

I have gone into some detail in referring to the consular service, since upon it depends much of our prestige with other nations. I need not dwell upon the vital importance of these men, as they stand for the dignity of the nation and are expected to maintain themselves in a manner befitting its dignity. It is with regret and humiliation that I have alluded to the inadequacy of their compensation; but take the Federal judiciary and the argument applies with equal force. I need cite but two or three instances with which I am personally familiar. An eminent jurist, for many years regarded as the foremost United States Circuit judge west of the Alleghenies and without a superior upon the bench of the United States, was at last brought face to face with a decision which he felt his responsi-

bilities to his family compelled him to make. That, too, can be said of another distinguished lawyer who occupied the bench as Federal Judge of the Southern District of New York. Each of these judges received a salary far beneath his earning power as a lawyer. Both of them probably would have chosen to remain upon the bench had they not discovered that they were constantly running behind. The salary of the Circuit Judge, if my recollection is correct, was $6,000, and that of the District Judge was $4,500. The former did resign with great regret. His learning and his natural bent of mind preeminently fitted him for a place upon the bench, and his decisions to-day stand as models of exposition of the law. In a single year after the Circuit Judge retired from the bench, his earnings as a practising lawyer were, I have been told, in excess of the aggregate salaries he received during his entire term as United States Judge. The District Judge, too, may now contemplate a sufficiency for his family and those others who are dependent upon him. These are random illustrations; but to my mind they afford ample proof that the United States does not begin to pay its judges the salaries which they should receive. Great Britain may be regarded as paying excessive salaries; but Great Britain always has a bench that commands the respect and confidence of the English-speaking people the world over, and, moreover, pays these public officers salaries sufficient to ensure, not only a manner of living that is in accord with their high office, but also suitable provision for their families.

Another factor which should be considered in this discussion is the inroads made on the salary of the officer under bond by payment of annual premiums. I remember one case of a very competent United States Treasurer. He had been promoted from one of the minor clerkships because of merit, until at last he was nominated by the President for the office of Treasurer of the United States. The salary was $6,000. The United States exacted a very large bond. The Treasurer, after a few years' service, perceived that in justice to his family he would be unable to retain office, and, therefore, resigned. I may say that the United States exacts bonds, with sureties, that are, probably, unmatched by the requirements of any financial corporation. The Postmaster at New York is compelled to give a bond of $600,000, with sureties for double that amount. The

Assistant Treasurer of the United States at New York, whose salary is only $8,000, is now compelled to give a like bond. Both of these officers are responsible for the large amounts of money that pass through their offices. The finances of the Post Office at New York equal those of many of the greater banks of New York; yet, the Government pays only $8,000 a year salary. Recently, when there was a vacancy in that Post Office, several very rich men were willing to accept the office, probably because they thought it was in the line of political preferment; but it was with great difficulty that President Roosevelt at last found a competent business man, who was not very rich, who would accept the office; and I am safe in saying that the same energy, the same experience and business capacity which are necessary for the satisfactory direction of the New York Post Office would, in any other employment, bring a salary from three to four times as much as the Postmaster at New York receives.

Ex-Senator Warner Miller, who was a personal friend of the late President Benjamin Harrison, once informed me that General Harrison had been compelled, after leaving the Presidency, to go to work in order to provide for his family, and he added that General Harrison had saved more in the year that followed his retirement from the Presidency than he had been able to save in the four years of his incumbency. Think of a man who has been the head of one of the world's richest nations, retiring from its service with practically nothing saved from his salary—so small that he must expend it all in outlays absolutely necessary to maintain the position with befitting dignity; but General Harrison is not an isolated instance by any means. James Monroe, after retiring from the Presidency, was compelled to sell his library for want of money and go to work in order actually to exist.

I have long felt that Congress, first of all, should seriously consider, and at last readjust, the salaries paid to the President, the Vice-President and the Cabinet Officers. The President of the United States should receive not a cent less than $100,000 a year, and a retiring pension of not less than $25,000 during life on condition that he does not engage in any secular business, thus preserving the dignity of his position.

I have heard it said that since Cleveland's day almost every Cabinet Officer has been a man either of great wealth or possessed

of sufficient income. There are one or two exceptions to that statement. I have personal knowledge of one of the most efficient Cabinet Officers who ever served at the head of a department at Washington, who was compelled to resign in the midst of most important work, because he realized that if he stayed longer in Washington practical bankruptcy would be his lot. I have always felt that the United States is niggardly in its payment to the Secretary of the Treasury. It is one of the proudest of American traditions that, notwithstanding the enormous opportunities that are at the hand of a Secretary of the Treasury, especially since the Civil War, not one has ever been tainted with the suspicion of a misuse of his opportunity or his responsibilities. Some have retired poor. Mr. Carlisle came to New York, after a four years' service as Secretary of the Treasury, absolutely dependent upon the practice of his profession, and not succeeding until some of his personal friends had made efforts to secure clients for him. Mr. Windom, who was twice Secretary of the Treasury and died in office, and who accomplished one of the traditionally great achievements of that office in his refunding action in the summer of 1881, was compelled to enter active business after he had retired from General Garfield's Cabinet. Governor Foster, who was Windom's successor as Secretary of the Treasury, held the position during the period of the "gold stringency." I have proof that he was aware what the straits of the Federal Government were soon to be with regard to gold, and that he could have profited by that knowledge had he been so disposed. Nevertheless, as the world now knows, he was administering this great office when his private affairs were really upon the verge of bankruptcy.

President Roosevelt could not have successfully called Elihu Root to his official family, had Mr. Root not, by brilliant successes and a life of intense professional industry, accumulated an income upon which he will chiefly rely while he is serving as Secretary of State. I have long thought that it is all wrong for the Government and for Congress to act upon the assumption that a man competent to fill an office, and whose service will be of the greatest value to his country, should be expected to make inroads upon his private fortune in order to sustain the dignity and meet the expenses of his official life. Yet, we apparently take it as a matter of course that a man should be

willing to serve his country as a Cabinet Officer—a position requiring so much time and attention that he cannot engage in his individual business or profession. We expect he will not only perform its duties, but reside in Washington, entertain at the requisite functions and cheerfully make up any deficit beyond his salary out of his private income, in addition to giving up a revenue from other pursuits which, in the case of some of the present officials, is three or four times the allowance they get for the honor of holding the portfolio. It speaks well for the patriotism of our men of mark that so many of them have been willing to accept the office—at such a monetary loss to themselves.

The other day, the Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Wilson, published a statement showing that the value of the farm and forest products of the United States for the year 1905 was considerably in excess of six thousand million dollars. He showed with what great rapidity the value of the farms themselves is increasing. The wealth of the United States has been doubling in almost geometrical progression; but I do not discover that the United States itself, notwithstanding this increase in its resources and wealth, has in a general way increased the salaries of its public officials. If there have been increases, they have been too trivial and, where made, so exceptional as to attract notice. Meanwhile, the standards of living are greatly increasing; and a moderate salary, which a few years ago would have been abundant, is now barely sufficient decently to provide a man and his family with the necessaries of life.

The workman is worthy of his hire; and, if it be sound economy that the prevailing rate of wages or salaries should be paid, it is as sound economy for the United States as it is for corporations or for any employers. I have no patience with the theory that a man should be expected to give up his energy, time, skill and ability to the United States Government for less money on the whole than he would receive if he were employed by a corporation or by private individuals. Sometimes the Government finds that it is impossible to get high-grade men without high-grade pay. President Roosevelt and Congress made that discovery when the composition of the Panama Canal Commission was under discussion. Great engineers, even for so stupendous a work as the Panama Canal, will not give their services

to the Federal Government for one-tenth the pay which they would receive from a corporation for the same service. Therefore, the President was authorized to fix the salaries for the experts and the engineers to whom was commissioned the work of building the Panama Canal.

I sincerely trust that an agitation will begin speedily for Congressional action, looking to a careful and impartial readjustment of the entire salary list of the officials of the United States Government; and I am certain that Congressmen will find no enlightened or impartial constituent who will not approve reasonable legislation of this kind—legislation that is the result of thorough investigation.

THOMAS L. JAMES.

# ELECTORAL CORRUPTION IN ENGLAND IN THE OLD DAYS.*

BY ARTHUR POTTOW.

THE distinctly national effort, which the past year has developed, to lift American politics into a higher plane, and more especially the fierce resentment which has permeated the body politic at apprehended or supposed attempts in the ballot-room to prevent the free-will of the people being converted into law, render it opportune at the present time to help forward the creation of a public opinion which shall force to the fore the far more important necessity of preventing the consciences of the voters being influenced by corruption and bribery before they get into the ballot-room. I use the term "creation of public opinion" advisedly, because I attach the utmost importance to it. So long as only one or two, here and there, see any moral turpitude in the open, wholesale and flagrant buying of voters for cold cash, and scarcely condescend to notice except as a peccadillo, or evidence of a somewhat benevolent disposition, the more subtle form of corruption by treating, through the medium of summer outings, club-barbecues and clam-bakes, there will be no legislative effort with power enough behind it to be converted into operative law. It is the power of public opinion which makes a law either efficient or a dead letter.

Public opinion is the necessary antecedent fulcrum to be used in starting the several States' legislatures on the right road towards enacting laws; and, if strong enough, it will be capable of enforcing even the unwritten law, "Thou shalt not debauch thy neighbor's politics." Indeed, the code of honor which public opinion is capable of compelling men to live up to is higher

* Lest the generic term "England" be taken in its usual popular sense as including Scotland, the writer desires to put on record the fact that Scotland had no part in the corruption described.

than that of any law, however stringent. For, whatever the law may be, there will be, in the absence of public opinion, those who will exercise all the ingenuity of their minds to circumvent it; and, if they can avoid its penalties, they will feel no repugnance in defeating its plain intention. On the other hand, it may be said, as illustrating the power of public opinion, that there does not live the man of any social importance in England who would bribe a jockey or refuse to pay his racing debts, although these cannot be recovered at law. For, over that subject, there sits enshrouded at Newmarket, in the impenetrable seclusion of a modest, gray stone temple, that parliament of the turf, "The Stewards of the Jockey Club" who exercise a power no monarch ever wielded. It is unique, for it is based on moral force alone: there is nothing but voluntary public opinion to enforce it. Yet, if once the mysterious handwriting on the wall has gone forth, if once the magic words, "Warned off the Heath," are written, he who is thus warned becomes a social leper, more shunned than if branded by the most stringent penalties of the temporal arm. We must not relax our efforts until, in every constituency, there is a public opinion just as powerful against political corruption, under whatever cloak it shall disguise itself, whose social-salvation decree shall be, "Thou shalt not debauch thy neighbor's politics."

"But this is Utopian," I hear my readers say. "No such condition can be brought into politics this side of eternity." To which I reply, Not so! It has been done in England. That country was sunk in depths of corrupt degradation unthinkably beyond the worst that exists in America, heinous, widespread and omnipotent as we are apt to think that is; and England has, through public opinion as expressed in law, and its accompanying code of honor, risen out of the slough of all the coarser forms of personal bribery, treating and undue influence.

It took two hundred years to accomplish this revolution in political ethics, from the first Act of Parliament aimed at corruption in the reign of William III in 1695, until the last nail was driven into the coffin of the offensive carcase in 1883. Some of the provisions of the act passed in the latter year were quoted in the admirable article by Mr. Perry Belmont in this REVIEW in February, 1905, "Publicity of Election Expenditure." I shall later on refer to others.

It may not be amiss, indeed, it may do much good, in putting strength and backbone into the various movements recently so encouragingly started in various parts of the Union for the purpose of promoting political purity, to recall some of the conditions which actually existed in England, and to recapitulate some of the stages of the fight which went on there, often under worse discouragement than exists in America to-day. At any rate, it will turn the edge of the argument of the doubting Thomases whose most effective weapon is *Non possumus.* For what has been done, can be done: and the battle is half won already, for we have not to fight open official vote-buying and corruption in the highest places, using all the power of the public credit, purse and patronage, corruptly and viciously, for the purpose of crushing popular aspirations for political rights, as was the case for generations in England. We have our political rights secured by an iron-clad Constitution. Then, again, not only were the voters sunk in a venality which brought them money values, but Members of Parliament elected by them were bought and sold in the same outrageous and shameless manner. No such conditions exist among us, or ever did. Even then, however, it was politic that the words of the King and his Minister should be those of righteous indignation at the political corruption of the people, but their acts were those of the lowest borough-mongers that ever manipulated a rotten constituency. For instance, as late as the General Election of 1761, the then young King (George III) expressed a hope that no money (that is, no money out of the Government funds) would be spent in procuring the return of Members of Parliament favorable to the Government. "I wish to be tried by my country," he said; and no money was so issued, but "corruption stood on its own legs, and venality was grosser than ever." Yet, when the King had got his Parliament together, under Bute, the means employed by him in getting measures passed by Members, themselves elected corruptly, were so infamous, wholesale, unprecedented and scandalous as to make the worst period of the corruption of Sir Robert Walpole, who boasted that every man had his price, seem innocent.

We have got a good many tasks to perform before we attain political purity, but, thank God! we have not got to correct such abuses as shocked few of the contemporaries of George III.

Our principal difficulty is with party-bosses, irresponsible clubs

and individual voters, and even their practices are sweetness and light, and their power unintrenched, as compared with those which flourished, unchecked, for hundreds of years in England. And this, notwithstanding the existence all the time on the statute-books of a law passed in 1695, which enacted that:

"*No person to be elected* shall directly or indirectly give, or allow, to any voter any money, meat, drink, entertainment or provision, or make any promise or engagement to give or allow any money to such voter, in order to be elected, on pain of being disabled to serve in Parliament for such place in such election."

Of course, the fatal defect of this provision was that it was directed solely against the acts of the "*person to be elected*," and made no provision against any other person doing on his behalf the things forbidden to him. It might well remain innocuous, as it did, until it was repealed in 1854, a century and a half after its enactment.

In the mean time, corruption stalked the land "naked and not ashamed." I do not, of course, personally remember the period which preceded the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832, but I have heard my father tell, many a time, of the days when every voter took his bribe and lived and ate and drank and smoked and rollicked at the candidate's expense, during all the fourteen days over which an election lasted, or as many of them as would enable them to poll one vote every hour; and they eked their votes out, one by one, grudgingly down to the dregs, even as they drank their borough-mongers' wine to the uttermost drop; and then, when that gave out, if they had not voted, they passed over to the Opposition and drank them dry. This is exactly what they did in the Northampton Election of 1768, when three castles in the neighborhood kept open house for the election fortnight. When the wool-combers, weavers and shoemakers who had the precious votes had drained all the old port at one of the castles, their host had no recourse but to place before them claret, when they one and all declared "they would never vote for a man who gave them sour port," and went over in a body to one of the rival castles. That election has come down the lines of tradition and history as "the spendthrift Election." It was unusually prolonged and the canvassing began long before the fourteen days' polling. The real contest was not between the nominal candidates, but between their respective sponsors, who had en-

tered into the tourney "to win or efface themselves." It cost one sponsor on behalf of his nominee in modern values $1,000,000, and the two opponents for their nominees $1,500,000 each, while the total number of electors was under 1,000. It ruined one of the sponsors, and another had to cut down his ancestral trees, sell the furniture of his castle, and become an exile from poverty in Switzerland, where he died. But the sequel is even more remarkable. The election was contested because the number of votes polled exceeded by 288 the number of qualified electors, *not* because there was corruption! Oh dear, no! perish the thought! During the hearing of the evidence, sixty covers a day were set at the London residence of one of the interested noblemen for the Members of Parliament who were hearing the controversy and scrutinizing the votes, and the name of every guest was taken down. In the end, the votes were found to be equal. Thereupon, the dispute was referred to the arbitrament of chance and decided by the toss of a penny. The nobleman who won the toss nominated as member a man out in India. Let us hope that the penny with which he tossed had not been *cogged*.

I could multiply instances of this nature into volumes. Suffice it to quote a few, of which "Grampound and rascality" may well be one, for that was the appropriate inscription for its banners. Grampound was a Cornish borough with forty-two voters. They were mostly purchased by a peer who resided in the neighborhood, and who would not take the trouble to announce even the name of his nominee until the morning of the election. Once in a way they would sell themselves out of his hands, if his price was not satisfactory; and once they boasted they had received thereby $1,650 each in cash for their votes.

Old Sarum's case is historic. It returned two members to Parliament and was then, as now, only a wheat-field, as any visitor to Stonehenge may see in passing. Its owner would, the day before election, create seven freeholders, and the next day they would reconvey their titles. That was a very cheap process. It cost more to a Cumberland family to get two members elected for a certain constituency; for they had to let their voters live house free and pension them all the year round on $2.50 a week, for voting as they were required.

Even the municipal corporations of the ante-reform days, themselves hot-beds of graft of the most flagrant nature, entered into

this riot of political dissipation to secure the control and sell the Parliamentary representation of their boroughs, if it so happened there was no patron whom they could bleed; and they squandered the property of the citizens in expenses attendant on Parliamentary elections until 1832, when they were estopped by statute.

Now, let me close these brief notes of this unspeakably rotten period by citing the instance of the Borough of Gratton, in Surrey, in which a prominent "gentleman" avoided all possible trouble by buying the whole borough and appointing himself collector of taxes, church-warden, overseer, surveyor of the highways and returning officer of elections. Then he proposed himself as its representative in Parliament, approved himself, elected himself, and invited himself to a dinner to celebrate his return. And nobody as much as laughed at the travesty, or resented it, so debased was the public conscience of the time!

There was method in this madness, too; for the sale of seats in the House of Commons became so regular and systematic that in many instances the candidates could not pay the purchase-money down, but commuted it into an annual charge, which naturally they got back again by selling their support to the Government, or to the Opposition—but mostly, of course, to the Government, for that was where the money was. And so the vicious circle was completed and perpetuated, until the awakened public conscience rebelled.

When the Government could not effect its object by these means, it did not hesitate to abuse its powers of patronage to a degree never dreamed of in the wildest schemes of the worst of American politicians of to-day, especially Federal politicians; for, in 1782, Lord Rockingham stated on authority that in seventy boroughs the elections were carried by revenue officers "purposely appointed by the Government," and that he knew one borough in which 125 out of 500 electors had obtained revenue appointments for that corrupt purpose through the influence of one person. No such an utter disregard of decencies, or such a moral obtuseness, exists, or is conceivable to-day—in the worst instances quotable in America. Yet England has emerged even from this cesspool of vileness, and therein is hope and comfort.

If any readers, who in the course of time are likely to be in London, want to see these election scenes depicted as they existed

in fact before the eyes of that great social satirist and scathing artist, Hogarth, I would commend to them his four pictures, "An Election Feast," "Canvassing," "Polling," and "Chairing," which will be found in that seldom visited, but invaluable, collection, the "Sir John Soane Museum." They are worth volumes of biographical memoranda.

The first sign of awakening, but not fully awakened, conscience against this system was that given by an act passed in 1728, which authorized any two electors to demand that a voter presenting himself to vote might be called upon to swear that "I, *A. B.,* do swear that I have not received or had, by myself, or any person in trust for me, any benefit, *directly or indirectly,* any sum of money, or any promise of employment, gift or reward or promise of security for money, in order to give my vote at this election." It was the entering wedge, because it, for the first time, recognized the *indirect* channel.

The next step forward was the passing, for the first time, of a *penal* enactment, passed, it is true, in the most corrupt of legislatures, that of George III, but well up in his reign, in 1809. Although, in many places, it remained a mere pious expression, it did indicate a movement in the valley of dry bones, for the receiver, as well as the giver, was recognized as equally guilty. It enacted that "every person *directly or indirectly giving,* or promising, or agreeing to give, any money [etc., etc., in the old phraseology] to procure the election of a Member of Parliament, shall forfeit $5,000, and the person receiving the gift shall forfeit $2,500."

By a slow procession of Acts of Parliament, these pious expressions were extended; but there could be little hope of effectiveness while the committee to inquire into electoral expenses was made up of members of the House, themselves frequently elected by tactics even more unlawful, and so the legislative mill ground legal sawdust through many sessions.

The first real blows at the corrupt old system of personal bribery, corruption and treating came in 1872 from two directions. In the first place, the more drastic laws which had gradually curbed the personal treating of voters in Parliamentary elections, were extended to municipal and ward elections. Years after decisions of the courts in Parliamentary elections had unseated Members of Parliament for corruption, the old practices

had been removed from the Parliamentary elections, which might possibly occur only once in seven years, to the municipal elections which occurred every year, and at these all the old-time forms of free dinners, free drinks, free smokes, and every other kind of improper influence ran riot. Every voter went, both before and after voting, to the dining-room of the candidate he had supported, and had his fill. In fact, I have known contests provoked on the approach of a Parliamentary election in every ward in a borough, for no other purpose than to keep the boys together by a lawful expenditure in every ward in the borough, which, if made in connection with a Parliamentary election, would have unseated the members. The Act of 1872 extended the provisions of the Corrupt Practices Acts to municipal elections, and out went the lights.

The other crushing blow, or what was apparently so, came in the same year (1872), when the first secret-ballot voting was enacted: a law most pregnant with hopes, inasmuch as it was expected that nobody would expend money when it was impossible to see the goods delivered—in other words, when the voter could fool candidates and friends, by taking their favors and secretly voting for the other side. The Ballot Act scotched the serpent of the corrupting power of money, but it did not kill it. If money could not now surely buy the individual, it could at least, by opening its floodgates in indiscriminate lawful expenditure, create such an influence as to practically corrupt the whole constituency. If you could not pay the voter, you could employ, as messengers, to carry one letter apiece in a week, his three young nephews or his pauper-disfranchised father. If you could not buy beer, you could have meeting after meeting in every public-house in the borough, at rents for rooms which enabled the landlords to be very generous in credit to men who were favorable to you. If you could not promise a revenue officer's place, you could have a suite of rooms for a committee, which seldom wore out the carpets, but paid a rent equivalent to a year's occupation of the whole house. If you could not pay the compositors to vote for you, you could be sure, lawfully, to have them all consider you the prince of good-fellows by arranging that all your literature, and tons of it, should go into the printer's at such an hour of the afternoon that every mother's son on the staff had *double pay for overtime* for a month. And

oh! the pressure of it: the letters the poor election agent got, the pleadings, the bullyings, the robberies he had to submit to, with his eyes open, and I was the election agent on several occasions. The very thought of these days makes me shudder, yet be thankful that at least they are over forever and ever.

The end came through the law of 1883, and ever-blessed let me call that law. For, under its beneficent powers, the knife of the public prosecutor cut deep down into the very roots of the political ulcer, and the scandal which originated in the lax morality of the Court of King Charles II, and had in the two hundred years of its orgy permeated the very vitals of the body politic, ended its pestiferous life. All previous legislation had been half-hearted, ambiguous or narrow; the drag-net of Sir Henry James caught the whole breed of corruptionists and its provisions left no loop-hole but cessation or the gaol. If for no other reason, it would mark a new era, inasmuch as for the first time it brought under discipline political clubs and associations; but it has many other claims to everlasting gratitude.

It may assist in suggesting some points to our present-day reformers, and I make no apology for summarizing some of its most novel and drastic provisions. It starts by defining bribery and treating, and extending these offences to periods *before,* during or after any election, and in making the receiver as well as the giver guilty of a corrupt practice, punishable by one year's imprisonment or $1,000 fine. It makes the aider, abetter, counseller and procurer of personation as guilty of felony as the personator, punishable by a term of two years' imprisonment with hard labor. Its next blows are at long-established abuses, never before unlawful. It makes it an illegal practice, punishable by $500 fine on summary conviction, to hold any committee in public-houses or saloons; or to pay for the use of any house, or other premises, for the purpose of exhibiting posters; to pay for any bands of music, torches, banners, ribbons or other marks of distinction, or to pay for the conveyance of voters to the poll.

It disfranchises every person employed for money by the candidate, and cuts down the number who may be employed to one agent, one polling-clerk and one messenger for every 500 voters.

It defines the purposes—so much for printing, so much for this and so much for that—for which alone money can be spent; and it limits the total maximum to $1,750 where the voters num-

ber 2,000, and $750 for each 1,000 votes above that number; a subject never before touched by law.

It prohibits a single cent of this expenditure being incurred by any other person than the agent. Whatever aid any club or association may desire to give must be in cash to the agent, of which hereafter. The spending-agent has to make an itemized account with the names and duties of every person employed or bills incurred, confirmed by their vouchers. Within thirty-five days after the election, the agent is compelled to file a statement of all moneys received by him from the candidate or from any other person, with the name of every person, club or association from whom the same was received. Both the candidate and the agent are charged with actual personal knowledge of all the details of these receipts and payments, and each of them has to declare solemnly and sincerely that, except as appears on the returns, they have not, nor to the best of their knowledge has any other person, *nor has any club, society or association,* on behalf of the said candidate, made any payment or incurred any liability on account of, or in respect to, the conduct or management of such election.

To clench the whole legal fist, and to bring it down swiftly and mercilessly: if there be a petition against the member the Director of Public Prosecutions is to attend it; *and it shall be his duty,* without any direction of the court, to prosecute persons guilty of corrupt or illegal practices before any court competent to deal with the offences. Finally, if there be no petition, and if any information is given to the public prosecutor that any corrupt or illegal practices have prevailed, *it shall be his duty* to make inquiries, and institute such prosecutions as the circumstances appear to him to require.

Under these provisions, the old conditions passed away, and individual political debauchery has to be written of as history.

ARTHUR POTTOW.

# TRUST COMPANY RESERVES: AN INQUIRY.

BY GEORGE W. YOUNG.

WITH the assembling of the New York Legislature has come a revival of the old question of the maintenance of a cash reserve by Trust Companies.

As has been demonstrated in past discussions of this subject, it is a matter in which legislative action at any time might involve risk of results likely to work injustice to an enormously important branch of business, as well as to thrust an element of disturbance, if not of actual menace, into the entire commercial situation. At this time, particularly, of feverish public sentiment regarding institutions of a fiduciary character, this risk is greatly accentuated. It is the psychological moment when, under the form of putting institutions of trust under additional restraint, measures might very well be enacted which would work injury to such institutions without inuring to the benefit of the public or of competitive banking institutions.

Under present conditions, the difference existing between Banks and Trust Companies on the question of the maintenance of a cash reserve is of serious import, and should not be permitted to increase. It should, if possible, be eliminated. Even if this difference were confined to the State of New York, as it is not, all effort to this end should be made, since New York may fairly be said to be the clearing-house of the country, and what affects its financial security and operates to maintain or disturb its normal financial condition necessarily affects, favorably or injuriously, the country at large.

It is desirable, at the outset of any discussion of this subject, that the radical distinctions between the kinds of business conducted by Trust Companies and Banks should be considered, so that the conclusion may not be reached that, because both are

financial institutions, the same methods of control and regulation are to be indiscriminately applied to both. Savings-Banks are financial institutions, but no one would think of applying to them the rules for the conduct of business required of or voluntarily adopted by Trust Companies; and it is safe to say that the distinctions between Savings-Banks and Trust Companies are not more marked than those between Trust Companies and Banks.

It should be borne in mind also that "Cash Reserve" is an emergency fund held in vault, idle, unemployed, unproductive and unavailable, except to meet unexpected demands by depositors upon the resources of an institution.

Even if it is to be assumed that the sole purpose of those who are pressing this Trust Company reserve-fund question is the wholly laudable one of giving stronger protection to depositors, nevertheless, the full merit of the question itself is a matter that should be subjected to very careful consideration.

Whence, then, is derived the impelling force which, with inincreasing persistence during several years past, has been urging this legislation. Is it a lack of public faith in Trust Companies? Is it due to Trust Company disasters and losses to depositors through such disasters? Has the Trust Company system, by any such misfortunes, given warrant for the demand for the radical change that is proposed?

The record itself is an overwhelming refutation of all these suggestions. The enormous increase of Trust Companies and Trust deposits within the past few years amounts to an emphatic vote of public confidence such as has been rarely, if ever, paralleled in the financial history of the country. Ten years ago there were in the State of New York thirty-eight Trust Companies with a capitalization of $29,000,000, and with deposits of $307,000,000. To-day there are eighty-one Companies with an aggregate capital of $63,000,000 and deposits of $1,137,000,000; the increase for the ten years being $830,000,000, or approximately 270 per cent. In the City of New York ten years ago, twenty-seven Companies had capital amounting to $27,000,000, and deposits of $291,000,000. To-day forty-seven Companies have $56,000,000 of capital, and $1,010,000,000 of deposits. The increase under this latter account for ten years has been nearly 247 per cent. as compared with an increase in the deposits of National Banks in New York City for ten years of only 136 per cent.

It is apparent, therefore, that the Trust Companies, without legal restriction as to reserve, seem to be quite as solidly established in public confidence as are the National Banks, with their compulsory reserves.

The practical results of the two systems bear even more emphatic testimony in favor of the Trust Company. If a financial system were radically wrong, it would be reasonably certain that, during the course of a period extending over a third of a century, many failures and disasters would have resulted. If, on the other hand, during so long a time it had involved few disasters, it might be fairly claimed for it that, as a system, it was fundamentally sound. If in the same interval no disaster whatever had occurred whereby a single depositor had lost a dollar of his money, it would clearly have been established that it was a system that might be safely let alone. The burden of proof that it was defective, that it involved danger, would rest upon those who proposed to change it.

Such is precisely the condition which confronts those who are endeavoring to change the Trust Company reserve system at this present moment. The record of the Trust Companies of New York is that, for a third of a century of business involving the handling of hundreds upon hundreds of millions of money, not a dollar has been lost to depositors. The official books of the State Banking Department in Albany show that from 1871, a date preceding that of State banking supervision in New York, down to December 31, 1905, out of over one hundred incorporated Trust Companies in the State of New York, only two have failed, and both those two paid every one of their depositors every dollar of his deposits.

In the same interval of time, there were in New York State seventy failures of State and National Banks involving losses of millions of dollars. If it is the State and National Banks who are urging upon the Legislature that Trust Companies be put under legal conditions as to cash reserves, a comparison of these records hardly enforces the argument. These records, indeed, bring out once more and with much emphasis the question of just how great security to depositors there really is in the theory and practice of the present cash reserve law as applied to State and National Banks. That the application of such conditions to Trust Companies would be beneficial

is certainly not proved thereby. The theory that Trust Companies are in a vulnerable position because they are not required to maintain a cash reserve, and that the laws of New York State for the protection of Trust Company depositors are inadequate, is disposed of by the same records. Over thirty years' test has demonstrated that these laws are adequate—abundantly adequate. Not a contingency has arisen in the entire history of Trust Company operations in the State of New York to suggest, even remotely, the necessity for additional legislation upon the subject.

The marvellous growth of Trust Companies during the past few years has wrought interesting changes in the banking business of the United States. Instead of having to themselves the field left unoccupied by the savings institutions, the National and State Banks have found their territory invaded by competitors having strong recommendations to popular favor. Prior to the great growth of Trust Companies, the payment by Banks of interest upon accounts was all but unknown. Now it is all but universal. The Trust Companies voluntarily paid interest. This compelled State and National Banks to do the same. The computation of how much in millions of money the general business public has gained by this result alone of the advent of the Trust Company would be an interesting subject of investigation.

Trust Company depositors in New York State received during the last decade the vast sum of $147,000,000 in interest. In the same period, these Companies paid their shareholders the sum of $62,000,000. In other words, the Trust Companies divided among those representing the general business public $85,000,000 more in money than they divided among their own shareholders. During 1904, the depositors received nearly $26,000,000, the shareholders $9,500,000. The excess distribution to depositors was upwards of $16,000,000.

With these facts fully appreciated, it requires no intricate investigation to understand the great popularity of the Trust Company. It needs no prophet to foretell that legislation which threatens to hamper the Trust Company's earning efficiency will create a widespread feeling of dissatisfaction. The Trust Company depositors of the State of New York now approximate 250,000 in number. This great body of depositors would represent the productive element of a city having a million of inhabitants.

Any enactment crippling or impairing the effectiveness of Trust Companies as money-earners would, by just so much, cripple or impair the financial resources of a community in numbers equal to one-eighth of the entire population of the State. In the face of the demonstrated safety of Trust Company business methods, this large proportion of the active business community, which has so substantially profited by those methods in the past, should demand very strong proof before being convinced that any legislation is of urgent necessity as a mere contingent safeguard for the future, especially such as would involve the risk of additional disturbance of present financial conditions.

It is not to be supposed that Trust Companies have grown to their present power and influence in the financial world without creating antagonisms. As a matter of fact, they have invaded and made radical changes in territory where other influences heretofore have been dominant.

The New York Clearing-House, representing the united banking strength of the financial centre of the country, had come to wield a practically dictatorial power. It had become the court of final resort in all things financial. Beyond its determinations there was no effective appeal. The tendency of an organization of this kind is to have its powers drift toward concentration into a few strong hands. The natural, perhaps the inevitable, gravitation is toward some central, dominating group. In so strong a body as the Clearing-House, any such group controlling it would have a tremendous power. It is a matter of public concern that there should be great care as to the manner in which this power is exercised or extended.

The amazingly rapid growth of Trust Company interests has already been cited. These Companies were successful because they met more completely than did other institutions the modern banking requirements of the community, while at the same time acting as beneficent conservators of funds and estates. They undoubtedly encroached greatly upon fields theretofore occupied exclusively by the State and National Banks. They grew so rapidly that they hardly knew their own strength. It was only when the Clearing-House sought, without consultation with the Trust Companies, to impose upon them conditions operating to cripple their efficiency, that they were forced to take action. They then realized two facts. One was that they had grown

to dimensions which put them shoulder to shoulder, in point of strength, with the Clearing-House Banks themselves. The order was that, with no corresponding organization of their own, they were subject to the rulings of an organization in which they had no voice, and with the members of which they were in active competition.

On the eleventh of February, 1903, the Clearing-House adopted a rule which gave its committee the ultimate power to fix the cash reserve to be carried by Trust Companies making use of its clearing facilities at not less than ten per cent. nor more than fifteen per cent. of their deposits. With two exceptions, the New York City Trust Companies withdrew from the Clearing-House, with no resulting embarrassment to themselves or inconvenience to their depositors.

The fact that the Trust Companies organized the Trust Companies Association of the State of New York, and that they did this only three days before the Clearing-House rule became operative, has led to the assertion that the movement was one hostile to the Clearing-House. Nothing could be further from the fact. To be sure, the primary purposes of the Trust Companies Association are to promote Trust Company interests and the interests of Trust Company patrons. These purposes, it was very justly felt, could be best attained by cooperation among Trust Companies themselves—a cooperation which theretofore, unfortunately, had been to a certain extent neglected. But never for a moment was it designed to confine this cooperation to Trust Companies alone. On the contrary, the underlying purpose of the Trust Companies Association was the establishment of a relationship between Banks and Trust Companies, upon the definite and harmonious basis which common sense dictates. It was reasonable that the Trust Companies of the State of New York should desire, through cooperation, to obtain that recognition to which their dignity and importance entitled them in the financial world. This applied, and still applies, especially to the Trust Companies of New York City, holding, as they do, over a billion dollars in deposits, an amount approximating the $1,119,000,000 deposits held by the Clearing-House Banks, and considering that a large portion of Trust Company funds are included in these Bank deposits.

The rule adopted by the Clearing-House represented, pre-

sumably, the best judgment of that body as to the restrictions under which Trust Companies should operate. It is interesting, therefore, to observe just what result would have followed if that rule had been carried out. Under its provisions, the minimum cash reserve to be demanded of Trust Companies was ten per cent. of their gross deposits. The maximum was fifteen per cent. If the ten-per-cent. minimum had been applied, the Trust Companies of the City of New York alone would have had tied up in their vaults, on the ninth of November last, cash to the amount of $101,098,865. Mr. Kilburn, in his annual report of January 3, 1906, shows that these Trust Companies, on November 9th, 1905, did have actually so tied up $19,936,623. Thus it will be seen that, had these Trust Companies consented to come under the Clearing-House ruling, there would have been added the further withdrawal from circulation of over $81,000,000. That would have been one result of the application of the Clearing-House rule in its mildest form. If, instead of the minimum, the maximum limit of fifteen per cent. of the gross Trust Company deposits had been enforced, the Trust Companies of the City of New York would have had lying in their vaults, idle and unproductive, cash to the amount of about $150,000,000.

It is worth while stopping to consider for a moment, in some of its bearings, just what so vast a sum as $150,000,000 stands for. The total stock of money in the United States, as shown by the report of the Comptroller of the Currency for 1905, is $2,883,000,000. Of this, $295,000,000 is locked up in the vaults of the United States Treasury, and $987,000,000 in the vaults of the National Banks. This leaves $1,600,000,000 in actual circulation. The application of the Clearing-House rule to the Trust Companies would have withdrawn $150,000,000. In other words, when the Trust Companies refused their consent to this regulation, they refused to sanction an action which made it possible to lock up and render idle nearly ten per cent. of the entire volume of currency in actual circulation in the United States. The withdrawal of this vast sum from the Banks, moreover, would have had another far-reaching effect not to be overlooked. It would have had the immediate consequence of greatly curtailing the loaning power of the Banks. The combined effect of this contraction of the currency and of the loaning power of the Banks, in view of recent experiences, may be imagined.

It was said in the beginning of this article that the forces back of the Trust Company reserve agitation, as well as the intrinsic merit of the question itself, should be subjected to very careful consideration before the enactment of any legislation bearing upon the subject; and, in view of what has just been set forth, it is evident that that statement was not too strong. It is plainly imperative that there should be very close and rigid scrutiny of a proposition involving the locking up, as reserve, of such enormous amounts of cash. Whether a step involving such possibilities of grave financial embarrassment, to use no more alarming term, may or may not be avoided; whether the record made by the Trust Companies is of a character to warrant such a heavy restriction being put upon their earning power; whether, in view of our already contracted currency, a serious crippling of financial activity might not follow the extension of capital-paralysis to such great length—all this is matter for very searching and careful consideration on the part of those who may assume responsibility for such action as has been proposed.

Especially should there be conscientious inquiry to determine whether the demand for the elimination from productive usefulness of such an enormous force of cash vitality is really in the interest of the financial public and of the Trust Company depositors only, or whether it is not the result of persistent effort on the part of rival banking institutions to strengthen their own position by placing an unnecessary restriction upon the activity of their competitors.

We have only recently had an all too painful experience with what an eminent banker, in words the vigor of which met hearty approval, characterized as a " disgraceful " condition of the money-market. To what extent an additional and wholly unnecessary tying up of an enormous volume of cash would operate toward a recurrence of the same state of credit-anarchy is a factor, and a very vital factor, that must enter into the calculations of those who may have been influenced by the systematic campaign of Trust Company reserve agitation which has been, and still is being, carried on with so much activity.

The movement toward the enforcement of a cash reserve upon Trust Companies has been pushed with a vigor and persistence quite remarkable. It has become virtually a campaign, and, as a campaign, has developed peculiarities of aggressiveness. Un-

der these circumstances, the heat generated by the discussion has resulted in misleading statements regarding the actual status of Trust Companies. The assertion, for instance, that Trust Companies maintain no cash reserve is open to misconstruction. It is one of those partial truths which are sometimes quite as misleading as deliberate misrepresentation. As a matter of fact, the position of Trust Companies, in this and other respects, has been very generally misunderstood. The report of the Banking Superintendent up to the beginning of 1905 shows that the deposits of the Trust Companies of New York City amounted to $1,014,730,542. Of this amount $269,707,402 were deposits in trust, while $593,832,331 came under the head of "general deposits." The third group, comprising the $151,190,808, consisted of amounts due Trust Companies, Savings-Banks, Banks and bankers.

Of the $593,832,331 characterized as "general deposits," a very large proportion is in time-deposits, against which it is not pretended that a cash reserve should be maintained, any more than it is that one should be maintained against the $269,707,402 of deposits as trusts proper. Just what proportion of the Trust Company deposits might come under the head of a banking business is entirely uncertain. Available data bearing on the subject are too inadequate for a specific statement. There is one fact, however, which is illuminating. It is found in the relative clearings of the Trust Companies and those of Banks. As has been pointed out, the New York Trust Companies, with two exceptions, withdrew from Clearing-House facilities when the rule regarding reserve became operative. During the year 1903 the clearances of the Banks aggregated $64,724,920,947. Those of the Trust Companies during the same year, five Companies not reporting, amounted to only $4,632,034,356. This was slightly in excess of seven per cent. of the Bank clearances. In 1904, the Bank clearances through the Clearing-House amounted to $68,071,858,413. During the same year, five Companies still not reporting, the clearances of Trust Companies, as represented by all cheques paid against deposits, amounted to only $4,929,048,797.

Thus it is seen that, with heavy fluctuations in Bank clearances, Trust Company clearances remain remarkably steady, and this notwithstanding a vast aggregate increase in Trust Company deposits. Here is a fact that cannot be controverted. It is one that demands the very serious consideration of those who may take

upon themselves the responsibility of locking up such a large percentage of the entire actual currency circulation of the United States, with all of the associated risk and peril. Aside from the possibility of public mischief which such a step would involve, it is submitted that there is in the proposal an element of unfairness and injustice to the Trust Companies themselves. As the facts just cited show, to require a cash reserve against the total Trust Company deposits would be to impose upon them the necessity of maintaining such a reserve against enormous amounts which of right should be exempted from entailing such conditions.

The reserve proposal is not a necessity demonstrated. The record of experience is not available for that line of argument. The most that is claimed is that it is a necessity threatened. It is the future welfare of the Trust Company depositors about which there is such deep concern. Their welfare in the past has been abundantly looked after by the Trust Companies themselves. It is the "what-might-happen" which is the issue. To be sure, the experience of over thirty years has demonstrated that the "what-might-happen" has not happened. The argument simply is that it "might." This is the sole ground on which has been based so much anxiety for the safety of Trust Company depositors. The inference sought to be drawn is that between Trust Company depositors and the loss of their deposits there is no safeguard, no matter how faithful to their responsibilities the Trust Companies may have been in the past.

It is in this suggestion that there lurks so much of misrepresentation, or, at least, misunderstanding. It tends to becloud several very important facts. It ignores the vast resources behind which, as a matter of fact, the Trust Company depositors have been intrenched and their interests safeguarded. It obscures the very important fact of the restrictions regarding investments and the maintenance of security deposits with the State under which Trust Companies are placed, and it leaves out of the reckoning not only the vast Trust Company capital and surplus of over $200,000,000, but it takes no account of the actual cash reserve which in practice is maintained by the Trust Companies.

Against their total deposits of $1,014,730,542, at the beginning of 1905, the Trust Companies of the City of New York had cash

in bank amounting to $158,555,903, and cash in hand amounting to $31,302,136. The law requires that the Banks maintain a cash reserve of twenty-five per cent. on deposits. This applies to their Trust Company deposits, as well to as those of individuals. The Banks, therefore, had in their vaults on the first of January, 1905, twenty-five per cent. of the $158,555,903 of Trust Company deposits, or $39,638,975. This was ready Trust Company money. It was just as available as the $31,302,136 actually in the Trust Company strong boxes. In other words, here was a total cash reserve of nearly $71,000,000 actually maintained by the Trust Companies. It is over two per cent. in excess of the cash reserve recommended by the Superintendent of Banking. If it be objected as an injustice to the Banks that they carried over half of this and paid interest on it, the answer is that they did not have to carry it and pay interest on it if they did not so elect, and that their action presumably was prompted by their interests.

If the Banks really feel that the lack of a cash reserve in the Trust Companies' vaults is a menace to depositors, the query naturally arises as to why they do not take a step, easily within their own power, to remedy the error. By the very simple process of refusing to pay interest on Trust Company deposits, they could force into the Trust Company vaults the reserve which they think it so necessary to have there. It is curious that this solution of the problem never occurred to any of the banking interests which have been so active in pressing the proposed Trust Company reserve legislation.

The restrictions regarding Trust Company investments are of the most rigid character. The law requires that the capital shall be invested in bonds and mortgages on unencumbered New York State real-estate to the extent of not over sixty per cent. of the value thereof, or in stocks and bonds of the State, or of the United States, or of any county or incorporated city in the State. A Trust Company may not hold stock in any private corporation in excess of ten per cent. of such Trust Company's capital, surplus and undivided profits. In addition to such rigid restrictions regarding investments, there is imposed upon Trust Companies the further requirement of keeping a deposit of securities with the State Superintendent of Banking.

At the beginning of the year 1905, the securities so deposited by the Trust Companies of the City of New York alone represented

the sum of $6,377,500. The maintenance of this deposit is a restriction exclusively applied to Trust Companies. No security of this kind is demanded of either National or State Banks. It is one of the exceptional requirements made upon Trust Companies in view of their technical exemption from the maintenance of a cash reserve.

There followed, under the provisions of the investment restriction laws, the purchase and holding by the Trust Companies of the State of New York of Government, State, City and County bonds to an amount which, at the beginning of last year, represented the sum of $68,225,451. Now, with all of these Trust Company resources;—of an actual cash reserve, as, for example, on the 1st of January, 1905, of $71,000,000; of capital and surplus of over $209,188,601; of first mortgages on New York real-estate of $64,549,929 and of State securities deposited of $7,639,250—with all these Trust Companies resources held as safeguards to depositors, no mention whatever has been made of investments of various stocks and bonds under the exacting limit required by law and representing a value of $227,437,713. If these were included, the total investment in stocks and bonds would be nearly $300,000,000. It is important in this connection that especial attention be called to the character of the securities which compose the enormous values the Trust Companies retain in holdings of this nature. A large volume of these are of a class which have been declared by the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States to be entirely acceptable as security from National Banks against their circulation. Bonds and mortgages on improved real-estate are a class of investment of capital recognized in legislation and by the most conservative interests as among the surest safeguards to depositors.

The appeal to experience, in the matter of the comparative disasters to Banks and Trust Companies during the past thirty years, has been here made with no purpose of establishing invidious comparisons. The Trust Companies make no claim to superior integrity or intelligence in the administration of their business. The heavy losses from Bank disasters in the State of New York, during the long period wherein the Trust Companies had none, do, however, seem to justify certain deductions having intimate bearing upon this cash-reserve question. They certainly demonstrate that the cash reserve, *per se,* is in practice but a frail safe-

guard to the depositor. Depositors in Banks maintaining, theoretically at least, the reserve the law imposes upon them, lost heavily. Depositors in Trust Companies, technically exempt from the maintenance of such reserves, lost nothing. The two facts, side by side, if the argument for cash reserve for Trust Companies is to be supported, invite discussion and require explanation. They raise a question which, it would seem, may be studied with advantage in connection with the proposed legislation purporting to be in the line of further safeguarding depositors. The Trust Company has characteristics peculiar to itself. When it came into being, restrictions were thrown around it in the character of its investments, in the requirement of a deposit of securities with the State, and in various other exactions not required of Banks. Experience has shown that in practice these restrictions are adequate. It has shown that they answer the purpose of protection to depositors better than do the cash reserve requirements applied to banks. One inference, at least, seems to be warranted by the record of over thirty years in the State of New York, and that is, that a cash reserve is neither the only nor the best safeguard to depositors.

Is it not well to pause before still further extending that method of safeguard? The evils which such further extension would seriously aggravate are not imaginary. They have been pointed out in tones of grave, all but stern, warning by those representing the soundest financial judgment of our country. Are conditions so pressing that that warning must go unheeded in this instance? Trust Company depositors themselves, by a vote of confidence quite unparalleled, have expressed themselves as satisfied, one might almost say enthusiastically satisfied, with the safeguards that are already around them. If, in the face of this confidence on their part and of the thirty years' record of sound, conservative Trust Company administration on which this confidence is based, it is still thought necessary to create even greater safeguards, is there not some other and better way of accomplishing this result than by locking up a large percentage of the country's already too restricted volume of actual currency in circulation? This surely is a question worthy of very careful consideration.

That the question shall receive such consideration is certainly no unreasonable demand.

GEORGE W. YOUNG.

# WORLD-POLITICS.

LONDON: ST. PETERSBURG: CONSTANTINOPLE: WASHINGTON.

---

LONDON, *January, 1906.*

WHEN I last wrote, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman was in the throes of Cabinet-making. They were neither very painful nor very prolonged. So far as the public was aware, no complications of any sort supervened, beyond Sir Edward Grey's momentary unwillingness to accept the Foreign Office portfolio; and this subsided almost before it had arisen. Yet I dare say that, a quarter of a century hence, the memoirs and biographies and diaries of the members of the new Government will be full of piquant and unsuspected revelations. I have just been reading, and can heartily commend to all Americans who are in any way interested in English affairs, the singularly masculine and brilliant Life of Lord Randolph Churchill, by his son Mr. Winston Churchill, the newly appointed Under-Secretary for the Colonies, and perhaps the most promising of all the rising men. In it will be found a racy and full-blooded account of Lord Randolph Churchill's struggle to bury the amiable mediocrity of Sir Stafford Northcote in the House of Lords. The House of Lords has something of the political usefulness of the American Vice-Presidency. It is an institution, just as the Vice-Presidency is an office, designed for the reception of decayed or obnoxious politicians. When an Englishman finds himself urged by his friends and his party to accept a peerage, he is generally right in taking it as a polite hint that the days of his political utility are over. Lord Randolph Churchill positively declined to assume the Chancellorship of the Exchequer so long as Sir Stafford Northcote remained the leader of the Conservative party in the House of Commons. A sharp struggle ended in Sir Stafford Northcote's disappearance up-stairs into the obscurity of the House of Lords.

I do not affirm, but I strongly suspect, that a not dissimilar struggle raged around "C-B" when he came to form his Ministry. It was felt that, though "C-B" was the inevitable Prime Minister, he was by no means the best man for the leadership of the Liberal party in the House of Commons. But, so long as the Premier is a member of the popular Chamber, he cannot be other than its leader. A strong effort was, therefore, made to induce "C-B" to enter the House of Lords. Many reasons, such as "C-B's" age and health and the ceaseless and exacting labor entailed upon one who would be both Prime Minister and leader of the House of Commons, were urged in favor of the step. But the real reasons that made it advisable were reasons that could not well be put to "C-B" himself, however much they might be canvassed in clubs, committee-rooms and newspapers. "C-B" is the first Englishman, or at any rate, the first since the forgotten Addington, to rise to the Premiership without the advantages either of a high social position or of a reputation for statesmanship. He has achieved literally nothing. At the War Office, he showed himself a competent administrator, but no more. His name is unconnected with any great piece of legislation or with any stirring cause. His personality, so far as it is revealed in his public acts and speeches, is curiously unsuggestive. He is a man of mountainous commonplace. A ding-dong, pachydermatous disposition and the plodding habit brought him to the Front Bench and have kept him there; but his Premiership is essentially the accident of an accident. Like the chieftain in Homer, "C-B" might truthfully exclaim, "It is not I who am the cause of this; it is Zeus and Fate." Neither in achievement nor in intellect nor in abilities does "C-B" reach the normal standard of British Premiers. As leader of the Opposition, during the past few years, he has shown himself an immortally maladroit tactician. He is a debater who reads his speeches—for the discerning, that trait is alone enough to illuminate the whole inner man. Neither the country nor the House can really be said to respect him as Prime Ministers should be respected. "C-B" arouses no enthusiasm, though nobody grudges him the reward that in politics, as in other pursuits, awaits the industrious and uninspiring apprentice. As a figure-head his broad, placid and accommodating temperament will stand him in good stead; but no one pretends that, in the stormy and difficult sessions that lie

ahead of the Liberal Government, "C-B" is the man to stand up to such consummate debaters as Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Balfour, or to show the alertness, vigor and resource that will be abundantly needed.

That, therefore, was one reason why his friends anxiously pressed upon "C-B" the desirability of entering the House of Lords. Another reason was that without him the Liberal Peers would make even a poorer showing than Liberal Peers usually make in the Upper Chamber. It so happens that, with Lord Rosebery continuing to stultify himself by aloofness, with Lord Spencer compelled by illness to relinquish active politics, and with Lord Ripon nearing eighty, the Liberal Peers have no one among them with the requisite experience and authority for representing the Government in the Lords. That is a serious disadvantage, because, while the House of Lords under a Conservative régime almost ceases to exist except as a ratifying Chamber, no sooner are the Liberals in power than it is at once not only on the *qui vive,* but on the defensive. It is one of the anomalies of the British Constitution that the House of Lords, without whose assent no bill can become law, should decide on the measures that come before it not upon their merits but by their source of origin. The most radical and distasteful and even revolutionary bills, if proposed by a Conservative Ministry—for example, the Irish Land Purchase Bill of 1903—will pass the Lords, while the most moderate measures, if proposed by a Liberal Ministry, will be ruthlessly held up, amended, and sometimes defeated. Sooner or later, the question of "ending or mending" the House of Lords must become, and until it is settled will remain, the greatest of all English questions. Until then it is essential, if a Liberal Government is ever to be in power as well as in office, that it should possess, in the Upper House, at least one persuasive representative of recognized standing and authority. "C-B" speaking to the Lords with all the prestige of the Premiership would be a greater asset to the Liberal party than "C-B" engaged in the unequal combat of House of Commons debates, where the divinity that doth hedge a Prime Minister is either triumphantly and autocratically asserted—an exertion of which "C-B" is frankly incapable—or else is apt to sink altogether into a mere mockery.

There were, therefore, good reasons why "C-B" should seek

refuge in the aristocratic Chamber, and it was his refusal to do so, or at any rate to do so immediately, that nearly lost him the services of Sir Edward Grey. The Prime Minister argued, I believe, that his acceptance of a peerage before the General Election would be at once a confession of personal inadequacy and of political half-heartedness, if not of downright political cowardice. He was allowed to have his own way, but only on the understanding that he would repair to the seclusion of the Upper House at the first convenient opportunity. It is, therefore, probable that after a few months more in the House of Commons "C-B" will gracefully pass onward and upward, taking the Premiership with him, but leaving the leadership of the Lower House in the younger, firmer and more dexterous hands of Mr. Asquith. All this, of course, is on the assumption that the General Election which is now just about to begin and which will be over by the time this letter appears in print, results in a Liberal victory. I have no hesitation in making that assumption. A triumph for Liberalism has long since been conceded even by its opponents, and the question that most engages speculation is whether the triumph will be so complete as to render the new Government independent of the Irish vote.

Friend and foe admit that, in the selection of his Cabinet, "C-B" has done his work well and gathered together a strong, cohesive and businesslike team; and the country as a whole has given it a hearty and reassuring welcome. Indeed, both individually and collectively, the new Cabinet, if not quite so strong on paper as the Salisbury Ministry of 1895 or 1900, is undisguisably weightier and more efficient than its immediate predecessor. Sir Edward Grey's presence in the Foreign Office is as much a guarantee that the Lansdowne course will be steered where it was right and deftly shifted where it was faulty as though Lord Rosebery himself were once more installed in Whitehall. The country absolutely trusts the new Foreign Secretary, and with justice; for Sir Edward Grey is one of those men in whom statesmanship is intuitive. Mr. Asquith, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, belongs to the first flight of English lawyers, has shown on more than one occasion an almost Rooseveltian political courage, is a master of all the arts of lucid exposition, and though, perhaps, too self-centred to be a great popular leader, has never yet failed to impress the House of Commons with the vigorous

directness of his mind and character. Of Lord Elgin, the Secretary for the Colonies, little is known except that he was a capable Viceroy of India, presided over the commission that inquired into the conduct of the Boer War, and arbitrated with excellent clear-headedness the Scottish Church controversy. The Under-Secretary for the Colonies is Mr. Winston Churchill, who, being young, pugnacious and almost unreasonably able, is detested by some and sneered at by many, but who has, I feel sure, the root of the matter in him and will rise as high as his father and higher. Mr. John Morley, who goes to the India Office, in time, as many think, to save the great dependency from falling under a military autocracy, needs no introduction to Americans. I need scarcely say that his profound and philosophical mind, his mellow judgment, and his seasoned experience in administration would add not only strength but distinction to any cabinet. Mr. Bryce takes charge of Ireland—not to bring in a third Home Rule bill, but to proceed with equal caution and sympathy along the pathway of gradual reform. Mr. John Burns, a working-man, and one of the most useful Members in the House, goes to the Local Government Board—a most popular appointment and one that his energetic common-sense is sure to turn to excellent and probably piquant account. Mr. Lloyd-George, the dashing Welshman of the bitter tongue, who stands to-day pretty much where Mr. Chamberlain stood twenty-five years ago and is not less efficient and not less hated, receives the Presidency of the Board of Trade. Mr. Sydney Buxton, who knows the *pros* and *cons* of all political questions, and is equally at home on Throgmorton Street, by a salmon-stream and on a grouse-moor—an admirable specimen, in short, of the cultivated, broad-gauged Englishman—becomes Postmaster-General; while Mr. Augustine Birrell brings to the Board of Education an acute intellect and so great a reputation for practicality that even his still greater fame as a writer has not been able to destroy it. But, of all the appointments, the most interesting and in many ways the strongest is that of Mr. Haldane to the War Office. He is a man who would have delighted the Prince Consort. The Prince used to complain that the great defect of English statesmen was their lack of philosophical training. They never looked all round a subject. For instance, they never seemed to have asked themselves why they needed an army or what sort of an army they ought to

have. Those are precisely the questions that Mr. Haldane would inevitably put to himself on first approaching the army problem. He thinks in German; he has written profoundly on German philosophy; and his mind is saturated with the instinct of scientific reasoning. One of the most-learned lawyers of the day, he has shown in Parliament the attributes of natural statesmanship.

Such men as these deserved the national confidence, and received it. The new Cabinet was instantaneously felt to be worthy, not merely of the party, but of the country, and Liberal stock rose. "C-B's" inopportune speech at Stirling, indeed, and the interpretation put upon it by Lord Rosebery, have given the Protectionists an excuse (of which, needless to say, they have made the most) for pretending that the Liberals are still bent on introducing Home Rule into Ireland. But the British democracy has a sound political instinct. Where the Protectionists profess to see a gruesome Irish bogey, the average elector insists on seeing only a turnip and a sheet. The average elector insists further that, in this campaign, the predominant issue is Protection *versus* Free Trade; and on that issue the Liberals are bound to win.

---

ST. PETERSBURG, *January, 1906.*

As usual, the unexpected happened. Russia passed from a general strike to civil war in a twinkling, and without any noteworthy symptom of preparation. Late one night, an anonymous body, known as the Council of the Workmen's Delegates, decreed a general strike of which the whole nation seemed heartily tired; and, while the public was discussing its chances of success and failure, it was fully accomplished in Moscow and enforced there by an armed insurrection, the very possibility of which everybody would have denied on the eve. The effect was staggering. Many began to fear that Russia was utterly ruined and that no efforts could henceforth save her. At home, Witté's policy was bitterly inveighed against and the Tsar's Government severely condemned, while abroad the Russian masses were regarded with mistrust and aversion. Then the strife began. The streets of Moscow were turned into battle-fields; in lieu of fortifications, the rebels erected barricades; well-built houses were transformed into temporary strongholds; trade and industry were stopped; the railways were forced to suspend traffic; the headquarters of the secret police were blown up; police officers were watched, way-

laid, executed; the General Governor was condemned to death,—whenever caught.

Before the Moscow insurrection had formally broken out, the state of affairs in St. Petersburg was truly alarming. Night after night, a body of workmen was wont to meet in a big hall to deliberate on the political programme of the next day, to discuss questions of policy or tactics, to provoke the Government or inspirit the extreme opposition. They met with no let or hindrance. Their Moscow brethren were less fortunate or, it may be, less cautious. Members of the Strike Committee there were arrested at a fashionable restaurant in a *cabinet particulier,* enjoying themselves at table. But in St. Petersburg the workmen had their way in most things. They compelled each of the principal journals in turn to print their revolutionary organ; they sneered and scoffed at the Government, taunted and provoked the authorities until people began to look upon them as the real rulers of the realm. "They at least know what they want, and are not satisfied until they get it," the press observed. "The official Government is lifeless," it added, "and any morning we may awaken to learn that Count Witté has been arrested by the Chairman of the Workmen's Council, Khrustaloff." The remark was meant to be ironical, but it might have been fulfilled at any moment; would, indeed, have come true if the authorities had but waited a little longer. But they arrested Khrustaloff.

"The queen-bee is taken, we can now have the hive," the Government thought and said. But that was another delusion. "Khrustaloff is gone," answered the workmen, "but we can find four hundred substitutes for him. Our force lies in anonymity and mediocrity. We possess no great man, but countless humdrum people, any one of whom can take the place of another at a moment's notice." But none the less they felt the want of their real leader, and never regained their lost force. Reprisals were thought of. A strike was proposed, an insurrection suggested, terrorism canvassed. But to each of these measures there were serious objections. Nothing was settled, until one afternoon a man entered one of the factories, announced (falsely) that the Cossacks had torn to pieces a member of the workmen's association who had refused to be arrested, and, believing the narrative, the operatives at once clamored for a strike. The Socialists assented heartily to a measure which they were impatient to adopt,

yet hesitated to propose, and the Council of the Workmen's Delegates at once proclaimed a General Strike.

Now, the men who thus rose up against the Government belonged to several political groups, pursued conflicting aims, were animated by motives drawn from different spheres of thought and feeling. They all agreed, however, in their utter distrust of the Government, and in this they were supported by all the Liberal parties in the Empire. No Government, they argued, has ever yet kept its word, and it would be folly to trust the present Cabinet simply because it calls itself constitutional. In this, but in nothing else, was there accord among the popular factions. The Socialists sought to wrest the power in its passage from Tsar to Duma, knowing that, if they failed in this, their opportunity might not come again for generations. The Jews, who had never received any favor from the Autocracy, turned naturally to the revolution for redress of their grievances. The workmen were assured that they had it in their power to win an eight-hours working-day; the peasants were encouraged to take the land of the crown, the Tsar and the gentry; soldiers and sailors were told they would acquire the right of electing and dismissing their superior officers; the Poles, Lithuanians, Letts, Esthonians, Armenians, Georgians, Little Russians—all the nationalities, in a word, who have refused to assimilate with the Great Russians—were encouraged to strike a blow for autonomy.

The moment, too, was much more propitious than it seemed. The insurrection had been carefully planned in both capitals, special attention being paid to Moscow on account of its maze of narrow, winding streets, its network of courtyards leading from one thoroughfare to another, the ease with which barricades could be thrown up by the rebels, the difficulty and danger to the troops who should attempt to remove them, the large number of working-men who must yearn for shorter hours and higher pay, and the sympathy of the lower class generally. But St. Petersburg also was mapped out into twenty-two districts, and a number of armed men were to go to work in each seizing important strategic points, buildings and personages. There were few troops in St. Petersburg and scarcely any in Moscow, while the temper of the soldiers who were available was known to be very dubious.

The revolutionists were delighted to meet, night after night, soldiers and officers who regularly attended their assemblies, and

publicly assured them that this or that regiment would not only not fire against the people, but go over bodily to the insurgents when the hour of action had struck. How many of these traitors to their Tsar were really military men, and how many were revolutionists in disguise, it is impossible to determine; but there seems to be no doubt that the latter element predominated. None the less, faith in the army had received a rude shock.

All Russia was immediately summoned to arms. The newspaper press, which a few months ago was inspired, gagged and suppressed by the authorities at will, had become so free that it published the manifesto of the revolutionary committee calling the people to arms. This unique document called on the masses to combat the Government, to ruin the finances of the country and demolish their economic basis, to abolish the laws of property, to force capitalists to adopt an eight-hours working-day, while increasing instead of curtailing the wages, to give soldiers and sailors the right to elect their own officers.

Moscow was up in arms. Kharkoff, Odessa, Kieff, the Baltic Provinces, the Caucasus, had all risen against the Government and were operating simultaneously and more or less successfully. Twenty-two railways were about to strike. The newspapers in both capitals had ceased to appear. The troops were few in number and not all trustworthy. Fresh contingents could not be drafted to the capitals owing to the strike. Alarming tidings kept coming in from the provinces hourly. The Tsar was reported to have fled, the soldiers were stated to have gone over to the rebels, republics had been founded in various parts of Russia, the days of the dynasty were numbered. A new era of democratic prosperity was about to begin.

But, before building up, it would be necessary to pull down. In the country, the peasants burned the castles, manors, houses, farms of the land-owners, pillaged their corn, slaughtered their horses and oxen, destroyed agricultural implements in order that the gentry should not be tempted to return. In the cities, the banks were to be forced to suspend payment, industrial works and factories to close, and the *bourgeoisie* to suffer and disgorge. Class was to rise against class; all privileges were to be abolished, including that of private property.

In Moscow the rebels, who operated over an area representing three concentric circles, endeavored to shut the troops, who num-

bered between five and nine thousand, in the inner one, and then by occupying the various railway stations to hinder the arrival of reinforcements. If successful, they would thus have enclosed the soldiers in a sort of cage, where the troops would have been physically exhausted and finally forced to surrender. The plan was ingenious—and the conditions favorable; for part of the soldiers seemed to waver between monarchy and revolution. Indeed, the infantry were so doubtful that the officers thought it better not to subject their allegiance to a severe test or their firmness to a powerful temptation. But circumstance, which is stronger than human will, precipitated matters and solved the question. Sorely pressed on all sides, the commander had to let the infantry participate in the fight. The rebel workmen, seeing them, cheered lustily and cried, "Down with the Tsar!" "Long live the Republic!" The soldiers, who have numerous grievances of an economic nature, but no dislike of the Tsar, refused to cheer. They hissed. Then the workmen opened fire upon them.

The fidelity of the soldiers decided the issue. Only two railway-stations were seized by the rebels, who were thus unable to hinder the arrival of fresh contingents of troops. But none the less the fight was desperate. Barricades were erected with a degree of speed and solidity that astonished the military; and no sooner were they destroyed by field-guns in one place, than they were rebuilt in another. Gates, doors, telegraph-poles, wooden houses, electric tram-cars, barrels, baskets—everything was utilized, and then the whole bound firmly together with wire or with water which was soon turned to ice. Behind the barricades, the rebels fought together, at first in large numbers, but afterwards in groups of two, three, or four; never more than five. Their tactics consisted in drawing the troops to the barricades, which were surmounted with red flags, and then shooting them down like game from behind windows, doors or roofs of the houses. For bitter hatred sprang up between rebels and troops. Many of the narratives of the day's operations make one shudder. Thus the revolutionists, who frequently made use of disguises and other ruses to deceive their foes, are alleged by the authorities to have gone about in ambulance-carriages bearing the red-cross mark, and when near the soldiers to have opened fire upon them. After that the troops refused to spare ambulance-carriages.

A blood mania seemed to have taken possession of the combat-

ants and of many of the onlookers as well. People killed their neighbors "for fun" and took a wild delight in it. One man, a respectable porter, spent all his time during the daylight firing at passers-by from a little window, until on the sixth day, after he had killed many, he was himself "potted" by the insurgents. Another man went up into a belfry and, taking deliberate aim, fired upon all and sundry, wounding some and killing others, until the troops espied him and put a stop to his amusement. Others simply ran amuck and shed human blood until they were cut down by one or other of the combatants. The police were the special objects of attention on the part of the insurgents. Their officers were watched, waylaid, and put to death without mercy. Nearly seventy were disposed of in this manner.

The railways being in the hands of the Government, fresh troops were at last despatched from St. Petersburg, and at their head was a man resolved to show no weakness. From the moment when the Semeonoffsky regiment entered the ancient capital of Russia, the insurrection was doomed. Further and further from the inner ring the insurgents withdrew, always raising barricades, always fighting with a heroism of which Russians generally are proud. The Prokhoroff Works formed their last great stronghold. In one of the buildings of that factory, the revolutionary tribunal, hospital and arsenal were situated. When it was invested with troops, the Governor-General summoned the workmen to surrender. They refused at first, but afterwards hoisted a white flag. An officer was delegated to negotiate with them, but when he arrived they killed him. Then the field-guns were brought into action, and later on several hundreds of rebels gave themselves up, and having sworn allegiance to the Tsar were released.

That was the end of the insurrection for the time being. The revolutionary papers maintain that it is only postponed, not abandoned. Next Spring, they add, it will break out anew, better organized, surer of success. The Government, on the other hand, announces its determination to put down, not only armed revolt, but every attempt to organize it. It will permit no more railway or telegraph strikes, no more incitements to insurrection. The moment any such combinations are being arranged, semimartial law may be proclaimed, and, when the strike once breaks out, real martial law with all its concomitants. It still professes its intention to grant all the liberties outlined in the Tsar's October

Manifesto, and to allow the Duma to work out others on the basis of those, but above all things else it insists on the cessation of violence. And external order is being reestablished in many districts.

But as yet nothing is definitely settled. The insurrection is not yet quelled in the Baltic Provinces, where the peasants have burned nearly all the old historic castles with their priceless treasures. General Orloff, with his military expedition has, indeed, arrived on the theatre of the disorders and is driving the rebellious peasants northwards before him, but Esthonia may have revolted before he finishes with Livonia. In those parts of Russia, cruelty assumes more revolting forms than in Moscow. Sometimes it cannot be distinguished from wanton malice of a diabolical kind. Thus several partisans of the Government were treacherously attacked and burned alive; others were killed slowly in Chinese fashion, having their ears and noses sliced off first. Letts and Esthonians are moved, not only by a natural and even legitimate desire to shake off the Imperial yoke, but also by race hatred which engenders the fiercest passions. They loathe the German barons, and history tells us that they cannot be reasonably expected to do otherwise. But they too will doubtless soon be forced to submit.

In the Caucasus, the conditions are more complex, but, owing to the internecine strife of the races themselves, more favorable. For where there is no union there can be little strength. Unhappily, former governments of the Autocracy built all their Caucasian policy upon dangerous applications of the maxim: "*divide et impera.*" The most remarkable episode of the disorders in the Caucasus was the humiliating decision come to by the Viceroy: in order to save the city of Tiflis from becoming the battlefield of Armenians and Tatars, he armed five hundred Social Democrats who are as strongly opposed to violence and bloodshed as to the Tsardom and the *bourgeoisie*. That measure marks the low-water level of the monarchy during the Russian revolution.

But, even after the people of the Baltic Provinces, of Central Russia and the Caucasus have laid down their arms and begun to work legally, constitutionally and normally for further liberties, it will need a considerable time and very strenuous efforts to repair the incalculable damage done to the Russian classes and masses by the persons or institutions responsible for the disorders that followed upon the Tsar's Manifesto of the 30th of October.

CONSTANTINOPLE, *January, 1906.*

A GENERATION ago, the coercion of the Sultan by the joint fleets of the Powers which signed the Treaty of Berlin would have seemed an event of import and consequence. But international politics no longer means the affairs of a Continent, and Europe has lost the old sense that a certain primacy of interest belongs to all that happens within her own borders. The last debt-collecting expedition to Venezuela attracted more attention than the December descent on Mytilene. It was a purely official undertaking, and even the democracies of England and France, absorbed in watching the vaster spectacle of Russia in revolution, as well as in preparing for General Elections at home, were content to allow their Governments to manage the affair, without a word either of criticism or encouragement. The Sultan has long since grown accustomed to these demonstrations. Technically, the Powers used force, and occupied Turkish territory; but their Embassies transacted their routine business as though nothing unusual were happening. As a measure of coercion, the demonstration was a trivial and inconsiderable incident. It was necessary only because, in the long duel between the disunited Concert and the obstructive Porte, the ordinary terminology of diplomatic intercourse has lost its meaning. On paper, the Powers are invariably united and always urgent for reform; but this habitual insincerity is so well understood by the Porte that some overt action is always necessary on the rare occasions when they care to be believed. On this occasion Lord Lansdowne, at least, was in earnest, while the indifference of his associates was so profound that they had not even the heart to oppose him. Germany, it is true, stood aside; but her object was evidently merely to secure certain Turkish official contracts worth some two millions, sterling; and, to this end, it was sufficient to desist from the joint process of coercion without actively opposing it. When once the fleets were in motion, the rest was inevitable. However little the majority of the Powers may have cared for the cause they had taken up, their prestige required them to obtain some show of concession. The Sultan yielded as soon as the Ambassadors were tired enough to consent to discuss a compromise. The result is worthy of the insincerity of the whole proceeding. It saves the face of Europe. It establishes a nominal international Financial Control in Macedonia. It is a victory for the Concert

and a defeat for Turkey. If it will bring no real appeasement to Macedonia and effect no substantial alleviation in the peasants' lot, that can matter little to most of the Powers concerned. In all their debates over precedence and prerogative, there is no evidence that the distracted figure of the Macedonian villager had ever troubled their imaginations.

The real interest of the new departure lay, not at all in the process of imposing it upon the Turks, but rather in the prior negotiation among the Powers, which occupied the first five months of 1905 and narrowed itself down to a debate between England and Austria. An English Blue-book has told us something about these discussions, but its discreet revelations are veiled in the usual reticence of diplomatic language. Its position was, in brief, that, in a moment of preoccupation and indifference, after the alarming little episode of General Tzoncheff's raid into Macedonia in the winter of 1902, Europe had conferred upon Austria and Russia an exclusive mandate to reform Macedonia and control its administration. The other Powers resigned their initiative in all future changes, and their consuls on the spot tacitly abandoned their prescriptive right of interference and remonstrance in the details of local administration. The two Eastern Empires were formally recognized as the "interested" Powers, and the Concert divested itself of its prerogatives in their favor. Austria and Russia preserved a timid and conservative policy, suggested a minimum of reform, and took no pains to make the authority of their agents a reality. But, precisely because they did so little, it was to be feared that they might be accumulating arguments for some more effective intervention in the future. When the chaos became quite intolerable, when the incompetence of their official protectors had driven the Macedonians to a general revolt, it was to be foreseen that Austria and Russia might feel disposed to interpret their mandate as a permission to embark on some project of military occupation. If they alone were the interested Powers, they alone would have the duty to restore order and the right to reimburse themselves by a virtual annexation. That would have meant, in the end, not merely a partition of Macedonia between Austria and Russia, but the throttling of most of the free states which have been carved out of European Turkey. Servia and Bulgaria must have become mere *enclaves* in two overwhelming Empires; and, if they had retained a nomi-

nal independence, it could only have been as the parasites and feudatories of the great neighbors, who dominated their ports, held their gates, and controlled their commerce. This mandate was renewed in the autumn of 1903, when the Mürzsteg scheme was accepted by the other Powers. It is true that a substantial breach was made in it by the *gendarmerie* reforms, which placed a corps of European inspectors, drawn from all the Powers alike, under an Italian general; and divided Macedonia into five sections, each supervised by officers of a single nationality. But the general business of political control, and the initiative in all reforms and remonstrances, were still left in the hands of the Austrian and Russian agents.

Happily, the Sultan had accepted the Mürzsteg programme only for two years, and the question of its renewal gave Lord Lansdowne some opportunity of discussing the status of the two "interested Powers." The Macedonian rising of 1903 and its brutal suppression had meanwhile aroused a current of interest and sympathy in Western Europe. It was, then, with some support from public opinion in France and Italy, as well as in England, that Lord Lansdowne began his conversation with Austria in the first weeks of 1905. Austria, moreover, stood unsupported; for Russia had anxieties more intimate than the anarchy in Macedonia. Besides, the state of Macedonia, more chaotic after two years of reform than it was when the Turks ruled uncontrolled, was an obvious argument for change, an argument reinforced by the manifest inability of one of the two "interested" Powers to use its influence in the pacification of Macedonia. But to deal with Austria even in isolation was not an easy task. To bargain with an Empire which has a purely Continental outlook is hardly feasible; and Austria has no alert and powerful democracy to whose humane concern for the populations of Macedonia a disinterested appeal could be made. In the Macedonians, the dominant Germans and Magyars have always seen, not suffering peasants who demanded some relief from an Oriental tyranny, but rather so many millions of Slavs who might march, if they were liberated, as the vanguard of a hostile race. Tradition in Austria has always urged the maintenance of the *status quo;* and, if the remoter future is ever considered, the more enterprising school dwells on the commercial and naval advantages which would spring from the annexation of Salonica. What

arguments Lord Lansdowne may have used to break down this conservatism and frustrate these ambitions is something of a mystery. He certainly hinted that the renewal of the mandate was a matter for discussion and might be subject to conditions. He may have urged that a free and contented Macedonia, under an international control, would be a better market for Austrian industry than a chaos in which the railroads carry few freights save cannons and munitions. He may even, as Victor Bérard conjectures, have thrown out a suggestion that Salonica, pacified and neutralized, might serve, instead of Marseilles or Brindisi, to the great profit of the Austrian railways, as the natural port for British traffic with India. More probably, he found Austrian diplomacy puzzled and unnerved by its isolation, taken unawares in its wholly empirical policy or drifting, busied with the cares of the Hungarian broil, impotent to suggest a hopeful alternative, and forced in the end to follow the line of least resistance by acquiescing in the views of the Western Powers. Not all his proposals were accepted; but he did succeed in securing the admission to a Board of Financial Control of delegates from the four Powers, whose interest in Macedonia had hitherto been ignored. The fiction that Austria and Russia enjoy a certain precedence still survives, but the main business of control has been taken out of their hands. The future of Macedonia must, henceforth, follow the lines laid down in the *gendarmerie* scheme and the financial *règlement*. Macedonia will not be annexed by Austria and Russia, nor will the Balkan peninsula be absorbed in two vast Imperial systems. It will become an international province under Turkish suzerainty and European control. The successive stages of compromise by which Lord Lansdowne's proposal has been weakened, first in the negotiations with Austria, and then in the settlement with the Porte, do, indeed, destroy its value as an immediate programme of reform. It will not render life tolerable to the Macedonians, but it assures a future to Macedonia.

Alike by its limitations and by the ample rights of direct sovereignty which it still leaves to the Sultan, the scheme which was imposed upon him in December stands doomed to failure. It applies only to Macedonia proper; for the British proposal to extend it to Thrace (Adrianople) was brusquely negatived, and the Bulgarian population of the northeastern districts of that

neglected province will still bear the full brunt of a racial persecution. It does not touch the army, which Lord Lansdowne had wished to reduce in numbers and to subject to the civil authority. Its functions are limited to a supervision of the budget and the collection of the revenue; it will not have the right, with which the British Government wished to invest it, to handle general political questions. That means, in the concrete, that Hilmi Pasha, who represents the Sultan in Macedonia, will still be free to foment the feud between Greeks and Bulgarians, to assist the former by conniving at the activity of their bands, and to provoke and weaken the latter by exiling their teachers and priests and closing their churches and schools. Finally, even in the realm of finance, it will be little more than a deliberative body. Its decisions require the sanction of the Sultan; and, where they are of an executive character, Hilmi Pasha is formally permitted to refuse to carry them into effect and to refer the dispute to Constantinople, there to be debated between the Embassies and the Porte. Even the machinery of supervision is inadequate; for the three travelling inspectors employed by the Board of Control, on whom will fall the invidious and unpopular work of detecting the corruption and extortion of the local officials, will themselves be Ottoman subjects, and will enter the Turkish service. Apart from these details, which are really of the first importance, the prospects of the scheme are wrecked by the arrangement which deprives the European delegates of all administrative authority. Hilmi Pasha is the executive officer of the Board, and, even if he should not think it prudent to oppose them frequently by a direct defiance, he has it in his power, by occult obstruction, calculated delay and half-hearted acquiescence, to frustrate their whole activity. He is, from the standpoint of Yildiz Palace, the ideal man for his post—clever, laborious, plausible, filled with a sentimental loyalty to Abdul Hamid, and ready to use his talent for diplomacy and intrigue to defeat in detail the reforms which his master has been compelled by force to accept in principle. The history of the Financial Commission can only repeat the depressing experience of the *gendarmerie* officers. Deprived of executive authority, it will find that its only function is to study a chaos which it cannot cure. There will be no guarantee of honesty and solvency, as there will be no pledge for order and security, until the Board of Control becomes the

supreme authority in Macedonia, until its members are recognized as the hierarchical chiefs of the local officials, and until European officers wield a direct command over the whole *gendarmerie.*

While the Ambassadors seem to have felt a certain mild satisfaction, because the appearance of the united fleets at Mytilene induced the Sultan to retreat a step and transfer the field of conflict from Constantinople to Salonica, it is significant that the Macedonians sang no pæans. They have no illusions about the success of the new scheme, and see in the new European delegates only a fresh detachment of "technical advisers," who will keep step with the *gendarmerie* officers in the dismal work of marking time. They are in the throes of a furtive civil war—Bulgarians against Turks, Greeks and Turks against Bulgarians and Vlachs. Massacres are not infrequent, assassinations and ambuscades continual. The Turkish soldiers join in the forays of the Greek bands against Bulgarian villages, the markets are deserted, the roads impassable, the distant fields are left unploughed, while the closing of their churches and schools threatens to destroy their hope of civilization. To them a scientific budget seems a luxury: what they ask is some measure of elementary security. They would have trusted such a Board as Lord Lansdowne sketched to win this for them, but they have no faith in an advisory Commission. They waited until it was clear that the international demonstration would end in compromise, and then they closed up their fighting ranks, composed the feud which has long weakened and divided their two insurgent Committees, and organized in Bulgaria itself a new and united auxiliary Committee, whose business it will be to collect funds for a fresh campaign. It is easy to predict the future. Hilmi Pasha will use this menace as an excuse for fresh measures of repression. He will discuss reforms suavely and politely with the Financial Commission, and leave their Board-room to concert wholesale arrests, to strengthen his curfew ordinances and to disperse among the villages the troops who will goad them to revolt. Already munitions are being massed at Adrianople; for, when the insurrection does break out, it will be no mere local Macedonian conflict, but a formal war involving the whole Bulgarian race.

Macedonia is, unfortunately, only one of many anxious points in the Near East. The Cretan revolt has been damped down for the winter months, but the Powers show no sign of using the

interval to redress the genuine grievances of the islanders. The Yemen rising was partly crushed, partly bribed into tranquillity; but the starving Turkish levies are now engaged in stirring fresh trouble by collecting overdue taxes in regions which have hitherto acknowledged only a nominal allegiance. Worst of all is the outlook in Armenia. The Russian authorities, who armed the Tatars against the Armenians of the Caucasus in the spring and summer of last year, seem to have attempted in the winter to restore the racial equipoise by arming the Armenians against the Tatars. The inevitable massacre followed, and Moslem refugees have come crowding in their thousands over the frontier into Turkish territory. Abdul Hamid is quite capable of conceiving the bold plan of intervening with an army corps to restore order and uphold the prestige of Islam in the Tsar's dominions. The easier course, however, will be to employ these refugees in the congenial task of slaughtering and pillaging his own Armenians. If Europe remonstrates, he will inquire why Europe kept silence when the Tsar's agents were organizing Jewish massacres. A Europe, with patches in its civilization, and blind spots in its conscience, comes hampered and discredited to its task of guardianship.

---

WASHINGTON, *January, 1906.*

WHEN Congress reassembled after the holidays it was observed that the attitude of both Chambers towards the Executive was decidedly less deferential, and it began to look doubtful whether all or most of the measures of foreign or home policy known to be favored by Mr. Roosevelt will be inscribed upon the statute-book. The Senate has not yet acted on the Dominican Treaty, and Republican, as well as Democratic, Senators have expressed regret that our Government should have taken part in the conference now going on at Algeciras with regard to the affairs of Morocco. The Philippine Tariff bill, after being subjected to an amendment of no great importance, has been passed by the House of Representatives, but it has still to face the Senate, and the prospect of its enactment into law in its present form is not unclouded. At the hour when we write, the bill introduced by Representative Hepburn, which is understood to embody the views of the Administration with reference to Government rate-making for railways, has not been reported to the House from

the committee to which it was referred. The Statehood bill, in pursuance of which, if enacted, Oklahoma and the Indian Territory will be admitted to the Union as one State, and Arizona with New Mexico as another State, still awaits debate in the House of Representatives. The insurgent Republicans hope to defeat it. Congress has given the Executive the eleven million dollars needed to meet the disbursements of the Panama Canal Commission which will have been made by April 1; but the conditions under which further appropriations will be granted are, as yet, undefined. It appears to be inevitable that after March 1 the maximum duties now prescribed by the latest German tariff will be imposed upon American products imported into the German Empire. The assent of our Senate to a reciprocity treaty with Germany is out of the question, and the German Government is said to have declined to accept a proposed modification of our administrative regulations at ports of entry as an equivalent to the tariff concessions desired by us. The imposition of the maximum duties on American products imported into Germany is expected to be followed by retaliatory legislation on our part, and two bills to that end have been introduced—one in the Senate and the other in the House. The bill of which Senator Lodge is the author or the sponsor proposes to establish maximum and minimum rates, of which the latter would be lower than those of the Dingley Act, while the former would be higher. The House bill also proposes to establish maximum and minimum rates, but it would make the latter identical with those of the Dingley Act, and the former considerably higher. Should either of these bills become a law in its present form, it would become incumbent on the Executive to impose a duty on the coffee of Brazil, because that country has discriminated against commodities of the United States. We scarcely need point out that any considerable duty on Brazilian coffee—a duty, let us say, of twenty-five per cent.—would improve signally the economical conditions in Porto Rico. It is an ill tariff wind that blows nobody any good.

The Morris incident has attracted a good deal of attention, mainly because it was made the pretext for a violent denunciation of the President by Senator Tillman of South Carolina, a diatribe which was rebuked by the Senate's refusal to consider a resolution providing for an investigation of the affair. The truth

with regard to the Morris incident seems to have been this: Since the assassination of Mr. McKinley—the third assassination of an American President in about forty years—public opinion has demanded that some precautions should be taken to assure the protection of the Chief Magistrate. In pursuance of the safeguards fixed upon, the White House attendants informed Mrs. Morris that she could only see the President by appointment and, when she declined to leave the Executive Mansion without seeing him, they proceeded to eject her. There seems to be no doubt that, in the process of ejectment, there was a good deal of unnecessary rudeness, not to say violence. Mr. Roosevelt could easily have absolved himself from any personal responsibility from the insolence proverbially characteristic of Jacks in office, but he is the last man in the world to leave even the humblest dependent in the lurch. It is conceivable, however, that, while refraining from administering a reprimand to overzealous subordinates, he might have expressed the regret, which undoubtedly he felt, that a lady's dignity and sensibilities should have been wounded. If it be true that Mrs. Morris was subjected to physical maltreatment, some expression of sorrow and condolence was the more imperatively called for. But we must take men as we find them. They all have the defects of their good qualities. Loyalty to friends and fidelity to followers are traits inseparable from a sturdy, virile and magnetic temperament; but they are not easily reconcilable with the practice of perfect equity and universal sympathy. It is a cold, calculating, unamiable temperament which in every dilemma asks itself the question, Would it not be a good thing for *me* to throw this or that supporter to the wolves? Mr. Roosevelt does not happen to possess that kind of temperament; and, therefore, it might have been predicted that, soon or late, he, like Andrew Jackson, would suffer from the very sturdiness of his fibre. There are times when stanchness is dangerous, and when flexibility is prophylactic.

If the Dominican Treaty had been either ratified or rejected by the Senate, it would have been easier for our State Department to determine just what position it will take with reference to the reported intention of France to coerce Venezuela. It is absurd to suppose that the French Republic would undertake to capture or blockade Venezuelan seaports in order to compel President Castro to receive M. Taigny, recently the French Chargé d'Af-

faires at Caracas. Venezuela is an inconsiderable Latin-American commonwealth, but its Executive has as much right as the German Emperor himself to decline to hold intercourse with a particular diplomatic representative of a foreign Power on the ground that he is not *persona grata.* We assume, therefore, that, whatever armed demonstration may be made by France against Venezuela, it will have for its purpose the procurement of the recognition of certain claims arising out of contract, including conspicuously the claim of the French Cable Company, whose property at La Guayra has been seized in pursuance of an order of a Venezuelan tribunal. Now this Company has been adjudged by the highest native Court to have forfeited its franchise on the score of various delinquencies, chief among which is the aid and comfort alleged to have been given by it to the rebellion headed by General Matos. It is asserted, and not denied, that the Company's franchise contains a stipulation that, in the event of litigation, no appeal should be taken from the judgment of the highest Venezuelan Court to diplomatic negotiation or to arbitration. The questions, therefore, involved in the controversy betwen France and Venezuela are three: Should we permit a European country to treat the decisions of the supreme court of a Latin-American Republic with a contempt which it would not venture to exhibit toward the similar tribunal of a great Power? Ought we to tolerate the collection by violence from a weak American State of debts arising out of contract? Even if both these questions be answered in the affirmative, should not the French Cable Company be deemed to have waived the privilege of recourse to force, by its acceptance of the stipulation embodied in its franchise? As Mr. Roosevelt pointed out in his last Annual Message, we ourselves, in our dealings with sister American Republics, have never resorted to arms in order to compel the payment of contractual obligations. What does the tutelary function, which we have promised to discharge, amount to, if we suffer a European creditor-Power to subject our wards to treatment from which we ourselves have carefully refrained? It may be said that our duty in the premises is *res adjudicata,* seeing that in 1902 we remained impassive spectators of the blockade of Venezuelan seaports by German, British and Italian warships, and of the subsequent arrangement by which a third of the customs revenues of La Guayra and Puerto Cabello were sequestrated for the satisfaction of obligations mainly contractual.

We might reply that it is no more an established principle in international law than it is in municipal law, that a single precedent, perhaps ill-advised and regretted, must forever after be conformed to. It is evident from his last Annual Message that Mr. Roosevelt would like to brush aside the precedent made by our State Department in 1902. Evidently, the President does not deem it equitable that a European Power should be at liberty, because it alleges that an American commonwealth has failed to meet certain obligations arising out of contract, to proceed to act as judge, jury and sheriff in its own case. He has suggested that, in such circumstances, it might be expedient for the United States to interpose between the debtor and the creditor, and, having ascertained to what extent, if any, the alleged debts were just, to discharge them by collecting and distributing the customs revenue of the debtor. It is well known that the aim of the Dominican Treaty, now pending in our Senate, is to bring about just such a substitute for a European occupation of American custom-houses. If that treaty had been ratified, we should be in a position to say to France: If you can show that the Cable Company has violated none of the conditions of its franchise, and, consequently, has suffered damages by the suspension of that franchise, or can demonstrate the existence of any other just debts arising out of contract, we will relieve you from the necessity of an appeal to arms. We will ourselves, if President Castro shall request us, undertake to procure for you satisfaction.

As regards the scope of our participation in the Morocco Conference an important statement was made by Mr. Hale, of Maine, the present leader of the Republican majority in the Senate, when the matter came up for discussion; the statement, namely, that, if at any time an attempt should be made at Algeciras to bind the Conferees to an international agreement for any purpose other than commercial, the representatives of the United States would be instructed to withdraw, or, at all events, to refrain from voting on the subject. If such instructions have, in truth, been given, it is not easy to see why we should have taken any part at all in the Conference, seeing that the invitation expressly announced that no attempt would be made to disturb the commercial arrangements effected by the Madrid Conference of 1880 to which our Government was a party. We shall soon know whether Mr. Hale's tranquillizing declaration was well founded.

## CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER.

AN AMERICAN CITIZEN
is one of the most distinguished and most widely known of American citizens. From close and continued observation he is familiar with the conditions which prevail in the naval service of the United States.

FRANCIS B. LOOMIS
was born in Marietta, Ohio, and, after graduating at Marietta College, in 1883, joined the staff of the "New York Tribune." From 1885 to 1887, he was State Librarian of Ohio, and resigned that post to go to Washington as a newspaper correspondent. In 1890, he was appointed United States consul at St. Etienne in France, and while there he wrote extensive reports on the labor situation in Europe. On his return, in 1893, he became editor-in-chief of the "Cincinnati Daily Tribune." In 1897, he was sent to Venezuela as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States, and during the four years of his incumbency in that legation he opened negotiations for extradition and reciprocity treaties, and took measures to promote commerce between the United States and South America. He represented his Government at the Portuguese court from 1901 to 1903, and in the latter year he was recalled to Washington to serve as Assistant Secretary of State, a post which he occupied for two years. In 1904, the French Government conferred on him the decoration of Grand Officer of the Legion of Honor.

A. B. HEPBURN,
President of the Chase National Bank, New York, is a native of Colton, New York. Having graduated at Middlebury College, Vermont, in 1871, he was successively instructor in mathematics in St. Lawrence Academy and principal of the Ogdensburg Educational Institute. He was a member of the New York Legislature from 1875 to 1880; Superintendent

of the Banking Department of the State of New York from 1880 to 1883; United States Bank Examiner from 1889 to 1892; then Comptroller of the United States Currency till 1893, when he identified himself with the banking business of New York City. In 1901 he was a delegate of the New York Chamber of Commerce to the London Chamber of Commerce.

E. T. Bush

has taught for thirty-three years in the schools of Hunterdon County, New Jersey, from the ungraded to the highest. Meanwhile, he has published much, chiefly unsigned articles, including hundreds of editorials on State and national affairs, with occasional contributions to the magazines. With the exception of two years he has lived in rural parts all his life, and for some years he has been engaged in managing his own farm in the neighborhood of Stockton, New Jersey.

Frederic Louis Huidekoper,

a member of the bar of the District of Columbia, was educated at Harvard, at Christ Church, Oxford, and at the Law School of Columbian University, Washington. His military writings—begun, while he was still an undergraduate at Harvard, under the supervision of the late John Codman Ropes, the author of the well-known "Campaign of Waterloo," for whom he did some research work in Paris—have obtained unusual recognition among military men. His articles on the campaigns and battles of Frederick the Great, Napoleon and von Moltke, originally published in the "United Service Magazine," and in the "Journal of the Military Service Institution," the official magazine of the United States army, subsequently appeared in book form in the International Military Series under the title of "Military Studies," the only work by a non-military man accepted for that series. This book has been placed by the War Department in the War College and at West Point, and is known to military critics abroad. Mr. Huidekoper, who has been at work for some years on a history of the campaign of Austerlitz, is one of the few Americans who have been permitted to make extensive researches in the archives of the French, Austrian and Russian War Offices.

The Countess of Warwick

is a well-known leader of English society who has been identi-

fied with many public movements. She founded a Hostel at Reading in connection with a College for training daughters of professional men in horticulture, dairy, bee and poultry keeping, etc.; a science and technical school, on her Essex estate, for boys and girls in the rural districts of Essex; and, at Warwick, a home for seventeen crippled children, admitted free for an unlimited length of stay. She is President of the Essex Needlework Guild, and of many other societies. She is the author of a work entitled "Warwick Castle and its Earls."

Brander Matthews

is one of the best known of living American authors. He was born in New Orleans in 1852, and studied at Columbia College, where he graduated in 1871. He was admitted to the New York bar, but he turned from law to literature, to which, for many years, he has devoted an indefatigable and versatile pen. In 1892, he was appointed Professor of Dramatic Literature in Columbia University.

W. P. Livingstone,

a native of Scotland, was for over ten years the editor of "The Daily Gleaner," in Kingston, Jamaica, and afterwards the West-Indian and Spanish-American correspondent of the London "Times," in which capacity he travelled extensively, his more recent journeys including one through Haiti and Santo Domingo. He has made a special study of the West-Indian and American negro. He is the author of a work entitled "Black Jamaica," a narrative of racial evolution.

N. I. Stone,

after graduating from Columbia University, was appointed Statistician of the Bureau of Economic Research, which compiled, among other things, a new index-number of prices in the United States, subsequently published by the United States Industrial Commission. He resigned this position to take editorial charge of the department of Countries and Cities in the new "International Encyclopædia," and he is now expert on foreign tariffs in the Bureau of Statistics, Department of Commerce and Labor. Mr. Stone has contributed a number of articles to some of the leading magazines. Among his scientific productions are "A Critical Essay on the Agricultural Census of the United States," "A Study of Agricultural Statistics," "A Report on the

Effect of Speculation on Prices of Wheat and Cotton" and a volume entitled "The Economic Resources of Siberia."

W. E. HUMPHREY

is the Pacific Coast member of the Merchant Marine Committee of the House of Representatives, and also of the Merchant Marine Commission which was created by an act of Congress in accordance with the recommendation of President Roosevelt. He was born and educated in Indiana, and practised law in Crawfordsville in that State. In 1893, he went to Seattle, where, in 1898, he was elected to the office of corporation counsel. He was elected to the Fifty-eighth Congress by a large majority and reelected to the Fifty-ninth.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

No. DXCII.

MARCH, 1906.

# OUR NAVY.

BY AN AMERICAN CITIZEN.

## I.

If the question were asked, "What branch of the public service holds the highest place in the esteem of the American people, and comes nearest to exciting its admiration, not to say its affection?" the answer might well be: "The United States Navy." There are many reasons for this. Apart from its importance in commercial development and national defence, the profession of the sailor has always had a tinge of heroism, which leads every maritime people to give it a high place in their esteem. Our naval history is singularly free from incidents calculated to diminish this natural esteem. Beginning with the exploits of the daring sea-captain about whom every child reads in the history of the Revolution, it was shown in the War of 1812 that our insignificant Navy was not below that of the greatest and best organized navy of Europe in the skill of its captains, the quality of its ships, and the valor of its sailors. In modern times, it has met every test with such success that no foreign critic is found to deny its equality, so far as individual efficiency of men, ships and guns is concerned, with the navy of any other Power. The history of its operations during the Civil War,



Copyright, 1906, by The North American Review Publishing Company All Rights Reserved

as well as during the recent war with Spain, has been one of almost unbroken success. Our naval service has also been imbued with a high sense of loyalty to the constituted authorities of the country, seen not only in that formal obedience which is prescribed by the regulations, but in a sentiment of reverence for the authority of the President, acting through the Secretary of the Navy as his representative. In the record of performance of public duty by individual officers we seldom find a case of recreance to a public trust, so frequent in the administration of the civil departments of our Government. The naval service has also commended itself to the better class of our public men by its freedom from that rather ill-defined evil which we call "politics." This means that, as an organization, it has not countenanced its officers in efforts to promote their individual interests at the expense of the service at large, and that the practice of seeking the influence of eminent public men to secure assignments to naval duty is discountenanced by the Navy as a body.

In addition to possessing these qualities, the Navy has been actuated by an *esprit de corps* which leads every officer to strive, not only to make the service what, from the point of view of the organization, it should be, but to conceal from the public gaze those shortcomings and failures which must, in the nature of things, be part of long-continued experience in every branch of human endeavor. Associated with this is tact in keeping within reach of the public eye, in a quite gentle and unobtrusive way, every commendable incident of the service. In the use of its official machinery to afford pleasing little services to seafaring men, our Navy Department is remarkably liberal.

An example of the spirit of the service is also seen in the broad interest taken by its leading officers in everything tending to promote its successful administration. Under our system, the head of the Navy Department is necessarily a civilian, responsible for a service which requires more extended and minute technical knowledge in its details than does any other Department of the Government. The interest taken by leading officers in enabling their civilian head to make the wisest use of his power is shown by the attempts which have been made from time to time to provide him, by legal enactment, with the best and most authoritative professional advice. We believe that there has scarcely been an administration since the Civil War in which projects

to establish a Board for this purpose have not been urged upon the President, the Secretary of the Navy, Congress, or in the public press.

The natural result of these conditions has been a feeling on the part of the public, and of its representatives at the seat of government, that we have in the Navy an organization which can be left to regulate its interior organization for itself, and to control its own relation to the public. Unheard outside of their own sphere,—no agency is more powerful in determining our naval policy than the individual opinions of naval officers.

The high place in public estimation, the grounds of which we have set forth, has its drawbacks. We have forgotten that no set of men, however disinterested, should be allowed to determine their own relations to the country and to its authorities. If the motto "No friends in business" is sound in the operations of a mercantile house, it is still sounder in the administration of public affairs. We have been forgetting that, after all, a naval officer is human and subject to all the frailties of our common nature. The swing of a pendulum, which, the farther it is drawn in one direction, will, when left to itself, swing the farther in the other, is typical of human tendencies. An unbroken record of admirable performance leads to a high place in public estimation. This leads the public to allow the makers of the record to proceed in their own way, in the exercise of a power which they would not otherwise have been allowed to wield. Irresponsible power is sure to be abused sooner or later. The longer it is permitted, the more completely does it result in making the real or supposed interests of those who exercise it their supreme law. How wide may be the swing of the pendulum in the passage from the Navy of history to the Navy of the future has suddenly been made clear to us by events of startling import at the Naval Academy. These events have a special claim on the attention of the public, because they show, as nothing ever before did, our Navy of the future in the making. If we look carefully into the facts associated with hazing, as brought out by the investigation of the naval authorities, we shall see that they are not to be treated as mere examples of the exuberance of youth, or of those occasional infractions of discipline which are sure to occur in every military service. Although the reports in the daily press, which alone have yet seen the light, are incomplete in details, a very

little reading between the lines will bring out features worthy of serious consideration.

The first feature to be noticed is that the newly assembled class of cadet midshipmen does not take its first lesson in conduct from official regulations, or from anything said or done by its responsible official superiors, but from the classes immediately above it in the Academy. If a newly appointed cadet has any consciousness of the principle that there is a higher embodiment of the law than a first-classman, it has not been made evident. The spirit which the cadet imbibes from his first day's residence is not that of respect for the civil authorities, but of loyalty to the customs and traditions of the service which he is entering.

A second feature is the immediate and complete diffusion of the spirit thus imbibed through the entire body. It seems almost incredible that, in a class of two or three hundred well-bred and spirited young men, nearly all of good family, newly mustered into an honorable service the guiding rules of which are obedience to law and dignity of personal conduct, there should not be found one with the manly self-respect to refuse going through the silly antics and submitting to the personal indignities imposed upon the fourth-classmen by their seniors. Yet, notwithstanding that all must have been fully conscious that the imposition of these indignities was expressly prohibited by a law of Congress, no exception has come to light in the course of the investigation. Were the sufferers under any impression that submission was their official duty, we could only admire the amenity to discipline which would then be implied. But they could not possibly have labored under this delusion.

A third suggestive feature of the hazing which appears at the Academy is that it is not, as in the colleges, felt to be beneath the dignity of a student above the grade of sophomore. So far as the facts have been brought out, the leaders in the practice were of the higher classes of the Naval Academy—men who, about to graduate, were face to face with the serious duties and responsibilities of their profession. This fact naturally suggests the question: At what grade in the service does the growing officer feel obedience to law to be, not only his personal duty, but a virtue to be enforced through the service generally?

Painful light is thrown on this question by the fact that the machinery for enforcing good conduct at the Academy is un-

equalled by that of any similar institution elsewhere. Not only is there a large body of staff-officers and civilian subordinates charged with duties which bring them into constant contact with the midshipmen, and require them to report cases of disorder, but there are also no less than sixty officers of the line attached to the Naval Academy, whose duty it is to preserve order, and report every case of infraction of discipline. To suppose that it was out of the power of these guardians of the peace to know what was going on would imply a mental blindness quite incompatible with efficiency in their profession. We can see in their negligence only a spirit of disregard for law, propagating itself as new classes enter, and extending up into the service no one knows to how high a grade. The conclusion that the junior officers, at least, well remembered and fully sympathized with the customs of the midshipmen is hard to avoid.

Our judgment of the case is likely to be blinded by the fact that it is scarcely possible to find any case in human affairs in which the extremes of good and evil are so closely blended, and in which qualities fitted to excite the highest admiration are either productive of or associated with the worst results. From one point of view, the spectacle of three hundred respectable young men, ready to stand on their heads, swallow nauseous or injurious substances, and go through undignified contortions, at the order of a superior, affords a fine example of amenability to discipline. But this should only increase our regret that such qualities should be directed toward an end injurious to, if not destructive of, all the higher traits in human nature. That personal independence, and with it personal initiative, must be largely crushed out by the process goes without saying. We can hardly conceive that the tyranny thus exhibited will not, in a different form, dominate the whole future of the officer, whatever grade he may reach. The prospect is that, unless drastic measures are speedily taken by Congress and by the head of the Navy Department, the United States Navy of the future will grow into one in which interior customs shall supplant law and regulations, the real interests of the country be sacrificed to the supposed interests of the service, and every form of chicanery used to prevent the supremacy of law.

The method of dealing with the Navy which we have pointed out has resulted not only in giving law and discipline the sec-

ond place in the rules of the service, but in a number of features in which our Navy is not all that it should be. The fact is that our Navy is distinguished from that of Great Britain, and perhaps that of nearly every country, by the complete elimination from it, so far as possible, of the civilian element. While the idea that no civilian can possibly know enough of any subject of naval importance to make his advice of value in any question of naval administration is not avowed, it seems to be an unwritten principle of the service. In the administration of the British navy there are, immediately under the Admiralty, some fifteen or twenty departments, closely corresponding in the nature of their functions to the bureaus and offices of our Navy Department. The majority of these are under civilian directors. The chief constructor of the British navy now is and long has been a civilian, holding no naval commission, but enjoying a position high enough in the world of science to be a Fellow of the Royal Society. The Director of studies at the Royal Naval College at Greenwich is a civilian. In fact, almost the only exceptions to civilian chiefs are found in the departments concerned with the purely technical operations of the navy, which especially require military training. Moreover, when any question, even of a technical character, arises in the service, civilians are invited to aid in its decision whenever they are conversant with the subject to which it relates. In a word, the navy not only belongs to the country, but is of the country; the whole country is interested in it, not only as a body, but in all its operations, and is ready to take part in promoting them in every way it can.

The case is certainly very different in our own service. We should not like to say that, among the Boards which the Navy Department is continually appointing to consider and report upon the widest range of matters affecting the service, no case of a civilian assignment has ever been found. But we do conceive that it would take some searching on the part of any one not actually acquainted with the organization of these Boards to find any recent case of the kind. Closely associated with this is the importance of the place taken by "shore duty" in the life of our line officers. Great, indeed, is the contrast between ourselves and England in this respect. Sea service alone counts in the record of a British officer of the lower grades; with us, sea and shore duty count equally under the law. No critical observer can fail

to be impressed with the number of officers engaged in Washington and Annapolis in duty that could be as well performed by civilians.

The interior characteristics of our naval service which have grown up through the causes we have set forth may be summed up. Two of them may be said to determine our entire policy in naval organization. They are:—the complete merging of the individual in the corps, and the unification of spirit and function in the corps itself, resulting in the whole acting as a unit in its relations to the public. It would be difficult to find another organization in which the rules of professional ethics are more strictly obeyed; in fact, as we have already shown, it is largely due to these rules that the service holds so high a place in our estimation. Many fields of naval duty are extremely attractive, while others are the reverse. But an officer is not allowed to employ the ordinary methods, so common in other fields, to secure the one kind of duty and to avoid the other. He may freely state his wishes, and his reasons for them, assured that the case will be decided on its merits and not by influence. Every officer is expected to maintain at all times the general ability of his fellows to perform any duty which the Department may assign them. If he entertains any modest distrust of his own powers, that distrust must be confined to himself, and not be shared by the service generally. Thus rotation in office and rotation of functions is the rule of the service, so far, at least, as the line is concerned. To uphold the policy of permanence in any field of duty would imply that the officer who had gained experience in the field was better qualified for it than his fellows,—a quite inadmissible claim. This idea has been allowed to rule so completely as to blind the service, and the public which relies upon it for its views of naval affairs, to one of the urgent requirements of naval warfare as developed during the last twenty years. We mean the specialization of functions, which is more necessary now than it ever was before. A layman setting forth his independent view of the situation cannot but be gratified to find himself supported by so eminent an authority as Admiral Luce, who, in the January number of this REVIEW, has pointed out the necessity of a corps of marine engineers. But so much remains to be said that we shall invite the reader to take a comprehensive view of the situation.

II.

Studying a war-ship of the twentieth century we see that the functions necessary to her efficiency are three in number, separated by broad lines of demarcation. We have, first, the sailor properly so called whose function it is to command, care for, and navigate the ship. The qualities most essential to his success must be based on natural endowments. He must be born with the power of command, the faculty of ready adaptation of means to ends, a sentiment of admiration for the powers at play upon a raging ocean, a keen appreciation of the infinitely varying effects of wind and water on his ship, and a mastery of her behavior in a seaway under all conditions. Coupled with a natural as well as an acquired capacity for understanding the action of all these forces must be a professional training in the art of manœuvring ships, and bringing them into action, separately or in company. His position in the service must carry with it a supremacy corresponding to that of his functions as a commander. It is around his personality that the associations of the country at large with the Navy will necessarily cluster. Among the heroic qualities required in him, physical courage need not be counted, because it may be taken for granted; but stress must be laid on that nerve which will not permit the sense of danger to hold any place in his mind at the moment of an emergency, when he must be able to use his faculties with the same coolness and sound judgment as under ordinary circumstances. Reason teaches him that, under all conditions, even when his ship is going down, the safest course for all concerned is that which rests upon the most cool and careful judgment; and he must always be able to follow the dictates of reason.

His qualifications are those most difficult to determine in advance. Proficiency in scientific studies at the Naval Academy affords a fairly satisfactory test of the ability of the engineer and the constructor, but it does not necessarily mark the successful manager of a ship in a storm, or the leader of a fleet in battle. It would be an equal mistake to suppose that an aggressive personality is a quality especially to be sought for. Men do not readily outgrow the juvenile idea which gives rise to a sense of incongruity in the mind of every bright schoolboy when he first learns that military officers are forbidden, under severe penalties, to prove their courage by accepting a challenge to a duel.

Associated with this idea is the very plausible impression that readiness and efficiency in personal encounters with an opponent have their value in a course of training for military command. But our experience in the Civil War showed that coolness and heroism are more likely to be associated with a modest and unassuming demeanor than with the largest measure of seeming dash, energy and combativeness. Our future leader on the ocean may have more of the manner of a spectacled professor of classic lore than of a sea-going hero. On the other hand, while the successful naval leader may well be an excellent student, his qualities are not likely to be associated with a taste for being absorbed in the intricacies of mathematical investigation.

Next, we have the engineer, whose function it is to regulate the forces which, though confined to a small space on board ship, would, if let loose, rend her to atoms in a moment. The command of these forces requires a profound knowledge of those branches of mathematical physics which treat of the power and properties of steam. A mathematical head and a taste for machinery are here of greater moment than heroic qualities.

The third element, completing the equipment of the ship, comprises the engines of destruction with which an enemy is to be assailed. Modern progress has reduced this department of marine warfare to a science quite distinct from that of managing or propelling the ship. The high explosives of our time exert forces whose study forms a distinct department from that of the forces of steam. Only certain elementary conceptions are common to the two. This fighting and destroying department is concerned not only with guns and ammunition, but with the torpedo and the submarine. All that we know of the laws of progress leads us to believe that the latter agencies will, in the future, be our main reliance for the defence of our coasts in the event of a foreign war. Their study, no less than that of the gun, involves a separate application of science, which can best be pursued by men devoted to it. It is to be regretted that, when public attention has been called to this requirement by fatal accidents in connection with the armament of a war-ship, no better policy has been proposed to meet the case than that of encouraging officers to "specialize in ordnance." That the necessity should be recognized is something; that such a policy as that suggested should be deemed sufficient only illustrates the necessity of looking

to other sources than the profession for the initiation of measures adequate to its future necessities.

From the point of view we have taken, it seems quite clear that the three specialties which must come into play in the naval warfare of the future are as distinct from each other as specialties of men cooperating on board ship well can be. All human experience shows that the highest professional efficiency in any field can be reached only by men devoting the main energies of their lives to its attainment. It seems to us quite plain that the efficiency of the future Navy must depend upon the recognition of this great fact, and the devising of a system of naval education and organization to meet it. The writer does not deny that the idea of this radical movement seems not yet to have found a place in our own Navy, though it has in that of some foreign Powers. It is, therefore, incumbent upon us to examine the reasons which have been urged for a less radical view.

Beginning, as before, with the line officer, the current view which has dominated naval instruction may be put into this form:—In former times, ships were propelled by the power of wind acting on the sails. The main qualities required in a naval commander were a quick and correct apprehension of the action of this motive power, and readiness in devising methods of applying it in storm and calm, in ordinary navigation and in action. Now all this is changed. Steam has taken the place of sails, and the commanding officer of the future must be proficient in the science of steam-engineering, even as his predecessor was in the action of wind on the sails. He must, therefore, combine the art of engine-driving with that of navigating the ship.

We maintain that this argument is based on a too wide and general view of the case, to the exclusion of the particular facts. It drops out of sight special points of difference between sail and steam power, which put an altogether different face on the situation. In the age of the sailing-ship, her successful management depended on the numberless ways in which sails could be set and exposed to the wind, and on the readiness of the commander in deciding what should be done with the sails under all conditions of wind, water and surroundings. Standing on the quarter-deck, he had the motive power always in sight, and his function was to understand and direct it.

Instead of sails which could be reefed, set and furled in in-

finite ways, we now have propellers which can do nothing but go fast or slow, and take turns with each other in going fast or slow, backward or forward. Their line of action cannot be changed. Everything they can do is directed by a few signals. The agencies which make them go fast or slow, as well as the propelling machinery, are out of sight of the commanding officer. His function is, therefore, only that of directing a set of men concealed from sight in the interior of the ship. If these men understand their duties, there is not the slightest necessity that he should be master of their professional details. A general acquaintance with the power of steam, its mode of action, and the way in which the motion of the engines affects the ship is all that he requires. No ground can, therefore, be found for making an engineer out of the commanding officer, or his subordinate concerned with caring for and managing the ship.

We enforce this view by a claim for which we invite the fullest measure of professional criticism. If a great naval leader of former times, a Drake or a Nelson, who had never seen a steamship, or a Farragut, who had never seen a modern battle-ship, had to lead a fleet of battle-ships of the twentieth century into action, one day spent in learning about the way ships are propelled, signals communicated to the engineers, and guns handled, would qualify him for the great task of fighting a modern naval battle. We have a practical lesson in this direction, in the naval policy of the Oriental nation which has so rapidly become great by casting off the shackles of tradition, and attacking the problems which confronted it from the standpoint of common sense. It was seen by the Japanese authorities that strategic insight, correctness and rapidity of judgment, tireless energy, and intimate acquaintance with the human nature of the sailors he was to imbue with his own spirit, were the traits to be looked for in the commander of a fleet. These secured, the subject of steam-enginery was left to the staff. How much the alert victor in the Sea of Japan may have known or forgotten about the theory of the steam-engine we cannot say; our point is that no such knowledge was a factor in determining his place in the service.

Talk as we may about the war-ship of the future as an enormous engine, and the work of fighting her as one of operating her machinery, we cannot do away with the great fact that the ocean on which she floats remains what it always was, and will de-

mand the same qualities as always in the man who navigates it. So long as storms lash it, so long must the spirit which led the first man to launch his bark on its waters, and the qualities which enabled the first sailor to brave its storms, remain the essentials of successful sea navigation and sea fighting. Our traditional conception of the sailor can be altered only by the addition of new qualities, not by the subtraction of those already there.

The general conclusion to which this review of the situation leads is that, if the American Navy is to deserve and command our good opinion in the future, as it has in the past, we must radically change our policy in dealing with it, not only as to details of organization, but as to general spirit. We must recognize the peculiar influences to which its members are subject from the first day they enter the service, and mould our policy accordingly. Instead of inferring that a body of men so carefully educated in their line must be well fitted for any public function having the remotest relation to their field of activity, we should consider whether it is not a general trait of human nature that, when a man is trained from youth to the highest efficiency in a special field, and taught to devote all his faculties to a single end, he is thereby unfitted for activities outside his field. If the view here enforced is correct, the projects which are always on foot for extending the functions of the Navy should be abandoned and this important agency used only for its proper purpose;—much as we use an exquisitely designed machine only for the work to which it has been adapted.

We have set forth the evidence that there is no profession in which the qualities essential to efficiency may so readily become sources of evil as in that of a naval officer. If this be true, there is no department of the Government in which the representatives of the nation should more judiciously and carefully discriminate between conclusions based on wide knowledge and long professional experience, on the one hand, and the professional bias of a body of men having the enlarged scope of their field of activity always in view on the other. We have shown why it is that we cannot look to the service itself to initiate and carry through any measure of reform which would diminish its influence. Careful inquiry might well disclose the urgencies of more than one measure which the service itself will never initiate until a new spirit pervades it.

AN AMERICAN CITIZEN.

# BOSTON.

BY HENRY JAMES.

It sometimes uncomfortably happens for a writer, consulting his remembrance, that he remembers too much and finds himself knowing his subject too well, which is but the case of the bottle too full for the wine to start. There has to be room for the air to circulate between one's impressions, between the parts of one's knowledge, since it is the air, or call it the intervals on the sea of one's ignorance, of one's indifference, that sets these floating fragments into motion. This is more or less what I feel in presence of the invitation—even the invitation written on the very face of the place itself, of its actual aspects and appearances —to note one's "impression" of Boston. Can one *have,* in the conditions, an impression of Boston, any that has not been for long years as inappreciable as a "sunk" picture?—that dead state of surface which requires a fresh application of varnish. The situation I speak of is the consciousness of "old" knowledge, knowledge so compacted by the years as to be unable, like the bottled wine, to flow. The answer to such questions as these, no doubt, however, is the practical one of trying a shake of the bottle or a brushful of the varnish. My "sunk" sense of Boston found itself vigorously varnished by mere renewal of vision at the end of long years; though I confess that under this favoring influence I ask myself why I should have had, after all, the notion of overlaid deposits of experience. The experience had anciently been small—so far as smallness may be imputed to any of our prime initiations; yet it had left consequences out of proportion to its limited seeming self. Early contacts had been brief and few, and the slight bridge had long ago collapsed; wherefore the impressed condition that acquired again, on the spot, an intensity, struck me as but half explained by the inordinate power

of assimilation of the imaginative young. I should have had, none the less, to content myself with this evidence of the magic of past sensibilities, had not the question suddenly been lighted for me as by a sudden flicker of the torch—and for my special benefit—carried in the hand of history. This light, waving for an instant over the scene, gave me the measure of my relation to it both as to immense little extent and to quite subjective character.

I.

It was in strictness only a matter of noting the harshness of change—since I scarce know what else to call it—on the part of the approaches to a particular spot I had wished to revisit. I made out, after a little, the entrance to Ashburton Place; but I missed, on that spacious summit of Beacon Hill, more than I can say, the pleasant little complexity of the other time marked with its share of the famous Old-World "crookedness" of Boston, that element of the mildly tortuous which did duty, for the story-seeker, as an ancient and romantic note and was half envied, half derided, by the merely rectangular criticism. Didn't one remember the day when New-Yorkers, when Philadelphians, when pilgrims from the West, sated with their eternal equidistances, with the quadrilateral scheme of life, "raved" about Cornhill, and appeared to find in the rear of the State House a recall of one of the topographical, the architectural jumbles of Europe or Asia? And did not, indeed, the small happy accidents of the disappearing Boston exhale in a comparatively sensible manner the warm breath of history, the history of something as against the history of nothing?—so that, being gone, or generally going, they enabled one at last to feel, and almost to talk, about them as one had found one's self feeling and talking about the sacrificed relics of Old Paris and Old London. In this immediate neighborhood of the enlarged State House, where a great raw clearance has been made, memory met that pang of loss, knew itself sufficiently bereft to see the vanished objects, a scant but adequate cluster of "nooks," of such odds and ends as parochial schemes of improvement sweep away, positively overgrown, within one's own spirit, by a wealth of legend. There was at least the gain, at any rate, that one was now going to be free to picture them, to embroider them, at one's ease—to tangle them up in retrospect and make the real romantic claim for them. This,

accordingly, is what I am doing; but I am doing it in particular for the sacrificed end of Ashburton Place, the Ashburton Place that I anciently knew. This eminently respectable by-way, on my return to question it, opened its short vista for me honestly enough, though looking rather exposed and undermined, since the mouth of the passage to the west, formerly measured and narrow, had begun to yawn into space—a space peopled, in fact, for the eye of appreciation, with the horrific glazed perpendiculars of the future. But the pair of ancient houses I was in quest of kept their tryst; a pleasant individual pair, mated with nothing else in the street, yet looking, at that hour, as if their old still faces had lengthened, their shuttered, lidded eyes had closed, their brick complexions had paled, above the good granite basements, to a fainter red—all as with the cold consciousness of a possible doom.

That possibility, on the spot, was not present to me, occupied as I was with reading into one of them a short page of history that I had my own reasons for finding of supreme interest, the history of two years of far-away youth spent there at a period—the closing-time of the War—full both of public and of intimate vibrations. The two years had been those of a young man's, a very young man's, earliest fond confidence in a "literary career," and the effort of actual attention was to recover on the spot some echo of ghostly footsteps—the sound as of taps on the window-pane heard in the dim dawn. The place itself was, meanwhile, at all events, a conscious memento, with old secrets to keep and old stories to witness for, a saturation of life as closed together and preserved in it as the scent lingering in a folded pocket-handkerchief. But when, a month later, I returned again (a justly rebuked mistake) to see if another whiff of the fragrance were not to be caught, I found but a gaping void, the brutal effacement, at a stroke, of every related object, of the whole precious past. Both the houses had been levelled and the space to the corner cleared; hammer and pick-axe had evidently begun to swing on the very morrow of my previous visit—which had, moreover, been precisely the imminent doom announced, without my understanding it, in the poor scared faces. I had been present, by the oddest hazard, at the very last moments of the victim in whom I was most interested; the act of obliteration had been breathlessly swift, and if I had often seen how fast history could be made I had doubtless never so felt that it could be unmade still faster.

It was as if the bottom had fallen out of one's own biography, and one plunged backward, into space, without meeting anything. That, however, seemed just to give me, as I have hinted, the whole figure of my connection with everything about, a connection that had been sharp, in spite of brevity, and then had broken short off. Thus it was the sense of the rupture, more than of anything else, that I was, and for a still much briefer time, to carry with me. It seemed to leave me with my early impression of the place on my hands, inapt, as might be, for use; so that I could only try, rather vainly, to fit it to present conditions, among which it tended to shrink and stray.

It was on two or three such loitering occasions, wondering and invoking pauses that had, a little vaguely and helplessly perhaps, the changed crest of Beacon Hill for their field—it was at certain of these moments of charged yet rather chilled contemplation that I felt my small cluster of early associations shrivel to a scarce discernible point. I recall a Sunday afternoon, in particular, when I hung about on the now vaster platform of the State House for a near view of the military monuments erected there, the statues of Generals Hooker and Devens, and for the charm at once and the pang of feeling the whole backward vista, with all its features, fall, from that eminence, into gray perspective. The top of Beacon Hill quite rakes, with a but slightly shifting range, the old more definite Boston; for there seemed no item, nor any number, of that remarkable sum that it wouldn't anciently have helped one to distinguish or divine. There all these things essentially were at the moment I speak of, but only again as something ghostly and dim, something overlaid and smothered by the mere modern thickness. I lingered half an hour, much of the new disposition of the elements here involved being duly impressive, and the old uplifted front of the State House, surely, in its spare and austere, its ruled and pencilled, kind, a thing of beauty, more delightful and harmonious even than I had remembered it; one of the inestimable values again, in the eye of the town, for taste and temperance, as the perfectly felicitous "Park Street" Church, hard by, was another. The irresistible spell, however, I think, was something sharper yet—the coercion, positively, of feeling one's case, the case of one's deeper discomfiture, completely made out. The day itself, toward the winter's end, was all benignant, like the immense ma-

jority of the days of the American year, and there went forward across the top of the hill a continuous passage of men and women, in couples and talkative companies, who struck me as laboring wage-earners, of the simpler sort, arrayed in their Sunday best and decently enjoying their leisure. They came up from over the Common, they passed or paused, exchanging remarks on the beauty of the scene, but presenting themselves to me as of more interest, for the moment, than anything it contained.

For no sound of English, in a single instance, escaped their lips; the greater number spoke a rude form of Italian, the others some outland dialect unknown to me—though I waited and waited to catch an echo of antique refrains. No note of any shade of American speech struck my ear, save in so far as the sounds in question represent to-day so much of the substance of that idiom. The types and faces bore them out; the people before me were gross aliens to a man, and they were in serene and triumphant possession. Nothing, as I say, could have been more effective for figuring the hitherward bars of a grating through which I might make out, far off in space, "my" small homogeneous Boston of the more interesting time. It was not, of course, that our gross little aliens were immediate "social" figures in the narrower sense of the term, or that any personal commerce of which there might be question could color itself, to its detriment, from their presence; but simply that they expressed, as everywhere and always, the great cost at which every place on my list had become braver and louder, and that they gave the measure of the distance by which the general movement was *away*—away, always and everywhere, from the old presumptions and conceivabilities. Boston, the bigger, braver, louder Boston, was "away," and it was quite, at that hour, as if each figure in my procession were there on purpose to leave me no doubt of it. Therefore, had I the vision, as filling the sky, no longer of the great Puritan "whip," the whip for the conscience and the nerves of the local legend, but that of a huge applied sponge, a sponge saturated with the foreign mixture and passed over almost everything I remembered and might still have recovered. The detail of this obliteration would take me too far, but I had even then (on a previous day as well as only half an hour before), caught at something that might stand for a vivid symbol of the general effect of it. To come up from School

Street into Beacon was to approach the Anthenæum—exquisite institution, to fond memory, joy of the aspiring prime; yet to approach the Athenæum only to find all disposition to enter it drop as dead as if from quick poison, what did *that* denote but the dreadful chill of change, and of the change, in especial, that was most completely dreadful? For had not this honored haunt of all the most civilized—library, gallery, temple of culture, the place that was to Boston at large as Boston at large was to the rest of New England—had it not with peculiar intensity had a "value," the most charming of its kind, no doubt, in all the huge country, and had not this value now, evidently, been brought so low that one shrank in delicacy from putting it to the test? It was a case of the detestable "tall building" again, and of its instant destruction of quality in everything it overtowers. Put completely out of countenance by the mere masses of brute ugliness beside it, the temple of culture looked only rueful and snubbed, hopelessly down in the world; so that, far from being moved to hover or to penetrate, one's instinct was to pass by on the other side, averting one's head from an humiliation one could do nothing to make less. And this, indeed, though one would have liked to do something; the brute masses above the comparatively small refined façade (one saw how happy one had always thought it) having for the inner ear the voice of a pair of school-bullies who hustle and pummel some studious little boy. "'Exquisite' was what they called you, eh? We'll teach you then, little sneak, to be exquisite! We allow none of that rot round here." It was heart-breaking, this presentation of a Boston practically void of an Athenæum; though perhaps not without interest as showing how much one's own sense of the small city of the earlier time had been dependent on that institution. I found it of no use, at any rate, to think, for a compensatory sign of the new order, of the present Public Library; the present Public Library, however remarkable in its pomp and circumstance, and of which I had at that hour received my severe impression, being neither exquisite nor on the way to become so—a difficult, an impassable way, no doubt, for public libraries. Nor did I cast about, in fact, very earnestly, for consolation—so much more was I held by the vision of the closed order which shaped itself, continually, in the light of the differing present; an order gaining an interest for this backward view precisely as one felt that all the parts and

tokens of it, while it lasted, had hung intimately together. Missing those parts and tokens, or as many of them as one could, became thus a constant slightly painful joy: it made them fall so into their place as items of the old character, or proofs, positively, as one might say, of the old distinction. It was impossible not to see Park Street itself, for instance—while I kept looking at the matter from my more "swagger" hilltop—as violently vulgarized; and it was incontestable that, whatever might be said, there had anciently not been, on the whole continent, taking everything together, an equal animated space more exempt from vulgarity. There had probably been comparable spaces—impressions, in New York, in Philadelphia, in Baltimore, almost as good; but only almost, by reason of their lacking (which was just the point) the indefinable perfection of Park Street.

It seems odd to have to borrow from the French the right word in this association—or would seem so, rather, had it been less often indicated that that people have better names than our's even for the qualities we are apt to suppose ourselves more in possession of than they. Park Street, in any case, had been magnificently *honnête*—the very type and model, for a pleasant street-view, of the character. The aspects that might elsewhere have competed were *honnêtes* and weak, whereas Park Street was *honnête* and strong—strong as founded on *all* the moral, material, social solidities, instead of some of them only; which made again all the difference. Personal names, as notes of that large emanation, need scarcely be invoked—they might even have a weakening effect; the force of the statement was in its collective, cumulative look, as if each member of the row, from the church at the Tremont Street angle to the amplest, squarest, most purple presence at the Beacon Street corner (where it always had a little the air of a sturdy proprietor with back to the fire, legs apart and thumbs in the armholes of an expanse of high-colored plush waistcoat), was but a syllable in the word "Respectable" several times repeated. One had somehow never heard it uttered with so convincing an emphasis. But the shops, up and down, are making all this as if it had never been, pleasant "premises" as they have themselves acquired; and it was to strike me from city to city, I fear, that the American shop in general pleads but meagrely—whether on its outer face or by any more intimate art—for indulgence to its tendency to swarm, to bristle, to vo-

ciferate. The shop front, observed at random, produced on me from the first, and almost everywhere alike, a singular, a sinister impression, which left me uneasy till I had found a name for it; the sense of an economic law of which one had not for years known the unholy rigor, the vision of "protected" production and of commodities requiring certainly, in many cases, every advantage Protection would give them. They looked to me always, these exhibitions, consciously and defiantly protected—insolently safe, able to be with impunity anything they would; and when once that lurid light had settled on them I could see them, I confess, in none other; so that the objects composing them fell, throughout, into a vicious and villainous category, quite as if audibly saying: "Oh come; don't look among us for what you won't, for what you sha'n't, find, the best quality attainable; but only for that quite other matter, the best value we allow you. You must take us or go without, and, if you feel your nose thus held to the grindstone by the hard fiscal hand, it's no more than you deserve for harboring treasonable thoughts."

So it was, therefore, that while the imagination and the memory strayed—strayed away to other fiscal climates, where the fruits of competition so engagingly ripen and flush—the streets affected one at moments as a prolonged show-case for every arrayed vessel of humiliation. The fact that several classes of the protected products appeared to consist of articles that one might really anywhere have preferred, did little, oddly enough, to diminish the sense of severe discipline awaiting the restored absentee on contact with these occasions of traffic. The discipline, indeed, is general, proceeding as it does from so many sources, but it earns its name, in particular, from the predicament of the ingenuous inquirer who asks himself if he can "really bear" the combination of such general manners and such general prices, of such general prices and such general manners. He has a helpless bewildered moment during which he wonders if he mightn't bear the prices a little better if he were a little better addressed, or bear the usual form of address a little better if the prices were in themselves, given the commodity offered, a little less humiliating to the purchaser. Neither of these elements of his dilemma strikes him as likely to abate—the general cost of the things to drop, or the general grimness of the person he deals with over the counter to soften; so that he reaches out again for balm

to where he has had to seek it under other wounds, falls back on the cultivation of patience and regret, on large international comparison. He is confronted too often, to his sense, with the question of what may be "borne"; but what does he see about him if not a vast social order in which the parties to certain relations are all the while marvellously, inscrutably, desperately "bearing" each other? He may wonder how, under the strain, social cohesion does not altogether give way; but that is another question. For he asks himself quite as much as anything else how the shop-man or the shop-lady can bear to be barked at in the manner he constantly hears used to them by customers—he recognizes that no agreeable form of intercourse *could* survive a day in such air; so that what is the only relation finding ground there but a necessary vicious circle of gross mutual endurance?

These reflections connect themselves, moreover, with that most general of his restless hauntings in the United States—not only with the lapse of all wonderment at the immense number of absentees unrestored and making their lives as they may in other countries, but with the preliminary American postulate or basis for any successful accommodation of life. This basis is that of active pecuniary gain and of active pecuniary gain only—that of one's making the conditions so triumphantly pay that the prices, the manners, the other inconveniences, take their place as a friction it is comparatively easy to salve, wounds directly treatable with the wash of gold. What prevails, what sets the tune, is the American scale of gain, more magnificent than any other, and the fact that the whole assumption, the whole theory of life, is that of the individual's participation in it, that of his being more or less punctually and more or less effectually "squared." To make so much money that you won't, that you don't "mind," don't mind anything—that is absolutely, I think, the main American formula. Thus your making no money—or so little that it passes there for none—and being thereby distinctly reduced to minding, amounts to your being reduced to the knowledge that America is no place for you. To mind as one minds, for instance, in Europe, under provocation or occasion offered, and yet to have to live under the effect of American pressure, is speedily to perceive that the knot can be untied but by a definite pull of one or the other string. The immense majority of people pull, luckily for the existing order, the string that consecrates their connection

with it; the minority (small, however, only in comparison) pull the string that loosens that connection. The existing order is meanwhile safe, inasmuch as the faculty of making money is in America the commonest of all and fairly runs the streets: so simple a matter does it appear there, among vast populations, to make betimes enough *not* to mind. Yet the withdrawal of the considerable group of the pecuniarily disqualified seems no less, for the present, an assured movement; there will always be scattered individuals condemned to mind on a scale beyond any scale of making. The relation of this modest body to the country of their birth, which asks so much, on the whole—so many surrenders and compromises and the possession, above all, of such a prodigious head for figures—before it begins, in its wonderful way, to give, or to "pay," would appear to us supremely touching, I think, as a case of communion baffled and blighted, if we had time to work it out. It would bathe in something of a tragic light the vivid truth that the "great countries" are all, more and more, happy lands (so far as any can be called such) for any, for every, sort of person rather than the middle sort. The upper sort—in the scale of wealth, the only scale now—can to their hearts' content build their own castles and move by their own motors; the lower sort, masters of gain in *their* degree, can profit, also to their hearts' content, by the enormous extension of those material facilities which may be gregariously enjoyed; they are able to rush about, as never under the sun before, in promiscuous packs and hustled herds, while to the act of so rushing about all felicity and prosperity appear for them to have been comfortably reduced. The frustrated American, as I have hinted at him, scraping for *his* poor practical solution in the depleted silver-mine of history, is the American who "makes" too little for the castle and yet, "minds" too much for the hustled herd, who can neither achieve such detachment nor surrender to such society, and who most of all accordingly, in the native order, fails of a working basis. The salve, the pecuniary salve, in Europe, is sensibly less, but less on the other hand also the excoriation that makes it necessary, whether from above or below.

II.

Let me at all events say for the Park Street Church, while I may still, on my hilltop, keep more or less in line with it, that

this edifice persistently "holds the note," as yet, the note of the old felicity, and remains by so doing a precious public servant. Strange enough, doubtless, to find one's self pleading sanctity for a theological structure sanctified only by such a name—as who should say the Park Street Hotel or the Park Street Post-office; so much clearer would the claim seem to come were it the case of another St. Clement Danes, or of another St. Mary-le-Strand. But in America we get our sanctity as we can, and we plead it, if we are wise, wherever the conditions suffer the faintest show of color for it to flush through. Again and again it is a question, on behalf of the memorial object (and especially when preservation is at stake), of an interest and an appeal proceeding exactly from the conditions, and thereby not of an absolute, but of a relative force and weight; which is exactly the state of the matter with the Park Street Church. This happy landmark is, in strictness, with its mild recall, by its spire, of Wren's bold London examples, the comparatively thin echo of a far-away song—playing its part, however, for harmonious effect, as perfectly as possible. It is admirably placed, quite peculiarly *present*, in the Boston scene, and thus, for one reason and another, it points its moral as not even the State House does. So we see afresh, under its admonition, that charm is a flower of wild and wind-blown seed—often not to be counted on when most anxiously planted, but taking its own time and its own place both for enriching and for mocking us. It mocks assuredly, above all, our money and our impatience, elements addressed to buying or "ordering" it, and only asks that when it does come we shall know it and love it. When we fail of this intelligence, it simply, for its vengeance, boycotts us—makes us as vulgar folk who have no concern with it. Then if we ever miss it we can never get it back—though our deepest depth of punishment, of course, is to go on fatuously not missing it, the joy of ourselves and of each other and the derision of those who know. These reflections were virtually suggested to me, on the eve of my leaving Boston, by ten words addressed to my dismay; the effect of which was to make Park Street Church, for the hour, the most interesting mass of brick and mortar and (if I may risk the supposition) timber in America.

The words had been spoken, in the bright July air, by a friend encountered in the very presence of the mild monument, on the

freshly perceived value of which, for its position, for its civil function, I had happened irrepressibly to exclaim. Thus I learned that its existence might be spoken of as gravely menaced—menaced by a scheme for the erection of a "business block," a huge square of innumerable tiers and floors, thousands of places of trade, the trade that in such a position couldn't fail to be roaring. In the eye of financial envy the church was but a cumberer of the ground, and where, about us, had we seen financial envy fail when it had once really applied the push of its fat shoulder? Drunk as it was with power, what was to be thought of as resisting it? This was a question, truly, to frighten answers away —until I presently felt the most pertinent of all return as if on tiptoe. The perfect force of the case *as* a case, as an example, *that* was the answer of answers; the quite ideal pitch of the opportunity for virtue. Ideal opportunities are rare, and this occasion for not sacrificing the high ornament and cynosure of the town to the impudence of private greed just happens to be one, and to have the finest marks of character. One had but to imagine a civilized community reading these marks, feeling that character, and then consciously and cynically falling below its admirable chance, to take in the impossibility of any such blot on the page of honor, any such keen appetite for the base alternative. It would be verily the end—the end of the old distinguished life, of the common intelligence that had flowered formerly, for attesting fame, from so strong a sap and into so thick and rich a cluster. One had thought of these things as one came and went—so interesting to-day in Boston are such informal consultations of the oracle (that of the very air and "tone"), such puttings to it of the question of what the old New England spirit may have still, intellectually, æsthetically, or for that matter even morally, to give; of what may yet remain, for productive scraping, of the formula of the native Puritanism educated, the formula once capacious enough for the "literary constellation" of the Age of Emerson. Is that cornucopia empty, or does some handful of strong, or at least sound, fruit lurk to this day, a trifle congested by keeping, up in the point of the horn? What, if so, are, in the ambient air, the symptoms of this impossibility? What, are the signs of intellectual promise, poetic, prosaic, philosophic, in the current generations, those actually learning their principal lesson, as one assumes, from the great University

hard by? The old formula, that of Puritanism educated, has it, in fine, except for "business," anything more to communicate? Or do we perhaps mistake the case in still speaking, by reason of the projected shadow of Harvard, of "education" as at all involved?

Oh, for business, for a commercial, an organizing energy of the first order, the indications would seem to abound, the air being full of them, as of one loud voice, and nowhere so full perhaps as at that Park Street corner, precisely, where it was to be suggested to me that their meaning was capable, on occasion, of turning to the sinister. Commercial energy, at least, was educated, up to the eyes—Harvard was still caring for that more than for anything else—but the wonderments, or perhaps rather the positive impressions, I have glanced at bore me constant company, keeping the last word, all emphasis of answer, back as if for the creation of a dramatic suspense. I liked the suspense, none the less, for what it had in common with "intellectual curiosity," and it gave me a light, moreover, which was highly convenient, helping me to look at everything in some related state to this proposition of the value of the Puritan residuum—the question of whether value *is* expressed, for instance, by the little tales, mostly by ladies, and about and for children romping through the ruins of the Language, in the monthly magazines. Some of my perceptions of relation might seem forced, for other minds, but it sufficed me that they were straight and clear for myself—straight and clear again, for example, when (always on my hilltop and raking the prospect over for memories) I quite assented to the tacit intimation that a long æsthetic period had closed with the disappearance of the old Museum Theatre. This had been the theatre of the "great" period—so far as such a description may fit an establishment that never produced during that term a play either by a Bostonian or by any other American; or it had at least, with however unequal steps, kept the great period company, made the Boston of those years quite complacently participate in its genial continuity. This character of its *being* an institution, its really being a theatre, with a repertory and a family of congruous players, not one of them the baleful actor-manager, head and front of all the so rank and so acclaimed vulgarities of our own day—this nature in it of not being the mere empty shell, the indifferent cave of the winds, that yields

a few nights' lodging, under stress, to the passing caravan, gave it a dignity of which I seemed to see the ancient city gratefully conscious, fond and jealous, and the thought of which invites me to fling over it now perhaps too free a fold of the mantle of romance. And yet why too free? is what I ask myself as I remember that the Museum had for long years a repertory—the repertory of its age—a company and a cohesion, theatrical trifles of the cultivation of which no present temple of the drama from end to end of the country appears to show a symptom. Therefore I spare a sigh to its memory, and, though I doubtless scarce think of it as the haunt of Emerson, of Hawthorne, or of Mr. Ticknor, the common conscience of the mid-century in the New England capital insists on showing, at this distance of time, as the richer for it.

That, then, was one of the missed elements, but the consequent melancholy, I ought promptly to add, formed the most appropriate soil for stray sprouts of tenderness in respect to the few aspects that had not suffered. The old charm of Mount Vernon Street, for instance, wandering up the hill, almost from the water-side, to the rear of the State House, and fairly hanging about there to rest like some good flushed lady, of more than middle age, a little spent and "blown"—this ancient grace was not only still to be felt, but was charged, for depth of interest, with intenser ghostly presences, the rich growth of time, which might have made the ample slope, as one mounted, appear as beatifically peopled as Jacob's Ladder. That was exactly the kind of impression to be desired and welcomed; since ghosts belong only to places and suffer and perish with them. It was as if they themselves, moreover, were taking pleasure in this place, fairly indeed commending to me the fine old style of the picture. Nothing less appeared to account for my not having, in the other age, done it, as the phrase is, full justice, recognized in it so excellent a peace, such a clear Boston bravery—all to the end that it should quite strike me, on the whole, as not only, for the minor stretch and the domestic note, the happiest street-scene the country could show, but as pleasant, on those respectable lines, in a degree not surpassed even among outland pomps. Oh, the wide benignity of brick, the goodly, friendly, ruddy fronts, the felicity of scale, the solid *seat* of everything, even to the handful of happy deviations from the regular, produced, we may fancy, by one of those

"historic" causes which so rarely complicate, for humanization, the blankness of the American street-page, and the occasional occurrence of which in general, as I am perhaps too repeatedly noting, excites on the part of the starved story-seeker a fantastic insistence! I find myself willing, after all, to let my whole estimate of these mere mild monuments of private worth pass for extravagant, if it but leave me a perch for musing on the oddity of our nature which makes us still like the places we have known or loved to grow old, when we can scarcely bear it in the people. To walk down Mount Vernon Street to Charles was to have a brush with that truth, to recognize at least that we like the sense of age to come, locally, when it comes with the right accompaniments, with the preservation of character and the continuity of tradition, merits I had been admiring on the brow of the eminence. From the other vision, the sight of the "decline in the social scale," the lapse into shabbiness and into bad company, we only suffer, for the ghosts in that case either refused to linger, or linger at the most with faces ashamed, and as if appealing against their association.

Such was the condition of the Charles Street ghosts, it seemed to me—shades of a past that had once been so thick and warm and happy; they moved, dimly, through a turbid medium in which the signs of their old life looked soiled and sordid. Each of them was there, indeed, from far, far back; they met me on the pavement, yet it was as if we could pass but in conscious silence, and nothing could have helped us, for any courage of communion, if we had not enjoyed the one merciful refuge that remained, where indeed we could breathe again, and with intensity, our own liberal air. Here, behind the effaced anonymous door, was the little ark of the modern deluge, here still the long drawing-room that looks over the water and toward the sunset, with a seat for every visiting shade, from far-away Thackeray down, and relics and tokens so thick on its walls as to make it positively, in all the town, the votive temple to memory. Ah, if it hadn't been for *that* small patch of common ground, with its kept echo of the very accent of the past, the revisiting spirit, at the bottom of the hill, could but have muffled his head, or but have stifled his heart, and turned away forever. Let me even say that—always now at the bottom of the hill—it was in this practical guise he afterwards, at the best, found himself roaming. It is from about that

point southward that the new splendors of Boston spread, and will clearly continue to spread; but it opened out to me as a tract pompous and prosaic, with which the little interesting city, the city of character and genius, exempt as yet from the Irish yoke, had absolutely nothing to do. The disconnection was complete, and the southward, the westward, territory, made up, at the most, a platform or stage from which the other, the concentrated Boston of history, the Boston of Emerson, Thoreau, Hawthorne, Longfellow, Lowell, Holmes, Ticknor, Motley, Prescott, Parkman and the rest (in the sense either of birthplace or of central or sacred city) could be seen in as definite and, indeed now in almost as picturesquely mediæval, a concretion, appear to make as black and minute and "composed" a little pyramidal image, as the finished background of a Dürer print. It seemed to place itself there in the middle distance, on the sharp salience of its commingled Reforms and Reserves—reformers and reservists rubbing shoulders in the common distinctness of their detachment from an inexpressive generation, and the composition rounding itself about as with the very last of its loose ends snipped off or tucked in.

III.

There are neither loose ends nor stray flutters, whether of the old prose or the old poetry, to be encountered on the large lower level, though there are performances of a different order, in the shadow of which such matters tend to look merely and perhaps rather meagrely subjective. It is all very rich and prosperous and monotonous, the large lower level, but oh, so inexpressibly vacant! Where the "new land" corresponds most to its name, rejoices most visibly and complacently in its newness, its dumped and shovelled foundations the home till recently of a mere vague marine backwater, there the long, straight residential avenues, vistas quite documentary, as one finds one's self pronouncing them, testify with a perfection all their own to a whole vast side of American life. The winter winds and snows, and the eternal dust, run races in them over the clearest course anywhere provided for that grim competition; the league-long brick pavements mirror the expensive void, for many months of the year, in their smooth tight ice-coats (and ice over brick can only be described as heels over head), and the innumerable windows, up and down, watch each other, all hopelessly, as for revelations,

indiscretions, audible, resonant, rebellious or explosive breakages of the pane from within, that never disturb the peace. (No one will begin, and the buried hatchet, in spite of whatever wistful looks to where it lies, is never dug up.) So it is that these sustained affirmations of one of the smoothest and the most settled social states "going," excite perversely, on the part of the restless analyst, questions that would seem logically the very least involved. We call such aspects "documentary" because they strike us, more than any others, as speaking volumes for the possible *serenity*, the common decency, the quiet cohesion, of a vast commercial and professional *bourgeoisie* left to itself. Here was such an order caught in the very fact, the fact of its living maximum. A *bourgeoisie* without an aristocracy to worry it is, of course, a very different thing from a *bourgeoisie* struggling *in* that shade, and nothing could express more than these interminable perspectives of security the condition of a community leading its life in the social sun.

Why, accordingly, of December afternoons, did the restless analyst, pausing at eastward-looking corners, find on his lips the vague refrain of Tennyson's "long, unlovely street"? Why, if Harley Street, if Wimpole, is unlovely, should Marlborough Street, Boston, be so—beyond the mere platitude of its motiveless name? Here is no monotony of black leasehold brick, no patent disavowal, in the interest of stale and strictly subordinate gentilities, of expression, animation, variety, curiosity; here, on the contrary, is often the individual housefront in all its independence and sometimes in all its felicity; this whole region being, like so many such regions in the United States to-day, the home of the free hand, a field for the liveliest architectural experiment. There are interesting, admirable houses—though always too much of the detestable vitreous "bow"—and there is above all what there is everywhere in America for saving, or at least for propping up, the situation, that particular look of the clear course and large opportunity ahead, which, when taken in conjunction with all the will to live, all the money to spend, all the knowledge to acquire and apply, seems to marshal the material possibilities in glittering illimitable ranks. Beacon Street, moreover, used to stretch back like a workable telescope for the focussing, at its higher extremity, in an air of which the positive defect is to be too seldom prejudicial, of the gilded dome of the State

House fresh as a Christmas toy seen across the floor of a large salubrious nursery. This made a civic vignette that furnished a little the desert of cheerful family life. But Marlborough Street, for imperturbable reasons of its own, used, periodically, to break my heart. It was of no use to make a vow of hanging about till I should have sounded my mystery—learned to say *why* black, stale Harley Street, for instance, in featureless row after row, had character and depth, while what was before me fell upon my sense with the thinness of tone of a precocious child—and still more why this latter effect should have been, as it were, so insistently irritating. If there be strange ways of producing an interest, to the critical mind, there are doubtless still stranger ways of not producing one, and it was important to me, no doubt, to make "my" defunct and compact and expressive little Boston appear to don all the signs of that character that the New Land, and what is built thereon, miss. How could one consider the place at all unless in a light?—so that one had to decide definitely on one's light.

This it was, after all, easy to do from the moment one had determined to concede to the New Land the fact of possession of everything convenient and handsome under heaven. Peace could always come with this recognition of all the accessories and equipments, a hundred costly things, parks and palaces and institutions, that the earlier community had lacked; and there was an individual connection—only one, presently to be noted—in which the actual city might seem for an hour to have no capacity for the uplifting *idea,* no aptitude for the finer curiosity, to envy the past. But, meanwhile, it was strange that even so fine a conception, finely embodied, as the new Public Library, magnificently superseding all others, was committed to speak to one's inner perception still more of the power of the purse, and of the higher turn for business than of the old intellectual, or even of the old moral, sensibility. Why else, then, should one have thought of some single, some admirable, hour of Emerson, in one of the dusky, primitive lecture-halls that have ceased to be, or of some large insuperable antislavery eloquence of Wendell Phillips's, during the same term and especially during the War, as breathing more of the consciousness of literature and of history than all the promiscuous bustle of the Florentine palace by Copley Square? Not that this latter edifice, the fruit of immense considerations,

has not its honorable interest too; which it would have if only in the light of the constant truth that almost any American application or practice of a general thought puts on a new and original aspect. Public libraries are a thoroughly general thought, and one has seen plenty of them, one is seeing dreadfully many, in these very days, the world over; yet to be confronted with an American example is to have sight straightway of more difference than community, and to glean on the spot fresh evidence of that democratic way of dealing which it has been the American office to translate from an academic phrase into a bristling fact. The notes of difference of the Florentine palace by Copley Square —more delicately elegant, in truth, if less sublimely rugged, than most Florentine palaces—resolve themselves, like so many such notes everywhere, into our impression here, once more, that every one is "in" everything, whereas in Europe so comparatively few persons are in anything (even as yet in society, more and more the common refuge or retreat of the masses).

The Boston institution, then, is a great and complete institution, with this reserve of its striking the restored absentee as practically without *penetralia*. A library without *penetralia* may affect him but as a temple without altars; it will, at any rate, exemplify the distinction between a benefit given and a benefit taken, a borrowed, a lent, and an owned, an appropriated, convenience. The British Museum, the Louvre, the Bibliothèque Nationale, the treasures of South Kensington, are assuredly, under forms, at the disposal of the people; but it is to be observed, I think, that the people walk there more or less under the shadow of the right waited for and conceded. It remains as difficult as it is always interesting, however, to trace the detail (much of it obvious enough, but much more indefinable) of the personal port of a democracy that, unlike the English, is social as well as political. One of these denotements is that social democracies are unfriendly to the preservation of *penetralia;* so that when *penetralia* are of the essence, as in a place of study and meditation, they inevitably go to the wall. The main staircase in Boston, has, with its amplitude of wing and its splendor of tawny marble, a high and luxurious beauty—bribing the restored absentee to emotion, moreover, by expanding, monumentally, at one of its rests, into admirable commemoration of the Civil War service of the two great Massachusetts Volunteer regiments

of *élite*. Such visions, such felicities, such couchant lions and recorded names and stirred memories as these, encountered in the early autumn twilight, color an impression—even though to say so be the limit of breach of the silence in which, for persons of the generation of the author of these pages, appreciation of them can best take refuge: the refuge to which I felt myself anon reduced, for instance, opposite the State House, in presence of Saint-Gaudens's noble and exquisite monument to Robert Gould Shaw and the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts. There are works of memorial art that may suddenly place themselves, by their operation in a given case, outside articulate criticism—which was what happened, I found, in respect to the main feature, the rich staircase of the Library. Another way in which the bribe, as I have called it, of that masterpiece worked on the spot was by prompting one to immediate charmed perception of the character of the deep court and inner arcade of the palace, where a wealth of science and taste has gone to producing a sense, when the afternoon light sadly slants, of one of the myriad gold-colored courts of the Vatican.

These are the refinements of the present Boston—keeping company as they can with the healthy animation, as it struck me, of the rest of the building; the multitudinous bustle, the coming and going, as in a railway-station, of persons with carpet-bags and other luggage, the simplicity of plan, the open doors and immediate accesses, admirable *for* a railway-station, the ubiquitous children, *most* irrepressible little democrats of the democracy, the vain quest, above all, of the deeper depths aforesaid, some part that should be sufficiently *within* some other part, sufficiently withdrawn and consecrated, not to constitute a thoroughfare. Perhaps I didn't adequately explore; but there was always the visible scale and scheme of the building. It was a shock to find the so brave decorative designs of Puvis de Chavannes, of Sargent and Abbey and John Elliott, hanging over mere chambers of familiarity and resonance; and then, I must quickly add, it was a shock still greater perhaps to find one had no good reason for defending them against such freedoms. What was sauce for the goose was sauce for the gander: had one not in other words, in the public places and under the great loggias of Italy, acclaimed it as just the charm and dignity of these resorts that, in their pictured and embroidered state, they still serve for the graceful

common life? It was true that one had not been imprisoned in that consistency in the Laurentian, in the Ambrosian Library—and at any rate one was here on the edge of abysses. Was it not splendid, for example, to see, in Boston, such large provision made for the amusement of children on rainy afternoons?—so many little heads bent over their story-books that the edifice took on at moments the appearance worn, one was to observe later on, by most other American edifices of the same character, that of a lively distributing-house of the new fiction for the young. The note was bewildering—yet, would one, snatching the bread-and-molasses from their lips, cruelly deprive the young of rights in which they have been installed with a majesty nowhere else approaching that of their American installation? I am not wrong, probably, at all events, in qualifying such a question as that as abysmal, and I remember how, more than once, I took refuge from it in craven flight, straight across the Square, to the already so interesting, the so rapidly expanding, Art Museum.

There, for some reason, questions exquisitely dropped; perhaps only for the reason that things sifted and selected have, very visibly, the effect of challenging the confidence even of the rash. It is of the nature of objects doomed to show distinction to make more or less of a desert round them, and peace reigned unbroken, I usually found, in the two or three Museum rooms that harbor a small but deeply interesting and steadily growing collection of fragments of the antique. Here the restless analyst found work to his hand—only too much; and indeed in presence of the gem of the series, of the perhaps just too conscious grace of a certain little wasted and dim-eyed head of Aphrodite, he felt that his function should simply give way, in common decency, to that of the sonneteer. For it is an impression by itself, and I think quite worth the Atlantic voyage, to catch in the American light the very fact of the genius of Greece. There are things we don't know, feelings not to be foretold, till we have had that experience—which I commend to the *raffiné* of almost any other clime. I should say to him that he has not *seen* a fine Greek thing till he has seen it in America. It is, of course, on the face of it, the *most* merciless case of transplanting—the mere moral of which, none the less, for application, becomes by no means flagrant. The little Aphrodite, with her connections, her antecedents and references exhibiting the maximum of breakage, is

no doubt as *lonely* a jewel as ever strayed out of its setting; yet, what does one quickly recognize but that the intrinsic lustre will have, so far as that may be possible, doubled. She has lost her background, the divine creature—has lost her company, and is keeping, in a manner, the strangest; but so far from having lost an iota of her power, she has gained unspeakably more, since what she essentially stands for she here stands for alone, rising ineffably to the occasion. She has in short, by her single presence, as yet, annexed an empire, and there are strange glimmers of moments when, as I have spoken of her consciousness, the very knowledge of this seems to lurk in the depth of her beauty. Where was she ever more, where was she ever so much, a goddess —and who knows but that, being thus divine, she foresees the time when, as she has "moved over," the place of her actual whereabouts will have become one of her shrines? Objects doomed to distinction make round them a desert, I have said; but that is only for any gross confidence in other matters. For confidence in *them* they make a garden, and that is why I felt this quarter of the Boston Art Museum bloom, under the indescribable dim eyes, with delicate flowers. The impression swallowed up every other; the place, whatever it was, was supremely justified, and I was left cold by learning that a much bigger and grander and richer place is presently to overtop it.

The present establishment "dates back," back almost to the good Boston of the middle years, and is full of all sorts of accumulated and concentrated pleasantness; which fact precisely gives the signal, by the terrible American law, for its coming to an end and giving a chance to the untried. It is a consistent application of the rotary system—the untried always awaiting its turn, and quite perceptibly stamping and snorting while it waits; all heedless as it is, poor innocent untried, of the certain hour of the impatiences before which it too will have to topple. It is not, indeed, that the American laws, so operating, have not almost always their own queer interest; founded as they are, all together, on one of the strongest of the native impulses. We see this characteristic again and again at play, see it in especial wherever we see (which is more than frequently enough), a University or a College "started" or amplified. This process almost always takes the form, primarily, of more lands and houses and halls and rooms, more swimming-baths and football-fields and

gymnasia, a greater luxury of brick and mortar, a greater ingenuity, the most artful conceivable, of accommodation and installation. Such is the magic, such the presences, that tend more than any other, to figure *as* the institution, thereby perverting not a little, as need scarce be remarked, the finer collegiate idea: the theory being, doubtless, and again most characteristically, that with all the wrought stone and oak and painted glass, the immense provision, the multiplied marbles and tiles and cloisters and acres, "people will come,"—that is, individuals of value will—and in some manner work some miracle. In the early American time, doubtless, individuals of value had to wait too much for things; but that is now made up by the way things are waiting for individuals of value. To which I must immediately add, however—and it is the ground of my allusion of a moment ago—that no impression of the "new" Boston can feel itself hang together without remembrance of what it owes to that rare exhibition of the living spirit lately achieved, in the interest of the fine arts, and of all that is noblest in them, by the unaided and quite heroic genius of a private citizen. To attempt to tell the story of the wonderfully gathered and splendidly lodged Gardner Collection would be to displace a little the line that separates private from public property; and yet to find no discreet word for it is to appear to fail of feeling for the complexity of conditions amid which so undaunted a devotion to a great idea (undaunted by the battle to fight, losing alas! with State Protection of native art, and with other scarce less uncanny things) has been able consummately to flower. It is in presence of the results magnificently attained, the energy triumphant over everything, that one feels the fine old disinterested tradition of Boston least broken.

HENRY JAMES.

# THE PROPOSED REORGANIZATION OF THE AMERICAN CONSULAR SERVICE.

BY FRANCIS B. LOOMIS, FORMERLY THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE.

In spite of opposition in Congress, sometimes frankly emphatic and at all times sufficiently effective, sentiment favorable to the reorganization of the United States Consular Service has grown substantially within the last decade and found widespread, though spasmodic and unsystematic, expression. To-day, every Board of Trade, Chamber of Commerce and other commercial and industrial association directly or remotely interested in the growth of the foreign commerce of the United States is demanding the improvement and the strengthening of our Consular Service. For nearly half a century, there has been persistent lack of legislation looking to the systematic development and increased usefulness of that Service.

During these long years of neglect, the whole scheme of international commerce and interoceanic communication has been transformed. Portions of the laws of the United States relative to the Consular Service have been made obsolete by the advent of rapid communication afforded by steam-railways, steamships and ocean cables. Consulates in various parts of the world, which thirty-five or forty years ago were of salient importance, have, owing to the decadence of our merchant marine, ceased to be places worth considering; while many other posts, which either did not exist, or were of scant consequence, have, by reason of changed conditions, or variations in the current of international trade, assumed great importance, and now require for their proper administration a high order of ability and liberal maintenance.

I.

The Consular Service has been one of the most notable of governmental derelicts. It is understood in commercial circles, and has been for a considerable time, that our Consular Service is not all it ought to be, and many well-meant suggestions have been communicated to the Department of State, some of which may ultimately be embodied in a definite and systematic plan of reform. Almost every one is aware of the obvious defects in our Consular system, but very few persons seem to know how difficult it is to correct obvious and admitted evils, when their eradication means the destruction of an existing system and the substitution of something substantially new in its stead.

It must not be supposed that the Consular system as now organized is wholly inadequate, or that it is not responsive in a considerable degree to the growing needs and opportunities of this country in the markets of the world. Those who have had occasion to study at first hand, and from the vantage-point of official station, the operation of our Consular system during the last twelve or fourteen years find a steady and encouraging improvement in the character and ability of the personnel, and in the quality of the work performed.

Mr. Blaine made an earnest endeavor to secure the appointment of well-equipped men to the Consular Corps, and Mr. Cleveland rendered a conspicuous service when he issued his order providing that applicants for Consular positions, the compensations of which are not less than one thousand dollars nor more than twenty-five hundred dollars a year, should be examined as to their fitness. Persons already in the service, those who had been in it or who were in the service of the Department of State in Washington, were exempted from these examinations. Within a few weeks, President Roosevelt has extended the scope of Mr. Cleveland's order, and now all candidates for appointment to a Consular position, the annual compensation of which exceeds one thousand dollars, must submit to examination.

It is the purpose of Secretary Root to make the examinations more searching, and to alter the system of marking in order distinctly to add to its effectiveness. No considerable change in the character or scope of the examination is contemplated. These examinations are designed to be practical tests of fitness. When a candidate for appointment has been designated for

examination by the President, he is furnished with a volume of the Consular Regulations; and, after he has had ample time to study them, he is required to answer a number of sensible questions respecting the official duties of Consular officers. The applicant is also required to know something of Geography, Commercial History, and to have information concerning the business character of the post for which he has been designated. He is expected, also, to have some knowledge of his own Government, and to be able to explain the functions and workings of its various branches.

Eventually, candidates for appointment to the Consular Service will be required to speak at least one foreign language. If the service is put upon a permanent basis and men enter it with the expectation of making it a career, they ought in the beginning to know Spanish and French. The candidate's personal appearance and address and his manner of speech are also considered in making up the estimate of his fitness; and, if the examinations served no other good purpose, they would afford opportunity to see the applicant and enable one to judge by personal observation what sort of an official he would be likely to make. It has sometimes happened that Consuls have been appointed and gone to their posts without calling upon the President, the Secretary of State or any of the latter's assistants. Indeed, a few Consuls were never seen by any one in authority until they had returned to this country from their posts, and I have heard Presidents state with unmistakable emphasis that, had they seen such and such a Consul prior to his appointment, he would never have been commissioned.

II.

President Roosevelt's important order of November 10th also applies to one branch of the Diplomatic Service. Henceforth, candidates for appointment as Secretary of Embassy or of Legation will be required to pass a special Departmental examination. Neither this examination nor the one required of applicants for appointment to the Consular Service is competitive. Candidates who wish to enter the Diplomatic Service in the capacity of Secretary of Embassy or of Legation will be required to speak one foreign language. That is, it will be expected of them to know either French or the language of the country to which they

are likely to be sent. In addition to this, they will be examined in the elements of international law and in diplomatic usage.

The result of the examination of the candidates for Consular appointments has been excellent. As I have said, the standard of ability and the character of the personnel have been raised. A considerable number of applicants have been rejected, and those who have passed with credit, when commissioned, have gone to their posts with a much more definite knowledge of the work expected of them than was often the case in the days before Mr. Cleveland's order was issued. These fine results will be strongly augmented by the President's recent extension of that order.

During President Roosevelt's incumbency, the Consular Service has been severely and systematically purged. Great care has been exercised, so far as the appointing power is concerned, in the selection of new officials. Not only has the President dismissed dishonest men wherever he has found them, but he has removed a number of men who, as he graphically phrases it, were "simply marking time"—officials who were incompetent, careless about their duties and responsibilities, or indifferent to them. Every vacancy that has occurred since Mr. Roosevelt became President has been filled, so far as was practicable, by promoting deserving men already in the Service, and such promotions have been made, generally speaking, without reference to politics or political influence. Not half a dozen removals solely for political reasons have been made in the Consular Service within the last four years. The first consideration with the President and Department of State is the man's merit, his worth and his fitness for the particular vacancy for which he is being considered. Mr. Hay, by reason of his ripe experience and his wide acquaintance abroad and in this country, was able to improve the personnel of the Service, and he was particularly felicitous in putting "the right man in the right place."

No man fought more persistently and valiantly to lift the Consular Service from the plane of partisan politics than Mr. Hay, and no man accomplished more in this field of patriotic endeavor than did he. His successor, Mr. Root, with all the strength of his keen and luminous mind, has taken up the work at the advanced point where Mr. Hay laid it down, and already his influence has made itself felt to the great advantage of the whole American foreign service.

III.

The Consular Service of the United States is not without great respectability and merit. The unusual responsibility thrown upon our Consular officers, many of whom were quite inexperienced men, during the war with Spain, and which was met in a manful and efficient way proved this. The American Consuls rendered valuable service to the military and naval arms of the Government during the period of hostilities; so much so, indeed, that the late President McKinley, who had appointed the great majority of them, was deeply gratified at their manifestation of resourcefulness and patriotism. The grievous faults of our Consular Service are faults of the system rather than of the men who fill the posts under it.

Few specific and well-grounded charges of incompetency or of ill-doing on the part of Consular officers are filed with the Department of State. Every complaint that seems to have a reasonable degree of substance is promptly considered, but the Department's means for investigation are often inadequate, in that we have no Inspectors, who can be called upon to investigate remote Consuls and make a report respecting the conduct of the official and his office. Recently, the Department of State has been compelled to have a naval vessel from Manila go to a Consulate in one of the Pacific Islands to investigate a Consular officer. The case was urgent, and fortunately there was a vessel in commission which was free for a short period and could make the desired journey. The Department of State has been much assisted in its surveillance of the Consular Corps by the reports of Naval officers, whose observations are generally both just and informing.

But one of the most vital and immediate needs of the Consular Service is adequate provision for regular and thorough inspection. The Secretary of State feels the urgency of this demand and has asked Congress to make an appropriation for the payment of salaries to five Inspectors, who are to be called Consuls-General at large. It would be entirely useless, however, to appoint Inspectors, unless they can be liberally paid. It will be of no advantage to the Government to send out men of mediocre talent and slender equipment for this duty. Inspectors should be men of uncommon intelligence and of wide experience in Consular or Treasury Customs work. Congress cannot afford

to employ cheap men for this service. It would be quite as well to make no appropriation unless the appropriation can be made upon a liberal and enlightened basis. The work will be arduous, responsible, and always important. The men who perform it ought to be men who reach a mental and moral standard equal to that expected of United States District and Circuit Judges. They ought to be as well paid as any official in the Consular Service. If Congress does nothing else for the improvement and uplifting of the Consular Service this session, it ought, at least, to comply with the recommendation of the Secretary of State for an appropriation that will enable him to secure the appointment of the kind of inspectors he desires. It goes without saying that these appointments should be left unreservedly to the discretion of the President and the Secretary of State, and that no political or other extraneous influence should be brought to bear in connection with them.

It is to be regretted that it is still the practice of some writers and speakers, as well as of some travellers and business men, to make sweeping denunciations of the Consular Service. We still hear it loosely asserted that "American Consuls are ignorant, often drunken, and not infrequently dishonest, that they no sooner learn their duties than they are straightway dismissed to make room for political heelers." This may fairly be said to be the gist and style of the current and careless criticism of our Consular Service. Most of the people who indulge in this violent and indiscriminate denunciation are ill informed regarding our service, or else they are mere lovers of sensation who have a fancy for making shocking statements. When people of this class attack the Consular Service in an unrestrained way they are not only guilty of bad taste, but also deficient in patriotism.

I once read a letter, written in solemn vein, to the editor of a New York newspaper, by an American woman who had recently returned from Europe, and who, while there, thought that she had not been quite well treated by one of our Consuls, who held a fifteen-hundred-dollar post in a small, unattractive and insalubrious city. She complained bitterly of the Consul, and observed that he was not a polished gentleman, and that he was lacking in *savoir-faire*. She closed her letter with what she deemed a pertinent inquiry: "Why cannot all of our Consular

positions be filled by men of the Sir Julian Pauncefote type?"

This is a sample of a good deal of the criticism and comment concerning the Consular Corps which reaches the Department of State. I am sure no one regrets more keenly than the appointing power at Washington that the visible supply of men of the Sir Julian Pauncefote type is forever greatly exceeded by the demand. It might, also, occur to the lady who made the inquiry referred to that men who are fit to be ambassadors cannot usually be employed for fifteen hundred dollars a year.

Under the present faulty system, some undesirable men get into the Service,—men whose presence abroad is a source of humiliation and discomfort to those of their fellow countrymen who happen to meet them. Such men, I am glad to say, are the exception and not the rule, and it is no secret that it is the earnest desire of the Administration to remove officials of this type whenever proper information concerning them is brought to the attention of the Department of State. The President wants our Consular officers, as well as our Diplomatic officers, to be representative of the best breeding and good feeling of the country, and he thinks that it would be much easier to secure men of this desirable type were Congress to reorganize the Consular establishment and place it upon a more permanent basis.

## IV.

To meet the growing demand of the business interests of this country for a steady and systematic enlargement of its export commerce, a properly organized Consular Corps could render services of inestimable value. On account of the difficult and laborious work of authenticating or "legalizing" invoices of goods that are to be exported to the United States, American Consular officers are required to meet responsibilities and conditions more difficult and more varied than are the Consular officers of any other foreign service. It is not overstating the case to say that annually more than $2,500,000 is added to the revenue of the United States in customs duties, by reason of the watchfulness and conscientious performance of duty on the part of Consular officers, who discover undervaluation in the invoices of goods for exportation to this country, and who by

their alertness and special knowledge cause prices to be advanced and largely increased duties to be collected.

Not only are Consuls expected to have a knowledge of the market values of the foreign products which are likely to come to this country, but each Consul is required to report every opportunity in his district for the extension of the American export trade. He is also expected carefully to observe the industries, the manufacturing and other industrial enterprises in the section of the foreign country in which he lives, and to report concisely and lucidly the important innovations, experiments and inventions which may be of interest or significance to his own countrymen. He is also asked to collect a great deal of statistical information, and to give regular and frequent reports concerning sanitary conditions.

In addition to these duties, if he is at a seaport, he is charged with the protection of American seamen, and incidentally is preyed upon by American tramps of all descriptions, and compelled to make large charitable donations from his own pocket. The Government, in its infinite goodness and mercy, makes no provision whatsoever for the assistance of suffering or stranded Americans abroad other than seamen.

A high degree of usefulness in the Consular Service requires not only experience, but natural aptitude. It requires the trained discernment which recognizes promptly and accurately important events, and, above all, requires industry, together with a patriotic conception of duty which impels an officer to remain faithfully at his post and work. "These are qualities of temperament and character, the presence or absence of which no formal examination, however useful in other respects, can with certainty reveal."

One of the questions most frequently asked by members of that considerable body of men who are working earnestly, and with every promise of success, for the improvement of the Consular Service is, "Who make the best Consuls? From what class of men have our most successful Consuls come?" The question, owing to the fact that there is no formal efficiency record, is difficult to answer. One may throw some light on this phase of the subject, however, by restating what the most experienced Consular officer in the United States Service once wrote to a friend who asked these same questions. The officer

answered by a process of elimination, and pointed out the following persons, who, experience has shown, are least likely to rise to efficiency and usefulness in the Consular Service. They are:

1. Young men who go abroad with the intention of using their Consular position as a convenience while they complete their education, as artists, lawyers, physicians, or architects, by study and attendance at lectures in some neighboring art school, polytechnic institute or university.

2. Aged professional men, who seek Consular appointments to obtain rest from their work as lawyers, clergymen and physicians, for which alone they were qualified by early education and mature experience.

3. Invalids, who choose a special Consulate on account of its benign climate or proximity to a desirable physician, health resort or sanitarium.

4. Men with families who wish to reside abroad for the education of their children.

5. Men who have special business interests in Consular districts to which they ask to be assigned, in order that they may have the support and influence of a Consular position while working for their own profit and interest.

6. Young men of unformed character and dissolute, idle habits, whose families seek to place them in public positions abroad, in order to escape the responsibility and embarrassment of their presence at home.

7. Men who are so confident of having earned Consular preferment by political services that they will treat their four years of residence abroad as the simple discharge of a debt by the United States Government.

It is too often stated, at least interrogatively, that the ideal Consul is to be found in the ranks of our business men. Perhaps this would be true, were we dealing with ideals; but, as a matter of fact, men who possess the requisite qualities to make successful careers in commerce or industry cannot often be spared from these fields of activity. Experienced business men do not find Consulates carrying a compensation of twenty-five hundred dollars a year attractive or satisfactory. The so-called business men who seek Consular positions are as a rule (there are some happy exceptions) men who have met with

little or no success in business, or men who have grown old in one form of commercial activity, and who, as a consequence, are narrow, and perform their duties in a perfunctory and unintelligent manner. Experience shows clearly that business men thrust into the Consular Service without previous knowledge of the work, and after passing middle life, too often make inefficient officers. A man who has spent forty or fifty years buying and selling fish or nails is not necessarily, because he has done this work with profit to himself, just the person to make a desirable Consul-General at Cairo, Havana or Hongkong.

Patient study of our Consular Corps for the last twelve or fourteen years shows that, on the whole, a larger number of successful Consuls have come from the ranks of Journalism than from any other class or vocation. Self-respecting, active newspaper men almost invariably make efficient Consuls. They are trained observers; they know how to describe concisely what they see; and their reports are informing and clear. They are likely to understand the art of getting on pleasantly with foreign officials, and are intelligent, intensely patriotic, have a saving sense of humor, and do not often yield to the temptation of boasting of their own country and its achievements.

The Army and Navy have contributed some excellent officials to the Consular Service, as have all of the learned professions. It is a distinct advantage for a Consul to have had some active experience in professional or business life prior to entering the foreign service. One of the greatest advantages which American Consular officers have over foreign Consuls is that they have touched life at many points before entering the employment of the Government.

European Consular officers are trained for the service and make a career of it, but often the very fact that they are so trained isolates them and keeps them apart from their fellow countrymen, or rather from acquiring intimate and accurate knowledge of what those fellow countrymen are thinking and doing. The young man who begins to be a Consul at twenty or twenty-two years of age, and who steps from his college into a Consulate, may eventually be an official of great value to his country, but the chances are that he will be a long while in the making.

In this connection, consideration of the all-important ques-

tion of tenure or length of term for Consular officers suggests itself. In the well-established and highly organized Consular establishments appertaining to various European Governments, the Consul is in effect appointed for life. He is expected to serve for a long period—forty or fifty years, perhaps. Then he is retired on half or three-quarters pay. But, manifestly, this plan has its disadvantages, as well as its advantages. It is found that the tendency of life tenure is to make a man easily satisfied, to stifle ambition, and to bring about an accumulation of "dead timber" in the service.

American Consuls are said to be more alert, more observing, and more usefully industrious than many of their foreign colleagues. This is not merely my own assertion, but one that has been made many times in foreign trade journals and in national legislative assemblies at various European capitals. It may surprise many of the critics of our Consular Service to know that serious-minded foreign students of the subject often point to it as a model of efficiency, and that they never fail to proclaim the excellence of the reports written by American Consular officers.

The frequent changes in office bring to the service new men with new points of view, fresh enthusiasm and an insatiable desire for work. The best of them want to make so excellent a record in four years that the welfare of the service may seem imperatively to demand their retention; and this effect of the present system unfolds one of the most unfortunate and pathetic features of our service. It is much to be deplored, when a Consul has striven earnestly and well for a number of years and has given during that period the very best there is in him, losing no opportunity to make himself valuable to his country, that, without a single word of warning he should be, for political reasons, superseded by a new official. This little tragedy has occurred hundreds of times, but it is gratifying to state that during the last four years its enactment has conspicuously decreased

Consuls should be kept in office as long as they render good service and are in every way satisfactory. If they serve the country well for forty years, they ought to be retired on half pay. But, whether they enter the service through the designation by the President, or through the medium of a competitive examination, the way for their prompt retirement for such

causes as inefficiency, dishonesty or carelessness should be made easy and kept unobstructed.

A system of promotion should be established; and officers who do not reach a specified grade by the time they have attained a certain age should be dropped from the service, as should all those whose efficiency record falls below a fixed standard of excellence. If some such plan as this could be adopted, a current of promotion could be maintained, and there would be a constant influx of fresh blood.

V.

There are hopeful indications from many sources that legislative action providing for important changes in our Consular Service will be shortly forthcoming. It is important, therefore, at this time, to understand correctly the main facts affecting our Consular Service, and to know something about actual conditions. It is agreed by those who have been studying the matter from points of vantage for many years, and with a knowledge of what is practicable and what is impracticable, and who understand the grave difficulties in the way of securing legislation calculated radically to change existing conditions and ultimately to take the Consular Service out of politics, that it is better and wiser to ask at the present time for what we may reasonably expect to obtain, instead of wasting energy and time in crying for the moon and demanding immediate, radical and revolutionary reorganization of the whole foreign service. Therefore, Senator Lodge's excellent bill has been revised from time to time, until now it asks but two vitally essential things, namely: the grading of the Consular Service, and the establishing of salaries to correspond with the various grades.

The grading of the Consular Service means the establishment of a number of classes, so that in future a man will be appointed to a grade or class, and not to a particular post, as is now the case. In the army a man is appointed to be a Second Lieutenant, not a Second Lieutenant at Fort Sheridan or at Fort Thomas. Hereafter, it is of the first importance that Consuls should be appointed to a class or grade, and that the President should have the power to assign them to any post of duty embraced within the grade to which they have been designated or commissioned. Also, the aim is to classify Consulates according

to their importance and compensation. There can be no real improvement in the Consular Service unless the President and Secretary of State be given the power to move Consuls about in order to use men where they can be employed to the best advantage. This is the second important point in the Lodge Bill.

I agree entirely in principle with the objects sought to be attained by the Lodge Bill, but I would like to see more liberal allowances made in the way of compensations than is provided for in the bill recently introduced by Senator Lodge. Should this bill become a law, the salaries provided by it would represent the Consul's sole source of official income, because all fees would be swept away, so far as the Consul is concerned, and turned over to the Government. The Consul's salary will be his only source of official income. It is a matter of the utmost difficulty to have official salaries increased; and, if the salaries of the Consuls are presently to be readjusted, it is probable that they will remain as fixed for at least a quarter of a century, and possibly longer. Many of the Consular salaries paid to-day were established in 1856, when the necessary expenses of living in Continental Europe were not more than one-third as great as they are at present.

The country can afford to pay its Consuls well, and public sentiment in the United States is heartily in favor of liberal treatment of Consular officers by the Government. The one hundred and twenty thousand Americans who visit Europe annually expect to find their Consular representative a man whose mode of living, whose ability, whose character and whose standing are such as to command the respect of the community in which he resides, and they have a right to expect that he will be a source of pride to his visiting fellow countrymen. The American who goes abroad wants his Consular representative to live in a manner in keeping with the dignity of the potent and opulent nation which he represents. Not only for these reasons can the Government afford to pay its Consular officers well, but it can afford the outlay, for the reason that the service is almost a self-sustaining one.

Last year the net cost of the Consular Service to the Government was only $144,152. United States Consular officers collected and paid into the Treasury $1,188,383. The difference between this sum and the cost of the maintenance of the Con-

sular Service was the figures first quoted. About a million dollars is collected annually by the United States Consular officers for authenticating invoices. The charge for this service is $2 50. There is no reason why the fee for this service should not be increased. If it were $3 50, the Consular Service would pay a large profit to the Government.

Probably a graduated scale of charges based upon the amount of the invoice to be authenticated should be established. This could be so arranged that it would be more just to foreign shippers than the present undeviating rate, and it might be made to augment the income of this Government to such an extent that the Consular salaries could be increased one hundred per cent. without adding a cent to our burden of taxation. At present, the foreign producer who sends a shipment of goods to the United States valued at $200 pays just the same amount for having his invoices legalized as does the shipper who sends goods to the value of $200,000.

Increasing the fee for legalizing invoices to such an extent that the salaries of Consuls could be doubled without increasing the burden upon the Treasury of the United States could be done without working hardship to any one, and probably it would evoke nothing more than a perfunctory protest from some of the foreigners who have large connections in this country.

In the matter of compensation, the Lodge Bill provides for two Consuls-General of the first class at $12,000 a year; for six of the second class, at $8,000 a year; for eight of the third class, at $6,000 a year; for nine of the fourth class, at $5,500 a year; for fourteen of the fifth class, at $4,500 a year; for eight of the sixth class, at $3,500 a year, and four of the seventh class at $3,000 a year; and it also provides for the payment of Consuls by salaries ranging downward from one of the first class, at $8,000 a year, to $1,000 a year in the lowest class.

The salaries proposed for the Consuls-General and for the Consuls of the higher classes are not sufficient. As a plain business proposition, the men who fill these positions should be more liberally compensated. Let us consider an example. The Consul-General at Paris receives a salary of $5,000 a year; the unofficial fees which he receives, being permitted by law to keep and appropriate to his own use, amount to $9,000 or $10,000 a year. If these fees are cut off and appropriated by the Government, it seems only

just that the Consular officer should receive a salary that would be a fair compensating equivalent. The duties of the Consuls-General at Paris and at London, Shanghai and Berlin are very onerous, their responsibilities grave and unintermittent. The Consuls-General at Paris and London might very well be paid $15,000 a year. It is of the greatest importance to have high-class men; and men of ability and experience, who would be fully equal to the demands of these posts, ought not to be asked to serve abroad for a smaller compensation than $15,000 a year.

The Consuls-General at Shanghai and Berlin should be paid at least $12,000 a year. The post at Shanghai is more important to us commercially than any ten-thousand-dollar diplomatic mission which we maintain. The cost of living is very high and the demands upon the Consul-General are diverse and frequent. He has not only to be acquainted with Consular work, but to know about business, industrial and shipping matters, and, in addition to that, he must hold court and exercise judicial functions.

The Consuls-General of the second-class posts should not, in my opinion, receive less than $10,000 a year, and there are ten posts the incumbents of which should be entitled to payment at this rate. The Consular officers at the following posts ought, I think, by reason of the quality and quantity of work which they are called upon to perform, receive $10,000 a year; Havana, Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Ayres, Valparaiso, Vienna, Rome, St. Petersburg (this office should be transferred to Moscow), Calcutta, Hongkong and Canton. Ten Consuls-General of the third class ought to be compensated at the rate of $8,000 a year; fifteen of the fourth class, at $5,500 a year; fourteen of the fifth class, at $4,500 a year; not more than seven of the sixth class, at $4,000 a year.

The Lodge Bill, as introduced, provided that no applicant under the age of twenty-one years, or over the age of forty-five years, shall be designated for appointment to the Consular Service. That was one of the wise provisions of a carefully considered measure, and one that will make for the good of the service.

It is not only desirable that the President should be empowered to move Consuls about, to respond to the highest need and welfare of the service, but he should also be authorized to summon them to Washington for service in this country from time to time. It is of the first importance

that our Consular officers should be thoroughly, vividly and vitally in touch with commercial life in this country. It often happens that a Consul at a particular post possesses a great deal of important and timely information about some current question, so that it would be much to the advantage of the Secretary of State to have him for a short time in Washington in order to consult with him. Under the present system, the Consul may not be called home for any purpose unless he chooses to come at his own expense.

The Government of the United States does not pay the travelling expenses of any of its officials in the foreign service. A man may be sent to a post seven thousand miles distant, the compensation of which does not exceed $1,500 a year, but he is, nevertheless, compelled to pay all his expenses to and from the post. In every other Department of Government work, a man who travels upon official business is paid the necessary expenses. Why an exception has been made to the disadvantage of the underpaid foreign service, it is impossible to ascertain.

Not only is it most essential for the Department to send for Consuls to consult with them at various times, but it is highly advantageous for the Consul to spend a few weeks from time to time in Washington. He could, also, be used to very great advantage if he were allowed to spend three months in the United States, once in two or three years, for the purpose of lecturing before trade organizations upon practical questions connected with our foreign commerce, suggested to him by his own experience abroad.

At present, I believe, no Consul of the United States, commissioned by the President, is a foreigner. A large number of Vice-Consuls and a considerable number of Consular Agents are not American citizens. It is the policy of the Department of State, whenever it is practicable to do so, to substitute American citizens for foreigners who are filling the posts of Consular Agents. If Congress would make an appropriation for the payment of Vice-Consuls, then the Government could require all these officials to be Americans. Under the present system, the Consul has to pay the Vice-Consul from his own pocket, and in a majority of cases the pay is so small that an American could not afford to leave this country and go abroad for the sake of earning it.

There is now being developed in the Department of State a plan for arriving at some reasonable estimate of the efficiency of

each Consular officer. A system has been devised which will enable the Secretary of State to learn at a glance all that any formal record can show respecting a man's capacity, fitness, character and adaptability for his work and for the particular post he holds. This efficiency record is to be most carefully and systematically kept, and when it has been developed and improved by experience it will be one of the most useful instruments for the improvement of the service that have yet been devised.

In order to give additional value to the efficiency record which Secretary Root is striving so earnestly to create, it will be incumbent upon Congress to provide for the corps of Consular Inspectors, referred to, for it is not possible to arrive at a just and comprehensive estimate of the work, character and capacity of a Consular officer, if such estimate has to rest wholly upon the written records of his work and upon the perusal of his formal communications to the Department of State.

The efficiency of Consular officials cannot be fully and fairly determined through the medium of official reports, unless some substantial change in the organization of the system is authorized by Congress. There are at present about sixty Consuls-General in the service. It ought to be the duty of a Consul-General frequently to inspect Consular offices under his jurisdiction, and to make intelligent and discriminating reports concerning the conduct of every office he visits.

Under the present system the official connection between the Consuls-General and the Consular officers of lower grade is of a loose, perfunctory and formal character. Very often the Consul-General does not know the Consuls in his jurisdiction, and never visits them officially. One reason for this is that the Consuls-General in the larger cities, under the present organization, are so occupied with the duties of their own offices that they have little time for travel and inspection. Another reason is that there are no funds provided to enable them to do this much-needed work. The value of these visits, as the service is now organized, might in many cases be open to grave conjecture. It has frequently happened that men without any experience whatever are made Consuls-General, and it could hardly be expected that an official of this sort who does not know the rudiments of Consular bookkeeping would make a competent Inspector. When the service is properly organized, a man will not reach the grade

of Consul-General until he has served a good many years in a subordinate capacity, and when he is appointed Consul-General it will be fair to assume that he is fitted for that office.

The Lodge Bill has been reported to and passed by the Senate in an amended form. The most important of the amendments made by the Committee before reporting the bill to the Senate are those which strike out the sections providing for a system of promotion in the Consular Service, and the sections relating to the age of appointees, and their examination for admission to the service. It is earnestly to be hoped that when the House debates this bill the wisdom of restoring at least the former of these provisions will be demonstrated. There should be a carefully worked out and ordered plan of promotion. The clause placing limitations upon the age of appointees to the Consular Service should be restored to the Lodge Bill. The matter of examinations is not from a practical view so important a feature of the bill as the other points, for the reason that the President can continue to require every applicant to pass a satisfactory examination. This is an attribute of the power of appointment conferred upon him by the Constitution.

The Lodge Bill ought not to encounter serious opposition in the House of Representatives. The Hon. Robert Adams, of Pennsylvania, has been for many years an outspoken and tireless advocate of Consular reform, and as he is now second in rank on the House Committee on Foreign Affairs effective support for the cause will be expected of him.

It is not proposed at present to bring the Consular Corps within the scope of the Civil Service law, but merely to reorganize it upon lines which will make for greater permanence of tenure and vastly improved efficiency. If Congress will give to the President and Secretary of State power to grade the Consular Service, and to appoint men to a class or grade rather than to a particular post, and will, also, authorize the adjustment of salaries and make them adequate, and, furthermore, empower the President to shift men about from post to post, as the needs of the Service demand, it will be the most important, far-reaching, and substantial advance in respect to the improvement of the Consular Service that has ever been made, an advance from which there will be no retreat, and which will in itself be an unfailing and certain incentive to further and more radical changes for the better.

FRANCIS B. LOOMIS.

# CAUSE OF THE RECENT MONEY STRINGENCY.

BY A. B. HEPBURN, PRESIDENT OF THE CHASE NATIONAL BANK, NEW YORK; FORMERLY COMPTROLLER OF THE UNITED STATES CURRENCY.

FROM November 1st to January 5th, the rates for call-money in New York City ranged from 5 per cent. to 125 per cent. *per annum.* In speculating as to the cause of such abnormally high rates, it has been generally assumed to be the fault of our currency system, superadded to the evils of our Sub-Treasury system. Hardly any one will undertake to defend our Sub-Treasury system, under which the Government's revenues absorb money in circulation and impound the same in the Treasury until it goes out in pursuance of Congressional appropriation to liquidate a Government debt; but, with the Government's disbursements exceeding its revenues, as has been the case for the past year, some other cause than the Sub-Treasury system must be found for the money stringency. Was our currency system at fault, and wherein? The total stock of money in the country on January 1st, 1900, was $2,253,133,438, and on January 1st, 1906, $2,992,758,207. Excluding the money in the United States Treasury we had a total amount in actual use in 1900 of $1,980,398,170, and in 1905 of $2,671,543,571. During the period of these high rates of interest, there was $691,000,000 more money in circulation and use than in the corresponding period in 1900, an increase of nearly 35 per cent. The *per capita* of money in actual circulation increased during the same period from $26.36 to $31.81. This would seem to be a degree of currency expansion more than commensurate with the growth in population and business development.

In addition to gold and silver, our currency consists of (1)

Treasury notes, commonly called "legal tenders"; (2) notes issued by National Banks, and (3) certificates issued by the Government upon either gold or silver. Title to this currency passes by delivery, and it consummates the smaller business transactions, serves the convenience of travellers, pin-money, pastime and petty affairs generally.

There is another kind of currency, the title to which passes by endorsement, the magnitude and importance of which are not generally appreciated. The business of banking consists in swapping well-known credit for less-known credit. *A* goes to his bank with his note, which the bank knows to be good, and which it accepts and discounts, and it gives *A* in exchange therefor a better-known credit, which he can use in the transaction of his business; it may be money, or it may be the bank's check, certificate of deposit, or the bank's draft upon some distant or foreign city where *A* wishes to command funds. Ease, convenience, economy and safety have built up a system of transmission of funds from one place to another, from one country to another, by means of checks and drafts, only the balance of exchange or trade being settled by money shipped by mail, express or steamer. These checks or drafts are generally used to make payment of indebtedness, and are commonly and properly characterized as "auxiliary currency." Let me illustrate the extent to which they are used: The amount of such checks and drafts collected through the New York Clearing-House in 1900 was $51,964,588,564, and in 1905 the unprecedented total of $93,822,060,201, being an increase in five years of 78 per cent. The increase is simply marvellous, and in view of this fact it is difficult to argue that our "auxiliary currency" has not responded in full measure to the growing demands of trade and commerce. Let me describe the practical working of the Clearing-House: Each member of the Associated Banks presents to the Clearing-House, at ten o'clock each morning, all the items (called "exchanges") it has, payable at the counters of all the other banks of the City, and receives credit from the Clearing-House for the total amount so presented. *Per contra,* each bank is charged with all the items which all the other banks present against it. If the amount of exchanges charged against a bank exceeds the amount of exchanges which it brought to the Clearing-House, then the bank is debit, and must pay to the Clearing-House the debit balance in cash, and receives

cash from the Clearing-House in case it is credit. The debits and credits must, of course, equal each other. Under the Clearing-House system, the balances only are paid in cash, and in collecting $93,822,060,201 only $3,963,546,049 in actual money was used. This enormous volume of business was done with the use of only .0422 per cent. in cash.

Statistics show that 90 per cent. of all the business consummated through banks is done by means of checks and drafts. This auxiliary currency possesses perfect elasticity, expands and contracts without let or hindrance, tax or supervision, and responds to the demands of trade completely and perfectly. It has certainly expanded to meet the demands of trade during the period under discussion. The only thing this auxiliary currency cowers before is distrust, and it necessarily contracts when credit is curtailed. Optimism, and not distrust, has prevailed for several years past. Our currency, which at best does less than 10 per cent. of the business of the country, is blamed for these abnormally high rates, and Congress is appealed to for legislative remedy. It is difficult to see how our currency (consummating less than 10 per cent. of the business of the country) could be given sufficient elasticity to prevent a stringency in time of distrust or under conditions recently prevailing. With our currency larger in volume and *per capita* than ever before, with universal optimism prevailing and our bank credits phenomenal in amount, are we not forced to acquit our currency system and seek elsewhere for the cause of recent high money rates? The present is not the first occasion when our currency has been unjustly accused. The Far West and Southwest, surrounded by latent wealth, requiring only development to convert the same into actual tangible wealth, clamored for more currency, thinking that if the volume were increased it would somehow inure to their advantage. What they needed was more capital; what they thought they needed was more currency. It seems to me that lack of floating capital was responsible for the high interest rates recently prevailing.

For a series of years we have been blessed with good crops and good prices; we have prospered and accumulated wealth, but not in volume equal to the demands which the expansion of old, as well as the development of new, enterprises has made. The building operations for which permits were granted in twenty-

six of the larger cities, in 1904, amounted to $375,571,130 and, in 1905, to $528,186,412. These figures indicate the demand made upon capital by the building industries throughout the country. Such investments are permanent, the iron and steel that enter into the construction being almost as much buried as they were in the original ore.

From 1900 to 1905 railroad mileage increased 27,000 miles; railroad capital stock increased $796,000,000, and floating debts increased $2,013,000,000. The railroad capitalization, including stock and indebtedness, increased from $62,000 to $67,000 per mile. The figures shown in the following table are significant:

NEW SECURITIES LISTED ON THE NEW YORK STOCK EXCHANGE, 1900–1905 INCLUSIVE, (EXPRESSED IN MILLIONS).

| | *Bonds.* | *Stocks.* | *Both.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Gross | 3,996 | 4,183 | 8,179 |
| Replacing, etc. | 2,240 | 2,786 | 5,026 |
| New | 1,756 | 1,397 | 3,153 |

The average price of the stocks of sixty railroads sold on the Stock Exchange in 1900 was $69 per share, and of the same railroads, in 1905, the average price was $117.90. The average price of twelve industrials in 1900 was $68.10 and in 1905 $95. The average price of all shares sold on the New York Stock Exchange in 1900 was $69.20, and in 1905 $87.30.

While these figures emphasize the growth and prosperity of the country, they also emphasize the coincident demand for investment capital.

The increased price of stocks makes no increased demand upon capital as long as the ownership is unchanged, and it may be argued that, when stocks are sold at an advanced price, the larger sum received is by the recipient put into general use, so that no additional demand is made upon capital. Nevertheless, an advance in price in an active article of trade does make a greater demand upon both capital and currency. What is true of railroads as to advancing prices is, in fuller measure, true of iron and steel and the corporations controlling them. In fact, all property, corporate and real, has been subjected to the same influence and similar experience as to advance in values. Then, too, we have invested a considerable amount of money in other countries. During 1905, there were placed in New York bonds of Japan, Cuba and Mexico, Canada Northern 4s and London Underground notes, amounting to $281,367,000. Mexican rails

are largely owned in the United States, not to mention other foreign investments. Mr. Boissevain, a distinguished economist of Amsterdam, states that Europe has loaned to the recent combatants, Russia and Japan, over $1,000,000,000 since the beginning of their war, and it is estimated that the loss by destruction of property and values exceeds $1,000,000,000. Here, indeed, a sad inroad was made upon capital, both for actual use in the prosecution of the war and by means of destruction as a result of the war. Europe, barring Russia, has been generally prosperous and has experienced in a degree the same impetus which has given unprecedented volume to business in America. The same influences and the same results which have obtained in America have measurably obtained in Europe. Money reached 6 per cent. in London and 10 and 12 per cent. in Berlin; and it was not, therefore, as easy to utilize our credit abroad as in ordinary conditions. Europe had troubles of her own; the condition in Russia hung like a pall over the business and financial world; and, instead of loaning her funds, she was inclined to husband them. Notwithstanding these general conditions and the great business activity which comprehended every part of the country, the interest rates in Chicago, St. Louis, St. Paul and Minneapolis, and, in fact, throughout the whole interior, did not exceed the normal rate, and all business demands were fully supplied. Six per cent. prevailed in Philadelphia and Boston until near the end of the stringency, and at all times and everywhere, including New York, all business interests were fully supplied at a rate not exceeding 6 per cent. All merchants and manufacturers in New York, enjoying good credit, were fully supplied at from 5 to 6 per cent.

Who paid these high rates for money? Speculative interests, believing that the great degree of prosperity portended and justified an advance of prices, saw fit to advance, day by day, the price of many listed securities. In many stocks, the advance was as much as twenty-five points, and was accomplished in the face of most adverse money conditions, when capital, in Europe as well as in America, was under a strain. The speculative interests paid these high rates, and, had they been content to leave the market as it was, without advancing prices until after the crop-moving demand had been cared for, money rates would hardly have reached an abnormally high figure.

Who received these high rates of interest? It is estimated that $70,000,000 of European funds came to New York during the stringency, attracted by the high interest rates. It was capital in the form of credit which Europe sent, not currency. This European capital protected the situation and averted the alternative solution,—liquidation in the stock-market and curtailment of business. Remember that currency is the "small change" of business; its greatest function is to settle balances; the great bulk of business is consummated by bank credits, which represent capital,—that is, capital upon which the credit is predicated. I wish to combat the popular fallacy of confounding capital and currency, but pass that for a moment. If our currency furnishes ample funds to supply all parts of the country at reasonable rates—except Wall Street—we need not "lie awake nights worrying" over its condition. In the past five years, money in actual use has increased on an average of $138,200,000 a year. During the same period, the use of bank credits (checks and drafts, "auxiliary currency") has increased 67 per cent. The financial horizon has been without a cloud and credit untrammelled. It seems to me that a candid survey of the situation must absolve our currency system from responsibility for the high rates of interest which obtained in New York and in New York alone. The cause was over-trading. Speculation is not confined to the Stock Exchange, the Cotton Exchange and the Wheat Pit. Every locality has its form of adventure, and the forms are almost as varied as the different forms of property. The whole country has been expanding, developing, speculating. The Walsh episode in Chicago, which carried down three banks in its wake, is an extreme illustration. The growth of business generally is expressed by the fact that bank clearings outside of New York increased from $33,500,000,000 in 1900 to $50,100,000,000 in 1905. While we have grown rich rapidly of late, nevertheless the growth of business has required added capital in volume exceeding our increased wealth, and the recent financial flurry was more a question of capital than of currency.

Our currency system is most unscientific and by no means perfect, yet it seems to expand with ample facility. Mother Earth gives us of gold $80,000,000 annually. The greatest danger lies, I think, in the inability of our currency to respond to conditions in time of panic. Panic is business paralysis; it can only be

liquidated by keeping the wheels of industry moving, placing our products in the marts which await them and realizing payment therefor. Panic means loss of business sense on the part of the community. There should be some lawful currency available for temporary use, in order to prevent the stoppage of business while reflection and deliberation are bringing back confidence. Clearing-House certificates are no longer available, for many reasons. They amount to a suspension, as between banks, of currency payments, and would excite more alarm than they would allay. They would divert more funds from the city using them than the volume of such certificates which could be used would amount to.

I like the recommendation of Secretary Shaw as to an emergency currency; it is predicated upon the law and experience of Germany, and is safe and conservative. Secretary Shaw's recommendation permits banks, having a circulation secured by Government bonds, to issue unsecured circulation to an amount equal to 50 per cent. of their secured circulation. The additional amount so issued would be a prior lien upon the assets of the banks. The Government would be bound to redeem the same upon presentation, and the banks receiving such circulation would pay a tax at the rate of 5 per cent. *per annum* thereupon. Such circulation would be good beyond question. Statistics since the creation of the National Banking system, show that an annual tax of one-fourth of one per cent. upon the outstanding circulation of the banks would have raised a fund more than sufficient to have redeemed every note of every bank that has failed, independent of the Government bonds which secured them. The large tax would be profitable to the Government, and would constrain the banks not to take out such circulation unless necessity therefor existed. This plan is a slight departure from the present currency system; it would enable currency to expand in an emergency, and would also provide the other element of elasticity, "contraction," by imposing so heavy a tax that the issue would naturally and necessarily be redeemed as soon as the emergency had passed.

A. B. HEPBURN.

# A RURAL VIEW OF RURAL FREE DELIVERY.

BY EGBERT T. BUSH.

THE article entitled "The Why of Rural Free Delivery," published in the December number of this REVIEW, can hardly have failed to interest thousands of people. The importance of the subject and the undeniable ability with which the author handles it attract and hold the reader. While many of us will take issue with him both on his premises and on his conclusions, much that he says in the language and manner of an able advocate is worthy of serious consideration. But, if the force of an article is ever weakened by manifest special pleading, then the most ardent admirers of that scholarly production must concede that it carries within itself no small amount of the element of weakness. And it may well be that this article, called into being by a careful perusal of that, will fall more or less under the same condemnation.

With the author's evident hatred of jobbery and fraud, every honest citizen is in hearty accord; but it does not follow that every such citizen must agree with his view of this important subject. There are, in fact, millions of honest citizens who have learned that the cry of "Jobbery!" so easily raised and so convenient on numberless occasions, does not always carry with it the proof of jobbery. They have learned that the special pleader in opposition to any measure, no matter how meritorious, is under great temptation to raise that cry as the quickest and easiest way to arrest attention. They are not unmindful that the "practical politician," having learned its magic power, often raises that virtuous cry for purposes of his own. They have seen him calmly gathering in the fruits of his groundless charge before the falsehood could be exposed. It is not in this spirit that the author of "The Why" hurls his condemnations. His motives

are most commendable; but there is no patent pending for the discovery that one may err with the best of intentions.

The scientific biography of what General Hawkins calls "this new creation in the interests of partisan power, . . . this later addition to our family of postal abuses," begins thus: "The time of its conception in the womb of practical politics was the last half of the year 1896." However desirable it may be, analytical biography rarely begins at that point; besides, there are those who, knowing something of both its history and its parentage, will contend that, whoever or whatever may have adopted it since its birth, Rural Free Delivery was never conceived in the womb of practical politics. It is well known that the rural people themselves, the tillers of the soil, hard-handed and hard-headed people as they are, first made the appeal for Rural Free Delivery. Seeing their city cousins enjoying free delivery at the door several times a day, these rural toilers began to wonder why they should not, to some extent, share in a service for which they were helping to pay. Their reasoning may have been defective, but they could not see why ten thousand people crowded together on a square mile, all of whom could reach the post-office by a short walk on pavement, should be served at their homes at public expense, while the toilers in the fields within a radius of two or three miles, with the rural post-office as a centre, were compelled either to serve themselves or do without their mail. They began to grow restless, to agitate the matter among themselves, even to ask aloud why some plan could not be devised by which at least the more densely populated rural sections might be served. From neighborly discussion they carried the question into their local Granges—the last place in the world for practical politics.

In 1891, Mr. Mortimer Whitehead, a prominent Granger of New Jersey, introduced the subject into the National Grange. In the winter of 1891-2, as a farmer and in behalf of farmers, he made the first argument for Rural Free Delivery before a committee of Congress, and succeeded in getting a small appropriation for experimental work. Here, then, was the beginning of "this new creation in the interests of partisan power." And it is safe to say that, unless the anatomy of the body politic has all along been wholly misunderstood, "the womb of practical politics" is not located in the region of the Grange.

It is a great mistake to say that "this was a luxury which the rural citizen had never dreamed of." The truth is, he had been dreaming for years—dreaming much of the time with faint hope of ever seeing his dreams realized, but dreaming none the less fondly on that account. To the personal knowledge of the writer, this matter was discussed in the rural press long before the date given as the "time of its conception in the womb of practical politics." In his own humble way, he published editorials in favor of some system of rural delivery, and did so without one thought that he was working in the interests of partisan politics.

We are told that, in many instances, "the sturdy citizens of the rural districts rebelled against its infliction." This seems to be a sad case, or, rather, a statement of many sad cases. That the Government should, as alleged, actually force upon a helpless community a service against which its citizens rebelled certainly smacks of tyranny in aggravated form. That a man's mail should be left daily at his door, when he prefers to go for it himself; that he should thus be deprived of the "excuse for going to the village for the mail," when possibly so much of his happiness depends upon that excuse,—seems to be nothing short of trampling upon the sacred rights of citizenship. That the boys and girls should be thus deprived of an excuse for an "enjoyable ride on the bicycle when the day's work was over," strikes one as a ruthless crushing of the young, no less than of the old, "in the interests of partisan power."

We read further: "The dissatisfaction is not confined to any particular class, but is shared by all the people who go to make up the usual rural communities. . . . They have missed the familiar old stage with its accommodating driver. . . . The boys and girls had ridden with him to school for generations." Yet on the back of this dark picture we find written: "So attractive had it become in its fifth year that many an honest citizen fell then who had never fallen before, and became an ardent advocate of this new state industry."

To say the least, there seem to be some incongruities here. If the rural people, not any particular class, but all classes, resent the imposition of Rural Free Delivery, how can it become so attractive to them? All who understand this matter know that routes are never granted, or imposed, without the asking; that it takes one hundred petitioners, heads of families, to secure

consideration of a proposed route twenty-four miles long. What then? Are we to infer that this insidious scheme has, through some occult power, become "so attractive" that people are actually hypnotized into asking for what they do not want? Are we to believe that, under some mysterious spell, from ninety to ninety-five per cent. of the people on a proposed route are wheedled into petitioning the Department to enforce upon them a service against which all classes rebel?

But the dear old stage—ah, yes! In the days of its glory, comparatively few people saw anything of it, and far fewer ever derived from it either benefit or satisfaction. "The familiar old stage" always took the direct road between two offices, becoming familiar enough to the few people along that short cut, but leaving all the numerous "back roads," often far more important thoroughfares, to get along as best they could without its benefactions. These neglected highways are now traversed by the Rural Free Delivery wagon, and the people who never saw "the old familiar stage," without seeking its route, are now served daily at their homes. If any of them are lamenting the late departed, the echo of their wail has failed to reach this locality. It is true that the old stage did sometimes carry passengers for hire; but its service in carrying children to school must have been very slight indeed. After thirty years of close association with old-time routes and country schools, the writer cannot recall a single instance in which a child was carried to school by the "accommodating driver." And very good reasons there are for this lack of service to the boys and girls. The stage rarely runs at the hour for going to school; besides, the driver would have to be very accommodating, indeed, to make that service of any particular value. Farmers' children have few dimes to spend for rides to school, and free transportation by the mail-coach—never heard of in this vicinity—must be either insignificant to the community or ruinous to the driver.

The practical politician and the quiet citizen who knows not the ways of politics will be equally puzzled to see how so glaring an "injustice," imposed in spite of protest upon a helpless rural community, can be made an element of strength to the party responsible for the outrage. If the matter is half as bad as "The Why" paints it, how can it fail so to arouse the anger of the outraged citizens as to become an element of great weakness? One

would think that, for every vote gained by subsidizing the carrier—if, indeed, there is any such possible gain—at least a dozen would be lost. To assume that such glaring wrongs would be allowed to go unrebuked, that partisan advantage can be gained by heaping indignities upon the people, is not only to discredit American manhood and American fitness for self-government, but to deny all the teachings of political history.

That now and then a man, even in the rural communities, should object to this new service was to be expected: first, because there must always be objectors to everything new; secondly, because a very small percentage of the people on every such route may be no better served than before, and possibly not so well. The man whose home is within three or four hundred yards of the wayside post-office does not feel the need of rural delivery. To him it is a needless and uncalled-for innovation. Besides, that office is kept by his good neighbor, who sells kerosene and a few other household necessities, and who "comes in handy" in various matters of local interest. It would be very strange if, now and then, one such rural citizen could not be induced to enter a protest against the "outrage," and even to write, or to father, diatribes against the enormity, for publication in the "local press." But such rural citizen, fortunately so situated that his mail is already brought practically to his door, is not favorably situated for voicing the sentiment of the community as a whole, much less that of the farmer who must travel three miles for his mail. Close observation of this matter of Rural Free Delivery, and personal contact with the people on various routes, have convinced the writer that what was to be expected actually is; that opposition to any proposed route is one of the things to be encountered, and that the opposition always comes from the immediate village or hamlet whose post-office is likely to be discontinued or adversely affected. This is only human nature with the gloss rubbed off. The people near the office are already well served; why should they favor any change? The postmaster not only wants the slight emoluments of the office, but he wants the farmers for miles around, the farther the better, forced into his store for their mail. There is money in it for him—daily droppings that might otherwise go elsewhere. Naturally enough, he can sway the sympathies of his near neighbors, who have nothing to lose by accommodating him; but the farmers out on

the route, from a half mile to three miles away, look upon it from a different point of view, and arrive at a very different conclusion.

It will hardly seem unfair to take for example a route recently established here in one of the counties of New Jersey, with which the writer is familiar. When it was proposed, every one knew that it would do away with two small offices. The postmaster at one hamlet kept no shop of any kind, and was very anxious to be relieved of his unremunerative responsibility. Instead of working up a sentiment against the change, he worked for it, and he and every one of his immediate neighbors signed the petition. The other postmaster did keep a little store. He was strongly opposed to the change; but, as he was in a measure caught napping, almost all of his neighbors signed the petition. A few weeks later, several of those who had signed were somehow induced to be equally accommodating with their signatures when a remonstrance was presented; but it should be borne in mind that here, as perhaps everywhere, the remonstrants all lived within easy reach of the post-office. Of the more remote petitioners, not one saw or to this day has been able to see, a new light. The route has now been in operation several months; and if there is one patron, not counting the ex-postmaster and his little clique of three or four, who is not well pleased with the service, all signs of such dissatisfaction are carefully concealed. And yet it might not be difficult for some interested party to induce one of those few to write or dictate a dismal wail over the wrong inflicted upon that helpless community. Now, in all fairness, may we not suppose that similar conditions prevail generally throughout the rural districts? Are we not justified in believing that, so far as these so-called "rural complaints" are concerned, it is the village against the farming community? Is there anything unreasonable or ungenerous in feeling that those rural citizens who lament the good old way are the very ones who, having been well served themselves, forget that people less favorably situated have equal needs, and possibly equal rights?

But we are assured that the village post-office had always been near at hand. That depends largely upon what is meant by "near." In a petition before me, the average distance for the entire number of signers is one and a half miles. That may seem "near" to people accustomed to paved streets and short

hours and a mail-box at the next corner; not so to the farmer, whose toil ends not with the day, whose team is probably as weary as himself, and whose boy or girl is thought to be better off at home in the evening than out on the bicycle for that "enjoyable ride" after the day's work is done.

We are told, also, that the postal needs of the people "upon whom this service was forced" had always been few—"usually confined to the weekly paper and an average, in strictly rural parts, of not over one hundred letters and circulars for each family per year." This leads one to wonder what constitutes "strictly rural parts." With no large city near, with only ninety feet of trolley-line in the county and with the post-office, in a town of five or six hundred inhabitants, two miles away, these had always seemed to be rural parts. But, according to the conditions laid down by our author, we are so far removed from the rural that we cannot tell where we are. If we take a tier of farms beginning a half mile from our post-office and extending to two and a half miles, the limit of service in this direction under the old system, we find that, of the nine farmers, five regularly take a daily paper. We find, also, that the lowest number of pieces of mail received per year by any one of these families is several hundred, while the highest reaches about three thousand. If this is not an average, neither is it exceptional in communities served by Rural Free Delivery; and it shows that the postal needs of such communities are far from being so few as many well-meaning people have been led to believe. It shows, too, what every one should begin to understand by this time—that the farmer of to-day is not the illiterate, non-reading, non-writing lout that some delight to paint and others would be glad to have him.

"A very large majority of the tax-producers," says General Hawkins, "are being compelled to pay about four dollars for every one earned by Rural Free Delivery, for an uncalled-for and unnecessary service in which it is impossible that they should have the slightest interest." This looks like a serious indictment; but, when we come to analyze the postal system, Rural Free Delivery does not seem so great a criminal after all. The postal service never has been, and perhaps never can be, strictly just. Somebody is constantly paying for what he does not get, and somebody is constantly getting what he does not pay for.

The inequality comes about in various ways. One man may carry his hundreds of letters a year three miles to the post-office, and look daily after his own mail or go without it; while another drops his few score letters into the box at the next corner, and has his mail delivered at his door. The cancellations of the one may be ten times those of the other, but the conveniences are all for the man who pays the little. The countryman is paying for what he does not get, while his city cousin is getting what he does not pay for.

We are sometimes told that the man in the city is entitled to better service, because he uses the mails so much more than the man in the country; but this conclusion is based on an assumption which it might be very hard to prove. While it is true that the city offices make a very fine showing on receipts and expenditures, it is doubtful whether the average citizen of the town, excluding those connected with houses that do business with country people, uses the mails as much as the average countryman; and it is certainly fair to exclude all business upon which country people, either directly or indirectly, pay the postage. We have been rather sneeringly told by one opponent of rural service that a single seed-house in Philadelphia pays more postage than a whole county in New Jersey. We have access to only one side of the comparison, and cannot prove it false or true. But let us concede its truth. What of it? How is it made possible for that house to pay so much? With whom does it do that extensive business? Chiefly with those rural people whose postal needs are said to be few—"usually confined to the weekly paper," etc. Who is it, then, that actually pays these thousands annually handed over to the Government by that house? Do not its patrons foot the bills? Are not these thousands and thousands of country people paying the postage on every pound and ounce and packet of seed sent out by mail? Are they not also paying, through the increased price of seeds, the postage on every catalogue? It is folly to say that the dealer pays the postage. As well say that the importer pays the duty! He does not, and he cannot. All expenses must necessarily come out of the last purchaser, the consumer of the goods. Any other supposition is at variance with an irrepealable law of trade. Then, while we should not grudge that house its mail facilities, we may properly insist that the toiler out in the country, far though he be from

the great centre of business, the man whose toil and whose "scanty needs" make possible much of that central activity, shall not be wholly overlooked. While we rejoice in the great store and the busy shop, it is well for all to remember that the roots of every industry run far out into the soil.

But, since the countryman is not paying directly into the postal revenues the full cost of rural service, it is hard for many to understand how it can be that he is not getting more than his share; or, in the language of our critic, that somebody is not compelled to pay "for a service in which it is impossible that he should have the slightest interest." Might not the same objection be raised against other services—any service? Few men are broad enough to look upon the people as a whole; and, from any other point of view, can any one be said to be interested in every branch of the public service? Is it not true that, by the same narrow rule, for more than forty years country people have been helping to pay for a service—City Free Delivery—in which they have not the slightest interest? There are no records to show that, when that service was established in 1863, the country people made any serious outcry, or denounced its origin as "the womb of practical politics." But it can hardly be denied that they had greater cause to protest then than city people have now. These are already enjoying the service, and a few of them —not many, let us hope—are grudging its extension to their country cousins. At that time, the country people had not the slightest prospect of such extension; and yet, as "tax producers," they were compelled to help pay the bills. And, surely, if rural service is open to the objection of being or becoming a possible factor in partisan politics, city service was, and still is, open to the same objection.

On July 1st, 1905, there were 32,055 rural routes in operation, and 21,788 city carriers in the service. The cost of the two branches was about the same, each a trifle under $21,000,000. The rural routes served 12,213,000 patrons, no application for a rural route being allowed to count any children under sixteen years of age. The cities covered by the Free Delivery service aggregate, according to the last census, almost 28,000,000, counting all ages and conditions. The rural service counts nobody within a half mile of the post-office, all within that distance being, as the agents phrase it, "too handy by to be considered." If

we exclude a circle of a half-mile radius around every city post-office, we shall have almost nine hundred square miles of solid city, whose millions of people must, in all fairness, be excluded from the comparison.

The one and only reasonable objection to Rural Free Delivery is its cost. But, in reckoning this, there is one feature generally overlooked. There are two items that materially reduce the apparent cost: first, the discontinuance of star routes; secondly, the greater revenue derived by throwing the cancellations into the larger offices, from which the Department gets a much larger share. Whatever is saved by either of these means is properly to be credited to Rural Free Delivery.

Two routes have been granted to start from a certain office. The first, now in operation, saves $110 annually on star-route and messenger service, besides taking up the cancellations of two offices from which the Government derived no revenue. Besides making one office unnecessary, the second route will take up one star route, thus entitling itself to a credit of approximately one-fourth its cost. Taking these two sources of saving, it is probably a fair estimate that the rural routes of the country should be credited with twenty-five per cent. of the debtor side. This would reduce the actual cost of the service to about $16,000,000, and, after all fair eliminations have been made, show the country service to be little more expensive, million for million of actual patrons, than the city service.

Free delivery was first established in twenty-seven cities. The service has grown steadily—grown by its own merits, as we believe—until now it embraces between eleven and twelve hundred. Its birth was a boon. Its adoption was a step in the right direction, the direction of giving the people the most convenient service that circumstances would allow. Rural Free Delivery is not a new creature, of strange and abhorrent parentage; it is only a natural development of what was born of Progress more than forty years ago.

EGBERT T. BUSH.

# IS THE UNITED STATES PREPARED FOR WAR?—II.

BY FREDERIC LOUIS HUIDEKOPER.

WHEN the progressive American business man, firm, company or corporation desires to have affairs properly conducted, one rule is invariably observed, viz., men specially trained for that particular business are employed in numbers proportioned to its requirements under any and all circumstances. We all sympathize with the Israelites who had to make bricks without straw; but, in some respects, Pharaoh was no harder taskmaster than Congress has been, inasmuch as the Army is supposed to be able to cope with every possible emergency, although the requisite strength has yet to be given it. *Never at the beginning of any decade in our national history, save one, have our people had as many as one trained soldier to every one thousand of population to protect them,* as will appear from the following illuminating table:

| Year. | Population of the United States. | Actual strength of the Regular Army. | Number of soldiers per 1,000 of population. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1790 | 3,929,214 | 1,273 | 0.324 |
| 1800 | 5,308,483 | 4,436 | 0.833 |
| 1810 | 7,239,881 | 9,921 | 1.378 |
| 1820 | 9,633,822 | 8,942 | 0.927 |
| 1830 | 12,866,020 | 5,951 | 0.462 |
| 1840 | 17,069,453 | 10,570 | 0.602 |
| 1850 | 23,191,876 | 10,763 | 0.421 |
| 1860 | 31,443,321 | 16,367 | 0.520 |
| 1870 | 38,558,371 | 37,075 | 0.963 |
| 1880 | 50,155,783 | 26,509 | 0.527 |
| 1890 | 62,947,714 | 27,095 | 0.430 |
| 1900 | 76,303,387 | 68,155 | 0.895 |

When any individual or combination of individuals strives for the acquisition or control of a valuable business advantage or has any important negotiation to transact, the most experienced

and best trained of its officials or agents are invariably selected for the work. *Per contra,* Congress has persistently neglected its best trained forces in favor of comparatively raw and inexperienced soldiers; and, in time of crisis, it has never failed to place its main dependence on the latter. Since war is the severest test to which human forces can be subjected, the folly of this procedure has naturally been reiterated *ad nauseam.* That the Militia and Volunteers have never failed after two years of war—which afford ample time to transform them into well-trained soldiers—to acquit themselves with the utmost credit in no wise alters the fact that, until they have undergone some similar schooling, they have never been, and never will be, anything but comparatively raw, undisciplined organizations. This was clearly pointed out by Washington, who wrote to the President of Congress on September 24th, 1776, as follows:

"*To place any dependence upon militia is assuredly resting upon a broken staff.* Men just dragged from the tender scenes of domestic life, unaccustomed to the din of arms, totally unacquainted with every kind of military skill (which is followed by want of confidence in themselves when opposed by troops regularly trained, disciplined, and appointed, superior in knowledge and superior in arms), are timid and ready to fly from their own shadows.

"Besides, the sudden change in their manner of living, particularly in their lodging, brings on sickness in many, impatience in all, and such an unconquerable desire of returning to their respective homes, that it not only produces shameful and scandalous desertions among themselves, but infuses the like spirit in others. Again, men accustomed to unbounded freedom and no control cannot brook the restraint which is indispensably necessary to the good order and government of an army, without which licentiousness and every kind of disorder triumphantly reign. *To bring men to a proper degree of subordination is not the work of a day, a month, or even a year. . . . Certain I am that it would be cheaper to keep 50,000 or 100,000 in constant pay than to depend upon half the number and supply the other half occasionally by militia. The time the latter are in pay before and after they are in camp,* assembling and marching, *the waste of ammunition, the consumption of stores, which, in spite of every resolution or requisition of Congress, they must be furnished with or sent home, added to other incidental expenses consequent upon their coming and conduct in camp, surpass all idea and destroy every kind of regularity and economy which you could establish among fixed and settled troops,* and will, in my opinion, prove, if the scheme is adhered to, the ruin of our cause."

Although it would be manifestly unjust to blame the Militia for their ignorance, when our laws have never provided them

with the requisite military training, and although we must not withhold the praise which they have always richly merited whenever, as Volunteers, they have at last received sufficient schooling in actual warfare, yet it must be confessed that, as a purely military asset, their value has fallen far short of what it ought to have been, and that their history has fully justified Washington's estimate, as the following exhibits will demonstrate.

MILITIA RAN AWAY OR DESERTED.

| Battle. | Date. | Organization or Expedition. |
|---|---|---|
| Long Island | August 27th, 1776 | Parsons' brigade.[1] |
| Evacuation of New York. | Sept. 15th, 1776 | Brigades of Parsons and Fellows.[2] |
| Brandywine | Sept. 11th, 1777 | Sullivan's division.[3] |
| Camden, S. C. | Aug. 16th, 1780 | Virginia and South Carolina brigades.[4] |
| Guilford Court House, N. C. | March 15th, 1781 | North Carolina regiment.[5] |
| Indian village near Fort Wayne, Ind. | Oct. 22nd, 1790 | Harmar's Miami expedition.[6] |
| Darke County, Ohio. | Nov. 4th, 1791 | St. Clair's expedition.[7] |
| Frenchtown and Raisin River, Mich. | Jan. 18th–22nd, 1813 | Winchester's column.[8] |
| Sackett's Harbor. | May 29th, 1813 | Gen. Brown's command.[9] |
| French Creek, N. Y. | Nov. 1st to 5th, 1813 | Gen. Hampton's column.[10] |
| Chrystler's Field, Canada. | Nov. 11th, 1813 | Gen. Wilkinson's column.[11] |
| Evacuation of Fort George, Niagara River. | Dec. 10th, 1813 | Gen. McClure's N. Y. militia.[12] |
| Burning of Buffalo, and Black Rock, N. Y. | Dec. 30th, 1813 | Gen. McClure's N. Y. militia.[13] |
| Bladensburg, Md. | Aug. 24th, 1814 | Maryland, Virginia and District of Columbia Militia and Volunteers under Gen. Winder.[14] |
| New Orleans, La. | Jan. 8th, 1815 | 800 militia, under Gen. Morgan, posted on the west bank of the Mississippi.[15] |
| Lake Okeechobee, Fla. | Dec. 25th, 1837 | Missouri volunteers and spies.[16] |
| Bull Run, Virginia. | July 21st, 1861 | Gen. McDowell's entire force of militia.[17] |

[1] Carrington, "Battles of the American Revolution," p, 209.—[2] Washington's letter to the President of Congress, Sept. 16th, 1776. Sparks, IV, p. 94.—[3] Greene's report; Sullivan's communication to Congress; Sparks, V, Appendix, p. 462; Carrington, pp. 370–380.—[4] Gen. Henry Lee, "Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department of the United States," I, pp. 178–183; Tarleton's "Campaign in North Carolina," pp. 106–109. In contrast to their comrades, the North-Carolinians of Dixon's regiment

THE MILITIA MUTINIED.

| Place. | Date. | Mutineers. |
|---|---|---|
| Morristown, N. J..... | Jan. 1st, 1781 | Pennsylvania Line (6 regiments) 1,300 men. |
| Pompton, N. J..... | Jan. 24th–28th, 1781 | New Jersey Line.[19] |
| Lancaster, Pa..... | June, 1783 | 80 recruits, joined by 200 other malcontents, marched to Philadelphia, demanded their pay and held Congress prisoner for several hours on June 21st, 1783.[20] |
| On the march from Urbana, Ohio, to Detroit, Mich..... | June, 1812 | General Hull's militia.[21] |
| Detroit, Mich..... | July, 1812 | 180 Ohio Militia of Hull's command.[22] |
| On the march from Fort Harrison, Ind., to the Wabash and Illinois Rivers..... | Oct. 19th, 1812 | 4,000 Kentucky mounted militia under General Hopkins.[23] |
| *En route* to the rapids of the Maumee River..... | Oct., 1812 | Kentucky, Virginia and Ohio Militia under Gen. W. H. Harrison.[24] |
| *En route* from Plattsburg, N. Y., to Canada..... | Nov., 1812 | Nearly all the 3,000 militia under General Dearborn.[25] |
| Battle of Queenstown.... | Oct. 13th, 1813 | New York Militia under Generals Van Rensselaer and Wadsworth.[26] |
| Fort Strother, Fla..... | Nov., 1813 | Tennessee Militia and Volunteers.[27] |
| Retreat to Buffalo after evacuation of Fort George..... | Dec., 1813 | General McClure's New York Militia.[28] |
| Withlacoochee River, Fla. | Dec. 31st, 1835 | Florida Militia and Volunteers under Gov. Call. Clinch's expedition.[29] |
| Charlestown, W. Va..... | July 16th–18th, 1861 | Militia of the Army of the Shenandoah.[30] |

greatly distinguished themselves.—[5] Carrington, 556–562.—[6] Report of the Court of Inquiry. Upton, p. 77.—[7] Report of the Investigating Committee of the House of Representatives.—[8] Upton, p. 109.—[9] Gen. Brown's Report to the Secretary of War; Fay's "American War," p. 102.—[10] Report of Col. Purdy, 4th New York Militia; American State Papers, I, p. 479.—[11] Upton, p. 113.—[12] Report of Gen. McClure to the Secretary of War; American State Papers, I, pp. 486–487.—[13] Letter of General Cass to the Secretary of War, Jan. 12th, 1814; American State Papers, I, p. 487.—[14] American State Papers, I, pp. 525–551; Armstrong's "Notices of the War of 1812," II, p. 152.—[15] Parton's "Life of Andrew

STATES DEFY THE U. S. GOVERNMENT BY REFUSING TO FURNISH THEIR MILITIA TO ITS SERVICE.

| State. | Governor. | Date. | Cause and reason for refusal. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Massachusetts.. | Strong | April, 1812 | Denied right of President or Congress to determine when such exigencies arise as to require calling out of militia. Claimed that "this right is vested in the commanders-in-chief of the militia of the several States."[31] |
| Connecticut.... | Griswold | April, 1812 | Substantially the same contention as the above.[32] |
| Vermont..... | Chittenden | Nov. 10th, 1813 | Declared that "the military strength and resources of this State must be reserved for its own defence and protection exclusively."[33] |
| Vermont..... | Chittenden | Sept., 1814 | Refused to order militia to support Gen. Macomb in repelling the enemy.[34] |
| Virginia ..... | Letcher | April, 1861 | Rebellion. |
| No. Carolina ... | Ellis | | |
| Kentucky ..... | Magoffin | | |
| Tennessee..... | Harris | | |
| Missouri..... | Jackson | | |
| Arkansas ..... | Rector | | |

Jackson," II, p. 213; Goodwin's "Life of Andrew Jackson," p. 153; Upton, pp. 135–136.—[16] Official Report of General Zachary Taylor; American State Papers, VII, pp. 987–988. *Per contra*, Barns's "Commonwealth of Missouri," p. 237.—[17] Official reports of Generals McDowell and Heintzelman; Moore's "Rebellion Record," II, pp. 6 and 26. The regulars alone retired in perfect order; Official Report of Major Sykes, p. 25.—[18] Sparks, VII, pp. 359–387; Fiske, "American Revolution," II, pp. 240–242; Carrington, pp. 537–538.—[19] Fiske, II, pp. 242–243; Upton, p. 56.—[20] "The Madison Papers," I, pp. 551–553; Sparks, VIII, pp. 455–456; Fiske, "Critical Period of American History," pp. 117–118.—[21] Hull's appeal to the public in his Memoirs, pp. 34–35.—[22] Hull's Memoirs. On Aug. 16th, 1812, Hull's entire garrison at Detroit surrendered to the British. How much value the enemy placed on the Militia is evinced by the fact that they were allowed to return home, whereas the 320 Regulars were sent to Montreal as prisoners.—[23] Upton, p. 99.—[24] *Ibid.* Harper's "Encyclopædia of U. S. History," IV, pp. 266-267.—[25] Ingersoll's "Second War," I, p. 101.—[26] Van Rensselaer's "Affair of Queenstown," p. 10 and Appendix, p. 62; Armstrong's "Notices of the War of 1812," II, pp. 100–107, and Appendix No. 12, pp. 207–219.—[27] Parton's "Life of Andrew Jackson," I, pp. 460–462. This furnished a very amusing incident; first, the Militia mutinied and were suppressed by the Volunteers; then, the Volunteers revolted and were brought to order by the Militia.—[28] Report of General McClure to the Secretary of War; American State Papers, I, pp. 486–487.—[29] Official Report of

Is not the above a glorious record for Americans to contemplate?—Americans are so prone to boasting of the prowess of their citizen-soldiers. Yet these results are by no means surprising, in view of the utter lack of a definite military policy which has always characterized the measures of the legislators who frame our military laws and mould our military organizations. In every walk of life the value of skilled labor is fully recognized, and specially trained men are invariably selected in preference to unskilled. Yet Congress has never failed to place its main dependence upon the unskilled citizen-soldier. Every schoolboy knows that no enthusiasm, however great, will win athletic victories without long weeks and even months of careful training; our sages in the Capitol have shown that they believe that, because our people individually possess courage, fortitude and self-reliance in the highest degree, they must necessarily possess the same qualities when aggregated as soldiers. At certain periods —as, for example, that just prior to the first battle of Bull Run —the measures passed demonstrated that Congress actually believed that an army animated by patriotism needed neither instruction nor discipline to prepare it for war.

It is a well-known maxim in business that the efficiency of the management of every firm, bank, company or corpora-

Major-General Macomb, commanding the army, and Report of Gen. Call to the President, Jan. 9th, 1836; American State Papers, VI, p. 817, and VII, p. 218.—[30] General Patterson's Reports to the Adjutant-General; Report of the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War, III, pp. 126–127, 132, 138–139.—[31] Opinion delivered by Theophilus Parsons, Samuel Sewell and Isaac Parker, three judges of the Mass. Supreme Court; American State Papers, I, p. 324. Hart says ("Formation of the Union," p. 215) that "The general government had no means of enforcing its construction of the Constitution. It did, however, withdraw garrisons from the New England forts, leaving those States to defend themselves; and refused to send them their quota of the arms which were distributed among the States. This attitude was so well understood, that during the first few months of the war, English cruisers had orders not to capture vessels owned in New England. As the war advanced, these orders were withdrawn, and the territory of Massachusetts in the District of Maine was invaded by British troops. An urgent call for protection was then made upon the general government; but, even in this crisis, Massachusetts would not permit her militia to pass under the control of national military officers."—[32] Upton, p. 97. —[33] Ingersoll's "Second War," II, pp. 26–27; Hart, p. 215.—[34] Ingersoll, II, p. 133. It was not until 1827 that the question was finally adjudicated in the case of Martin *vs.* Mott, when the Supreme Court of the United States decided that it was reserved to the President alone to judge when the exigency arises in which he has the constitutional right to call out the militia, and that his decision was binding. Kent's Commentaries, I, p. 279.

tion depends upon the capabilities of its officials. Inasmuch as the bulk of the troops which the United States has employed in time of war has always consisted of Militia and Volunteers, the officers of which, drawn from professional and mercantile pursuits, have of necessity had but little time or opportunity to master the multifarious details which ought to be familiar to every one whose duty it is to lead troops, is it surprising that their operations in war have been attended with mistakes which have often cost appallingly? Actuated by the highest motives, sacrificing their business and family interests for the purpose of serving their country, excelled by none in personal courage, these officers cannot justly be blamed for their ignorance; they are not responsible for the fact that they have never been provided with the education and training necessary to fit them to cope with the many difficult problems of war. No sound business corporation would dream for an instant of entrusting the management of its affairs to officials so comparatively inexperienced, and consequently so inferior, as the officers of the Militia and Volunteers.

It is for this very reason that the record of our land forces suffers sadly when compared with the record of our Navy, which has achieved an almost unbroken succession of splendid victories, from the days of John Paul Jones down to the present time. The education, training and *personnel* of the officers and men of the Navy being substantially on the same plane with those of their *confrères* in the Regular Army, the fundamental reason lies deeper. It rests in the fact that Congress has been wise enough to hold jealously to its constitutional right "to provide and maintain a navy," instead of delegating any part thereof to the various States and giving them the power to interfere in naval as they can in military affairs. Furthermore, the appointment of all naval officers is vested in the President alone, and not given to the Governors of the States, as in the case of the Militia and Volunteers. The consequence is that "the honor of our flag and the protection of the persons and property of our citizens have been entrusted to disciplined seamen, commanded by officers of professional training and experience." The merits of this system over that pursued in respect to the major part of our land forces need no commentary; the results speak for themselves.

War has never been anything more or less than a prize-fight between the armed forces of opposing nations, and every man

who has ever been in a fight of any sort knows the value of being able to deliver staggering blows at the outset. That incalculable advantage is conferred by the initiative in war, but that this advantage can never be maintained without a consistent course of action, supported by the requisite strength of one's armies in the field, was thoroughly taught by Napoleon, and the Japanese have been the last to demonstrate the soundness of his maxim. In order to attain these *desiderata,* the *sine qua non* always has been and always will be perfect readiness, and, other things being equal, victory has invariably attended the nation which was the more thoroughly prepared for war. Modern competition has assisted in hastening the crisis in every struggle, military, commercial or otherwise, and the first blow now follows so closely after the declaration of hostilities that no time is given for preparation, and even less for any careful study of plans for preparation. Hence it is that the nations of the world maintain military attachés and spies to watch the progress of military preparations elsewhere, in order that no other nation may be better prepared than themselves. The Scriptural parable anent the seven wise and seven foolish virgins is quite as applicable to modern armies as it was to the bridegroom of old.

Is the United States prepared to go to war with the military forces of the great nations in whose category we consider ourselves? We are reluctantly compelled to answer most positively, "No." The doubting Thomases will try to refute this reply by citing the fact that we possess a Regular Army numbering in time of war 100,000 troops excelled by none, and no less than 111,313 officers and men from the organized militia of the States which would serve as a second line. We retort: "Is this an adequate force? How efficient will this Militia be when called out as Volunteers?" Let us pause a moment to glance at the legislation enacted since the Spanish-American War.

Under the Act of March 2nd, 1899, United States Volunteers were organized for service in the Philippines. Captain Rhodes says:

"As Volunteer regiments, it has been the almost unanimous verdict that they have never been surpassed. Certainly never, in such a short space of time, have such excellent troops been organized, trained and put in the field.

"If the cause of this efficiency be analyzed, it will be found to have resulted from four factors:

"(1) *In most cases the field-officers of the regiments were selected from experienced officers of the regular service;* (2) *the company officers were principally selected by the War Department, from officers who had served creditably in State organizations during the war with Spain;* (3) *the fact that from this method of selection the officers were in no way under obligations to the men under them;* (4) *from careful selection of the enlisted personnel, accepting only the physically perfect, and after enlistment summarily discharging those deficient in the qualifications of a good soldier.*

"Under this Act of Congress, 1,524 officers and 33,050 men were enlisted, organized, equipped and instructed, and were on their way to their destination in less than six months from the date of passage of the law. They proved themselves a thoroughly reliable force in the Philippines, and it was largely through their aid that the Philippine insurrection was checked, and relapsed into guerrilla warfare."

Judged by the results obtained, this was a most admirable measure; but, unfortunately, it was limited to special conditions. On July 4th, 1902, the period of hostilities in the Philippines was officially announced to have terminated; the *raison d'être* for this force having ceased to exist, the regiments were subsequently brought back to the United States and mustered out, and the law ceased to be operative.

The next and last Congressional measure was "An Act to promote the efficiency of the Militia, and for other purposes," approved January 21st, 1903, and commonly known as "The Dick Bill." As originally introduced, it contained a number of admirable provisions; but, as in the past, it ended in a compromise measure containing some extremely glaring defects, which substantially defeated the very purpose for which the measure was framed. The merits and demerits of the bill may be summarized thus:

MERITS.

(1) Defines what citizens are liable to, and exempted from, military duty; (2) specifies the manner of calling out the Militia; (3) provides for the issuing of arms, ammunition and other military supplies by the United States Government; (4) provides for regular inspections of the Militia by army officers detailed by the Secretary of War; (5) provides that the Militia shall participate in joint manœuvres with the Regular Army; (6) provides for the pay and allowances of the Militia participating in encampments; (7) provides for Regular officers to be present at encampments of the Militia when requested by the Governor of that State; and (8) provides for the obtaining of a list of Militia officers who have had previous training in the Regular Army, the Volunteers or National Guard, and who, upon examination by boards

of Regular Army officers, have been found to possess the necessary qualifications which would fit them to hold commissions in the Volunteers.

DEMERITS.

(1) *Notwithstanding the lessons of the past as to the folly of short enlistments, the bill refuses to allow the Militia to be called out for more than nine months;* (2) future Volunteer regiments are to be organized according to the Act of April 22nd, 1898, thus again giving to the Governors of the various States the right to appoint the officers who are to be mustered into the service of, and receive their pay from, the United States Government; (3) appointments from the list of officers examined and found qualified to hold Volunteer commissions shall not include appointments in regiments of the organized Militia which volunteer as organizations, nor to their officers who are commissioned by the Governors of their State; (4) the original provision for the creation of a Volunteer Reserve of 100,000 men in time of peace, to which the qualified Militia officers were to be appointed, and for which the power of the Governors to make appointments in this corps had been wisely limited, was stricken out, and no provision was made for such a Volunteer Reserve, or even to keep alive the ridiculously inadequate force of 3,000 men authorized by the old Act of April 22nd, 1898.

As a result of the legislation of Congress since the Spanish-American War, the United States Government would have at its disposal in time of war:

(1) The Regular Army, with a maximum strength of 100,000 men; (2) the organized Militia, trained as a National Guard, and limited by the Constitution to service within the United States, for a period not to exceed nine months; (3) a Volunteer Reserve, composed of such Militia organizations as would volunteer for war in a body with all their officers and men; (4) regiments of State Volunteers, commanded by officers appointed by the Governors thereof.

The troops obtainable under the above classification would number:

(1) The Regular Army, 100,000. (2) The Organized Militia according to the latest reports numbered only 111,313. This force would furnish (3) the Volunteer Reserve. Although the Military Secretary has reported that seventy-five per cent. of the Organized Militia would respond to a call for volunteers, this estimate is purely conjectural, and our last war demonstrated conclusively that not more than forty per cent. thereof could be counted upon for such service. The Volunteer Reserve would, therefore, consist only of 44,525. (4) Regiments of State Volunteers would unquestionably be found in the

Volunteer Reserve. The number obtainable from this source is, accordingly, estimated as *nil.* Total number of troops upon which the United States could safely count for war is, consequently, only 144,525.

The *crux* of the entire question lies in the efficiency of the Militia or Volunteers, which can only be gauged by their training. All things considered, Pennsylvania possesses the best State Militia in the country, yet its actual training is confined to one week in camp and about seventy hours of drill and instruction during each calendar year; and, furthermore, there are no armories in the United States which permit the manœuvring of large bodies of troops such as are necessary in actual war. At the beginning of hostilities this Militia would furnish the best Volunteers that the United States could hope to obtain, and *how long does any reasonable man suppose that these troops, without additional training, would stand against the regulars of France or Germany? How much faith would the officials of any corporation place in an agent or employee whose training is limited to one week and seventy hours of work per annum? Yet this is what Congress is doing at this very moment.* Washington summed up the whole question in a nutshell when he declared that:

*"Regular troops alone are equal to the exigencies of modern war, as well for defence as offence, and whenever a substitute is attempted it must prove illusory and ruinous. No Militia will ever acquire the habits necessary to resist a regular force. . . . The firmness requisite for the real business of fighting is only to be attained by a constant course of discipline and service.* I have never yet been witness to a single instance that can justify a different opinion, and *it is most earnestly to be wished that the liberties of America may no longer be trusted, in any material degree, to so precarious a dependence."*

If war were to break out at the present time, the only troops upon which the United States could place any real dependence against the trained regulars of foreign nations would be the Regular Army—100,000 men.

Unlimited as our military resources unquestionably are, Congress has thus far failed utterly to foster and develop them, so that they may actually be a source of weakness by inviting attack. By contrast with our military resources, although undeveloped, our actual military strength is the feeblest of all the great Powers, as the following schedule will show:

| Country. | Population.[1] | Budget (in dollars). | Total war strength of army. | Peace strength of regular establishment. | Number of men in peace establishment to each 1,000 of population. | Relative size of peace establishments per 1,000 inhabitants, the U. S. army being taken as a unit. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Austria-Hungary. | 45,405,267 | 61,285,577 | 2,580,000 | 326,498 | 7.19 | 8.5 |
| France..... | 38,961,495 | 131,110,673 | 4,350,000 | 580,420 | 12.58 | 14.9 |
| Germany..... | 56,367,178 | 153,917,694 | 5,240,000 | 582,498 | 10.33 | 12.3 |
| Great Britain[2] ... | 41,826,457 | 157,517,524 | 884,095 | 217,000[3] | 5.18 | 6.1 |
| Japan[4]..... | 46,732,841 | 18,561,133 | 632,007[5] | 167,629[6] | 3.58 | 4.2 |
| Russia[7]..... | 106,264,136 | 185,790,417 | 5,258,000 | 1,110,000 | 10.44 | 12.4 |
| United States[8] ... | 76,303,387 | 77,655,162[9] | 100,000[10] | 64,336 | 0.84 | 1.0 |

It must be borne in mind that we have never yet been pitted against the land forces of any first-class military Power. If the United States were to fight any of these nations at the present time how much success could its 100,000 dependable troops hope for against their trained regulars? How long could our army cope with the 800,000 veterans Japan was known to have had in Manchuria? and history has recorded events far more improbable than that we may ultimately have to fight her in the Philippines. At present we are at peace with all the world, and it is sincerely to be hoped that we shall continue our amicable relations for a long time to come; but, from the standpoint of true statesmanship, there is much sound advice in Machiavelli's maxim, "Treat your friends as if they will some day become your enemies, and your enemies as if they will some day become your friends." It is well-known to the military authorities of every nation that Japan could put her entire army in the Philippines within a month, the steaming-time from Nagasaki to Manila being about five days. How much chance would our forces have against her 800,000 veterans? Even if we possessed—which we do not—a large enough merchant marine to furnish the requisite number of transports to carry our entire Regular Army at once to the Philippines, our troops would be overwhelmed by mere numbers, our Volunteers certainly could not be got ready to sail within that time, and our Militia is prohibited by the Constitu-

[1] Census of 1900, except in the case of Japan, whose population was taken in 1903. Most of the statistics in this table are taken from the Statesman's Year Book for 1905.—[2] England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland.—[3] Exclusive of the Indian Army, and 10,000 required for the Somaliland Expedition.—[4] The principal Islands.—[5] Last Official Statement, Dec. 31st, 1900. The actual war strength of the Japanese Army is between 900,000 and 1,000,000.—[6] Last Official Statement.—[7] Russia in Europe.—[8] Exclusive of Alaska and the Colonies.—[9] Report of the Secretary of War for the year 1905, p. 62.—[10] Exclusive of Volunteers and Militia.

tion from being used as such outside of the United States. The German military authorities claim that they can embark an army corps in three days, and, allowing sixteen days for crossing the Atlantic, could land more than 200,000 trained regulars within the territorial limits of the United States in five weeks; while it is also well known that, if we should ever be unfortunate enough to come to blows with England, she could put fully 150,000 trained troops on our northern boundary in thirty days. It is left to the reader to draw his own conclusions as to the ability of the United States to fight these forces with its present army and its untrained Volunteers and Militia.

An army is in reality nothing more than a national police; and, unless it is strong enough to maintain order at home and to prevent encroachment and insult from abroad, endless evils and shame must be suffered by the entire people. A strong army protects a nation against such calamities, and may therefore be likened to a strong insurance company conducted by the Government. According to the last statement prepared by the Bureau of Statistics, the "true valuation of real and personal property" in the United States amounted, in 1900, to no less than $94,300,000,000. The maintenance of the Regular Army of 64,336 officers and men in 1905 cost $77,655,162.80, so that this charge, considered from the standpoint of insurance alone, is only 0.83 mills on the dollar or 83-1000 of one per cent. on the valuation of property. An army three times the size of our present army would, it is estimated, cost less than twice the above rate, or about $1.66 *per annum* on every $1,000 of property. The minimum rate of insurance upon dwelling-houses in cities is about $1.50, and on offices seldom less than $3 a year on each $1,000 of property insured. If the reader is a business man, let him compare the rates which he pays the insurance companies with those charged by the United States Government, and ask himself whether he considers $1.66 an exorbitant yearly rate for the security which would be afforded to the nation by an army of 193,000 trained regulars.

Furthermore, there is an ethical as well as a business reason why the United States ought to possess more and better trained soldiers—Regular, Militia and Volunteer—than it now has. In law, contributory negligence which culminates in injury to life or property is always punished, yet our legislators have gone on,

from 1776 down to the present day, apparently blind to the obligation that, as Adams declared, adequate "national defence is one of the cardinal duties of statesmen," and it is indeed a most lamentable fact that *never once have our soldiers gone into a war for which Congress has made the necessary preparations beforehand.* Although one is fully ready to grant that awful blunders have often been made by the Army itself, yet, on the other hand, one cannot refrain from asking whether any set of men in whose hands reposes the power to mould the military organization and to provide all military supplies has the right—moral or otherwise—to send the flower of a country's manhood to be sacrificed on the altar of national honor? At the very best, "war is hell"; and, when our soldiers are forced to die by thousands from wounds, fever, starvation, and lack of medicines and attention, who will attempt to hold blameless the legislators who have neglected their duty? When a man dies through the neglect of another man who might have prevented his death, does not the law call this neglect by a very dire name and punish it accordingly? Is the War Department accountable because, when 200,000 trained soldiers are needed at the outbreak of war, only half that number are forthcoming? Is the War Department responsible, when vast quantities of supplies and medical stores are needed, that only a fraction is provided? Is the War Department to be blamed, when experienced officers are required to lead troops and to administer the branches of the Staff, and experienced surgeons to care for the sick and wounded, because ignorance and parsimony at the Capitol refuse to authorize their employment or to provide them with the proper education? Are Secretaries of War to be held at fault because they have inherited vicious systems and defective organizations which are utterly inadequate to the stress of war, when they were not responsible for the creation of them and when the genius of a Napoleon in their place would be powerless to make the proper changes? Have not the military blunders of our legislators cost appallingly enough already? How much longer are Americans to be taxed for the military education of our legislators who will *not* learn?

Most of us have thought heretofore that the United States had ample military protection, but we have been wofully deceived. If that wonderful fighting-machine known as the "Army

of Austerlitz," of which Napoleon was so proud, abounded in defects which were clearly perceptible upon close examination, with how much more force could that criticism be applied to our Militia and Volunteers in their present condition? Only part of our Militia is organized, and even the organized portion is to-day so very deficient in training as to be practically useless against the regulars of other nations. On paper they may appear formidable enough, but in reality they are very similar to the feet of clay of the imposing figure in Nebuchadnezzar's dream. To be sure, our Regular Army may be likened to the iron legs; but, on the other hand, we must realize that, even if it were mobilized and recruited to the full war strength of 100,000 allowed by Congress, this process would require a minimum of sixty days under the most favorable circumstances. Furthermore, in the event of war we should undoubtedly have to keep 20,000 of the old troops in the Philippines and possibly have to send more of them to these islands. The remaining 40,476 enlisted men would have to be increased to 80,000, the result of which would be that *the Army within the United States would therefore contain only a fraction less than fifty per cent. of recruits,* thus greatly diminishing its actual fighting efficiency at the outset of war. In plain English, these are the numbers and this is the quality of the forces upon which, thanks to Congress, Americans would have to depend for their protection if war were declared to-morrow.

One hundred and twenty-five years ago Washington declared that we "ought to have a good army rather than a large one," and this statement is equally true at the present day. We do not require an immense standing army such as is maintained by each of the leading European nations, but we ought, assuredly, to have an army which should number in time of peace fully one soldier to each 1,000 of population, and in time of war at least 250,000. Since the exigencies of the professions and of business will undoubtedly prevent its ever being possible to give the Militia the training which would enable it to cope with foreign regulars, this organization must be relegated to the third line of defence, and nothing more should be expected of it. The creation of a First Reserve similar to that which exists in every European army is therefore imperative, and this Reserve ought to consist at least of 100,000 men who have had some previous experi-

ence in the Regular Army or in the United States Volunteers during actual war. If Congress will only provide some such organization *in sufficient time to be in thorough working order before our next war,* and, in its formation, will carefully remember the cardinal rule enunciated by Calhoun eighty-five years ago, *viz.: "that at the commencement of hostilities there should be nothing either to new model or create,"*[1] some profit will then at last have been derived from the costly lessons of the past, and the United States may finally be assured of adequate protection.

No nation in the entire history of the world has yet neglected its military strength without ultimately paying the penalty. France was the foremost military power from 1800 to 1812,

[1] The Act of March 2nd, 1821, was the outcome of a resolution of the House of Representatives on May 11th, 1820, directing the Secretary of War to report at the next session "a plan for the reduction of the Army to 6,000 non-commissioned officers and privates. . . ."

The plan presented by Mr. Calhoun is worthy of the most careful study even at the present time; it is a most remarkable document, inasmuch as he traced the general scheme for an expansive organization such as every army in Europe has now found it necessary to adopt. In his report to Congress, made in December, 1820, Mr Calhoun wrote:

"*If our liberty should ever be endangered by the military power gaining the ascendency, it will be from the necessity of making those mighty and irregular efforts to retrieve our affairs after a series of disasters, caused by the want of adequate military knowledge,* just as in our physical system a state of the most dangerous excitement and paroxysm follows that of the greatest debility and prostration. *To avoid these dangerous consequences, and to prepare the country to meet a state of war, particularly at its commencement, with honor and safety, much must depend on the organization of our military peace establishment,* and I have accordingly, in a plan about to be proposed for the reduction of the Army, directed my attention mainly to that point, believing it to be of the greatest importance.

"*To give such an organization, the leading principles in its formation ought to be that, at the commencement of hostilities, there should be nothing either to new model or to create. The only difference, consequently, between the peace and the war formation of the Army, ought to be in the increased magnitude of the latter, and the only change in passing from the former to the latter should consist in giving to it the augmentation which will then be necessary.*

"*It is thus, and thus only, the dangerous transition from peace to war may be made without confusion or disorder, and the weakness and danger which otherwise would be inevitable be avoided. Two consequences result from this principle: First, the organization of the staff in a peace establishment ought to be such that every branch of it should be completely formed, with such extension as the number of troops and posts occupied may render necessary; and, secondly, that the organization of the line ought, as far as practicable, to be such that, in passing from the peace to the war formation, the force may be sufficiently augmented without adding new regiments or battalions, thus raising the war on the basis of the peace establishment, instead of creating a new army to be added to the old,* as at the commencement of the late war." —American State Papers, II, p. 189. The italics are ours.

and again in 1860, and Russia was presumed to be invincible less than three years ago. Yet we all know what terrible humiliation France underwent in 1870-1871 and what defeats Russia has just suffered. Do we fondly imagine that we are going to escape the consequences, when, in actual fact, we are not one whit better prepared for war than they were? We have gone on entirely too long laboring under a grave delusion, and giving a new version to the old proverb so as to make it read, "The Lord takes care of babes, fools and the United States!" We have become a "World-Power," with duties and responsibilities which we never have had before. We have rich possessions upon which other nations naturally look with covetous eyes; we have a great country whose prosperity is unexampled. Unless we are strong enough to hold the one and to protect the other, our day of reckoning is sure to come.

When will our American people awake to the facts, and when will our legislators heed the handwriting on the wall?

FREDERIC LOUIS HUIDEKOPER.

# SCIENTIFIC AGRICULTURE.

BY FRANCES EVELYN, COUNTESS OF WARWICK.

It has been cynically set down as characteristic of the average Englishman that he does the best possible things in the worst possible way. Given a perfect site, like Trafalgar Square, the inappreciative Londoner fills it with Landseer lions, squirting fountains, and a Nelson Column, and he crowns the whole with a pepper-box perched on the National Gallery; while the resourceful Parisian, with far inferior advantages, makes the Place de la Concorde a thing of beauty and a joy forever. Perhaps this is true, and possibly from the foot you may judge Hercules.

In like manner, and as another illustration of the same phase of character, the English farmer, with a soil above reproach, and a climate—whatever may be said against it—free from the vicious extremes of drought and deluge, has not made as much as he might have made out of his broad acres; and the Englishman even now dreads defects in his navy, not from any abstract fear of invasion, but from the exceedingly concrete alarm lest some foreign foe may intercept those merchant ships by means of which he is fed at the hand of other nations, as literally as though John Bull were a great grown-up child.

He is going to change all this—is, indeed, in process of doing so; but, like all his changes, this altered *modus operandi* in agriculture comes about very slowly, and is made only after its advocates have been for a long while denounced as faddists. When it is adopted by and by, it will be rushed and carried to any extent, just as, after scraping chin and cheek for ages, John Bull woke up one morning and found himself bearded like the pard.

Perhaps, however, in the special department of agriculture this neglect of opportunities, and failure to keep pace with the times, is less a national peculiarity than one ingrained in the subject.

Even the sometimes boastful Frenchman owns the impeachment of neglect in this special pursuit, as a distinguished French Professor acknowledged. Said M. Berthelot, addressing the Agricultural Society of France:

"The good old times of ignorance raised to a principle have passed away. Science cannot be reserved for a narrow oligarchy. It is important that all the citizens of a free country shall share in the highest ideal. No ideal is superior to that of agriculture. Country life is the normal type of human life. In it only can manhood be developed in its plenitude. Country life favors at once material health of body and moral soundness of mind. The robust, industrious and intelligent countryman has always constituted the strength of nations."

But the ideal rustic seems to have contented himself, all the world over, with resting on that fact. He appears to have taken it for granted—this happy, healthy rustic—that what did for his forefathers will do for him. Other departments of life have their developments and go with the times, but who ever dreamed of calling agriculture a science, or pursuing it by scientific methods?

Well, the schoolmaster—often identified with the faddist—is abroad, and has found a good deal of late years, to teach his somewhat rebellious pupils.

First and foremost, here in England, he is pointing out, and we "cannot choose but hear," that the land has been allowed to go out of cultivation, until we have become to a very dangerous extent dependent on foreign nations for our foodstuffs, and if by chance, in these days of quick changes, we should find ourselves "isolated," as the contumacious clergy are by their bishops, we should be at a loss to get the wherewithal for a square meal. This is the point that is being constantly mentioned, though with bated breath, in England; and the possibility of such a danger results from the twofold cause that the land has been allowed to go uncultivated, and that we have neglected to keep pace with the times in treating what is under culture. Possibly the two causes resolve themselves into one. People do not neglect a remunerative occupation; and, if intelligence had been brought to bear on agriculture, it would have paid so well that there would have been no temptation to relinquish it in favor of other pursuits. The rural exodus would not have occurred, and overcrowding in city populations would have been avoided.

Our contention is that the soil of England is sufficient to feed

the population: that there are more than adequate supplies of labor available (we have our own special "fad" on that subject, of course), and that the missing link is the non-application to this particular science of the method which we apply to all other sciences. In one word, we degrade agriculture from its position as a science. We fail to realize that it is a science.

Why? Doubtless, in the first instance, on account of its immemorial antiquity. It dates from the beginning of things. The earliest occupation of aboriginal man—*and* woman, I personally may be allowed to remark—was to dress the garden and to till the ground. I must ask to be allowed the luxury of an occasional first person singular pronoun; and I would say that I include under the one science, for the purpose of this thesis, the twin occupations of agriculture and horticulture, just as I myself make no distinction between the male and female laborer on the soil. These are the initial sciences. With regard to any new upstart of a science, like geology, biology, or even phrenology, which are, by comparison, things of yesterday, no difficulty whatever is felt in giving them due rank and precedence; but, because agriculture dates back to hoar antiquity and has its archives in Egypt, Mesopotamia and China, we reverse our ordinary reverence for age, and seem to think that any rule-of-thumb work is good enough for the tiller of the ground.

Of course, it is easy to torture this attitude of neglect into its exact opposite, and to say, as if enunciating some fine old crusted Conservative maxim, that, by taking agriculture out of the category of ordinary sciences, we are exempting it from the fluctuations to which more recent sciences are liable. The plough, we submit, is now virtually the same implement as Hesiod describes in his "Works and Days," or Virgil in his poem on Husbandry. That is all very true, but quite inconclusive. Agriculture has not stood still; and if the agriculturist thinks fit to assume an attitude of stagnation, he will simply be left behind in the race of progress.

Now, it is something to have got this fact enunciated by a real live professor at one of our ancient English Universities, which are often certainly identified with a dead and buried past. "A hundred years ago," said the Sibthorpian Professor of Rural Economy at Oxford, by way of claiming for Agricultural Science a place in a University Education, "Agricultural Science was

almost exclusively associated with botany. The term Agricultural Chemistry, now so familiar, comes first into prominence as the title of Sir Humphry Davy's lectures before the Board of Agriculture, published in 1813." Biology, too, has its sphere in the various problems connected with the soil. "Our knowledge of the life and work of the minute living organisms dwelling in the soil," says the same Professor, "is as yet only commencing; but the facts already learned respecting the functions discharged by several species of them are so remarkable that they will rank among the chief discoveries of the century." It is well pointed out that, a hundred years ago, agriculture was only an art having few points of contact with natural science. But the term Agricultural Science is no longer a misnomer. To speak of geology as a natural science, and to deny the same rank to the modern science of agriculture, is utterly illogical. Outside pure mathematics, all our sciences are more or less mixed. They are groups of facts related to each other, but with special reference to some definite subject. Such is the case with chemistry, physics, botany, physiology, and such, too, is the case with agriculture. It is as much a department of science as geology or medicine. As practised by the average farmer, it is an art. As taught by the professor, it may be pure science; but the ideal scientific agriculture is that combination of profession with practice which constitutes a mixed science, and more than justifies the expression "Scientific Agriculture."

In 1893, the Royal Agricultural Society passed a resolution to the following effect: That, in the opinion of the Royal Agricultural Society of England, it is desirable that provision be made in all Universities for the granting of a degree in Science for students of agriculture. The importance of the subject has, for more than a century, been recognized in the Scotch Universities; and, in the University of Durham, agriculture has since 1890 been among the subjects qualifying for a degree in Science. More recent still is the work done by the University Extension College at Reading, where the curriculum is in itself a justification of the scientific status occupied by agriculture. The subjects are: (1) Agriculture proper; (2) Chemistry; (3) Biology; (4) Mathematics; (5) Geology; (6) Engineering; (7) Physiology and Hygiene, etc.

It is satisfactory to reflect that this identification of agri-

culture with such a galaxy of recognized sciences has not been reached *per saltum,* by a hop, skip and a jump, but in the due and orderly course of evolution. To be, for one moment, chronological, we may look back so far as the period of the wars that grew out of the French Revolution. At this epoch, say from 1795 to 1814, the price of provisions gave a great stimulus to agriculture in England. The Royal Agricultural Society, however, was not founded until 1838. Its objects were avowedly to encourage improvements in agriculture, such, for instance, as the application of chemistry thereto, the study of mechanics and engineering for the construction of agricultural implements, of botany for variations in grain, and forestry for the development of different growths.

Prominent among the provisions of the century stand the processes of deep ploughing and thorough draining; the construction of the steam-plough, of reaping and threshing machines; the chemical combination of artificial manures, and the use of ensilage. Surveying these advances along different lines of science, some optimists have not hesitated to say that the agriculture of Great Britain has more than kept pace with that of other countries. And it is really refreshing to be able to entertain such an estimate, just at a time when alarmists are crying out that our trade has emigrated to Germany, and our military prestige vanished into thin air. What if, after all, a revived and scientific agriculture should be destined to form for England the Great Compensation!

Orderly though the development of our science has been, then, from 1815 to the present the advance has been by leaps and bounds, especially in the departments of machinery, chemistry, and that organic faction of the latter science which trenches on physiology. It is well to regard the circles of expansion in that order, taking machinery as the earliest or most rudimentary. This, when we come to think of it, represents nothing beyond the manipulation of material. It creates nothing; but merely aids and increases the productive force of nature. Chemistry is the great agent, especially in the way of artificial fertilizers; and the part of physiology is one that suggests endless possibilities, as, for instance, in the prolongation of human life, and the protection of lower animal life against epidemics. The science of selection has yet its work to make in the department of agriculture; but

the possibilities are boundless and full of encouragement, based as they are on the study of living nature.

One word more—one additional Professor to complete my trio—a final subsidence into the first person singular, and I have done.

It is, of course, on such a subject as this, distinctly advantageous to get the testimony of *savants,* and especially so when they are not, as was the case with M. Berthelot and with the Sibthorpian Professor, enlightening their audiences on this special subject, but just throwing a side-light which is all the more valuable because unstudied.

Professor Francis William Newman, brother of the Cardinal and formerly occupant of the Latin Chair in London University, wrote on the subject of Diet, with the special object of glorifying Vegetarianism. With that, or any other of his "isms" (which were many), we are not concerned. Taking the two aboriginal pursuits of pasturage and tillage, however, the "Emeritus" Professor, as he delighted to call himself, brought the full force of his heavy statistics to bear on this project of Scientific Agriculture. He takes the advance from hunting, *via* pasturage, to tillage as marking distinct grades in the development of civilization, the transition from pasture to agriculture being even more marked than the substitution of tame cattle for quarry; and, with special reference to agriculture in England, Professor Newman finds special importance in the fact that, on an island limited in size like Great Britain, "to produce as much human food as *one* acre of cultivated land will yield, *three* or even *four* acres of grazing-land are needed."

Putting professors out of the question, however, and treating the subject as one of ordinary experience, with which any person of average intelligence is qualified to deal, it is obvious that agriculture must, like everything else, keep pace with the times. There are, at all events in nature, no exceptions. All goes by rule, and all must conform to the law of progress. It would be no advantage to agriculture to perch it on a pedestal and insist on keeping it just as it was in the days of our grandsires. On the contrary we must bring it down to the level of ordinary life, and give it every advantage we can from progressive discoveries. Then, and then only, can we with any confidence say of a science as to which the aspiration is peculiarly appropriate—"*Floreat!*"

F. E. Warwick.

# ON THE PUBLISHING OF PLAYS.

BY BRANDER MATTHEWS, PROFESSOR OF DRAMATIC LITERATURE IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

It is recorded in Mr. Morley's biography that, in a debate of the Essay Club, which Gladstone founded when he was an undergraduate at Oxford, it was finally decided that "the influence of the modern drama, though trifling in degree" was "in quality pernicious." The biographer does not inform us whether this verdict covered the modern drama in other languages than English; but it was rendered in 1830, just as Victor Hugo was bringing out "Hernani," the earliest of the Romanticist plays which were to prepare the path for the later Realistic pieces of Augier and Dumas *fils*. Probably the conservative young aristocrats of Oxford would have arrived at the same decision if they had known Hugo's lyrical melodramas, and if they had foreseen the comedies of Augier and of Dumas. The conclusion to which they came, nearly fourscore years ago, is one which could scarcely be disputed by a student of the English dramatic literature of the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century.

But, in the final quarter of that century, there began to be signs of a returning vitality in the drama of our own tongue, and its influence began to be neither trifling nor pernicious. Probably the stimulus of this revival may be due in a measure to Ibsen, whose social dramas, acted and read and discussed, proved that it was again possible to deal in the theatre, seriously and even austerely, with themes of compelling importance. Both in Great Britain and in the United States men of letters were aroused to take a more intelligent interest in the stage. Especially significant of this new birth is the fact that the acted drama is again printed and published, to be read and to assert its ancient right to a place on the shelves of the library, as well as on the boards of the theatre. Not only are the dramatic works of foreign

writers, Rostand and Sudermann, d'Annunzio and Echegaray, translated for the reader, but the practical playwrights of our own language, Mr. Gilbert, Mr. Jones, and Mr. Pinero, Mr. Thomas and Mr. Fitch, have been encouraged to publish their plays.

These working dramatists thus revealed their willingness to be judged by the double test, that of the stage, first of all, of course, and that of the study afterward, recognizing the position of the library as the tribunal of last resort, even though the theatre must ever be the court of first instance. It is true that certain other dramatists, Mr. Bronson Howard, Mr. Gillette and Mr. Barrie, who have succeeded in interesting thousands of spectators, have not yet been moved to publish their plays for the pleasure of hundreds of readers; but there is no reason to suppose that they will not sooner or later follow the example of their fellow craftsmen. It is to be hoped that the habit of play-reading may become as well established among the English-speaking peoples as it has been always among the French, in whose language the drama has never been allowed to divorce itself from literature.

Of course, there is no need that all the plays that please us on the stage should be published in the vain belief that they will delight us also in the study. In every period when the drama has flourished most luxuriantly, a majority of the pieces performed with profit are devoid of those indefinable qualities which warrant us in classing them as literature. There is no need that they should have these qualities; and their triumph in the theatre is due to their possession of purely theatric merits. As Voltaire once asserted, we all know "that, in the playhouse, it does not take much to make that successful which we despise in the reading." It cannot be said too often or too emphatically that the drama, even if it sometimes attains to the loftiest heights of poetry, is always a department of the show business. This double aspect of the drama is admirably set forth in the prologue of "Faust"; and Goethe would not deny that only now and again does the drama rise into literature. Only now and again, even in the richest epochs of dramatic poetry, do we find a succession of masterpieces, solidly framed in accordance with the demands of the actual theatre of its own time, and informed also with the veracity and the humanity which we expect in real literature.

That the majority of the plays presented in the theatres of London under Elizabeth and James were pretty poor stuff must

be confessed frankly by every student of that glorious epoch. That the majority of the plays performed in the Athenian theatre were also pretty poor stuff will be admitted as highly probable by every scholar who seizes the significance of the fact that there were hundreds of these lyrical dramas, and that only a scant two-score of the accepted masterpieces of the three acknowledged chiefs have been preserved for our profit. Indisputably, we should have a higher opinion of the Elizabethan drama if there were extant only half a hundred of its very best specimens. It is unfair to suppose that Greek tragedy, as a whole, attained to the exalted level of Æschylus, Sophocles and Euripides; and we can easily convince ourselves that the loss would be small if we had been forever deprived of the many plays brought out abundantly by the forgotten contemporaries of Corneille, Molière and Racine.

The more conscientiously we study the history of the drama, the more certainly we come to the conclusion that there has never been a time when most of the plays actually presented on the stage would not justify the contempt expressed by Dr. Johnson, who had himself failed as a dramatist. "The theatre," he said, "is peopled by such characters as were never seen, conversing in a language which was never heard, upon topicks which will never arise in the commerce of mankind." Yet these pieces, which the burly dogmatist despised, and which would to-day seem to us empty and absurd, if we could see them acted, may have provided the specific pleasure of the theatre for those who first saw them performed. There is no reason why these pieces should ever be published; they belong to the theatre, and to the theatre only, and in the theatre they should be left. They have no claim for promotion to the library. Who wants to read the text of "The Black Crook"? Who wants to read the words of "The Two Orphans"?—even though the latter is really a masterpiece of play-making mechanism, of sheer dramaturgic craftsmanship.

It was on the occasion of the centenary of the birth of Scribe,—that master craftsman who was in no sense a man of letters, but who was in every sense a man of the theatre, influencing the development of the drama in almost every direction,—it was on this appropriate occasion that a French student of the stage set forth clearly the fact, so often overlooked by purely literary critics, that there are plays, not a few and not unimportant, "which address themselves far more to the eye and to the ear

than to the mind, and which therefore need care little about literary form." Among the non-literary elements of a play is the plot, that is, "the combination of events, and often also these events themselves." There is a part of any tragic or comic action, consisting solely in spectacle, in things seen or heard, "deeds or gestures, tears or laughter, which is untranslatable by the written word, and which even if it contributes to literature at times, and serves now and then as a support of literature, is not integrally related to it." Often theatric art consists solely in this adroit combination of events; and "there have been, and there always will be, pieces which, even if they happen to be carefully written, owe all their effect to this alone." But sometimes an interpreting imagination and a beauty of form are added to this ingenuity of combination, "are superimposed on this essential element of theatric art—then, and then only, can the drama claim to be a department of literature."

In other words, theatric art may be sufficient unto itself without the aid of literature. Invention and construction, the appeal to the eye and to the ear, the ingenious utilization of contrast, climax and suspense;—these qualities are essential in the theatre, and in the theatre they may suffice for our pleasure with little or no aid from literature. Without these qualities the drama is a thing of naught; and, therefore, the so-called "drama for the closet" is a contradiction in terms, an arrant absurdity, having as little relation to the true drama as the architectural fantasies of Piranesi have to the art of building. But when a play has only these essential qualities, it is for the theatre alone; it is not for the library. It is actable, even if it is unreadable, just as the dramatic poems of Shelley and of Swinburne are unactable, even if they are readable. Only when a play possesses also certain added merits, not easily specified, does it rise into literature, and take its proper position in the study as well as on the stage.

"Dramatic works," so Fontenelle declared two centuries ago, "have two tribunals to satisfy, both equally dangerous, one because it is too tumultuous, the other because it is too quiet; and a work is fully assured of glory only when the quiet tribunal has confirmed the decision of the tumultuous tribunal." And the younger Dumas said the same thing, even more sharply, when he asserted that "the spectator can give only success, it is the reader who confers renown."

As the qualities essential in the theatre are the same, whether the play has indisputable literary merit or is almost devoid of this, it is often difficult to declare whether a play is or is not really possessed of literary merit. A play having the essential theatric qualification may have more or less literary merit; and there is no little difficulty in drawing a line of demarcation. Of all Shakespere's predecessors, for instance, Kyd is the most accomplished playwright, and his "Spanish Tragedy" had an immediate success and a prolonged vogue. But is it a piece of literature, or is it only a turgid melodrama? Of all the popular dramatic authors in England in the midyears of the nineteenth century, Lytton was the most popular, and every young actress wanted to display herself in "The Lady of Lyons." But is that a piece of literature, or is it only a clever example of tawdry theatricalism? What about the "Louis XI" which Irving made so startlingly effective? What about "The Fool's Revenge" which Booth sustained by the might of his histrionic art? The French originals of these plays were written, one by Casimir Delavigne and the other by Victor Hugo; but is either play really literature in the loftier meaning of the word? Does it reward the reader, as it rewarded the spectator? And how about "The Second Mrs. Tanqueray" of Mr. Pinero, and the "Liars" of Mr. Jones, the "Alabama" of Mr. Thomas and the "Climbers" of Mr. Fitch? Are their merits merely theatric, or have they also enough of the indefinable quality which is needful to make us accept them also as literature? Take the comic operas of Mr. Gilbert, "Patience" and "Pinafore"; do they deserve consideration as literature, the same consideration as we are ready to give to Sheridan's "Duenna" and to Gay's "Beggar's Opera"?

Such are the questions we can now answer for ourselves, since these contemporary playwrights, having won favorable verdict from the tumultuous tribunal of the theatre, are now publishing their plays to ask the judgment also of the quiet tribunal of the library. This is a return to the former practice of the playmakers of our language, a practice which endured as late as the beginning of the nineteenth century. A publisher offered Sheridan two thousand pounds for the right to print "Pizarro"; and one at least of the books which Miss Lydia Languish hastened to hide when Sir Anthony Absolute was announced was a play. In Richardson's "Sir Charles Grandison," Miss Byron,

writing to Miss Selby, said, "I know, my dear, you love to read plays," and thereupon the fair correspondent promptly threw her narrative into dialogue, as though it was a scene from a drama. In one of Hazlitt's essays, he declared that "to read a good comedy is to keep the best company in the world, where the best things are said, and the most amusing happen."

If it was profitable to publish English plays in the eighteenth century, and if the young ladies of that remote era liked to read plays, this was partly because the drama had not yet been thrust into the background by the swelling vogue of the novel,—a vogue which followed swiftly on the sweeping success of Scott's romances, and which now shows little sign of abating even after fourscore years. When Richardson wrote "Sir Charles Grandison," the novel had not yet established itself as a formidable rival of the play; and readers who enjoyed story-telling were then accustomed to gratify their liking for adventure by the perusal of play-books rather than of prose romances, then fewer in quantity and inferior in quality. Within the century after Richardson, the conditions were totally changed, and the novel became not only more abundant than the play, but also far superior to it. In prose fiction Scott had been followed by Dickens and by Thackeray, whereas in the drama there was nobody to sustain the unequal comparison but Bulwer or Boucicault. It is not to be wondered at that the habit of reading plays died out.

Now, in this first decade of the twentieth century, after the divorce of the drama and literature has lasted some threescore years and ten, the span of a man's life, there seems to be a likelihood of a reconciliation. No sign will be more hopeful for the future of our dramatic literature than a revival of the habit of reading plays. Even for the readers themselves, there will be many advantages in acquiring this habit, since the drama is in itself a nobler form than the novel, and since the perusal of the contemporary playwrights may tempt a chosen few to the pleasure they can find in the dramatic poets of the past. For some readers there may be other advantages; and the womanly author of the clever "Counsels of a Worldly Godmother" has recently insisted on the benefit to be derived from reading and reading and rereading and again reading the best dramatists, in order to learn from them the secret of dialogue: "That is the best school for

conversation, and it is one which every girl who would make the most of herself should be trained in."

There is no reason to suppose that the published play is likely to succeed in substituting itself for the novel in the hands of the average reader; the position of prose fiction is not really in danger. But there is no reason why the average reader of to-day should not now find the same pleasure in the perusal of a play that was felt by the average reader of Sheridan's time or of Richardson's. The chief obstacle to his reacquiring the habit of reading plays is one which the playwrights have it in their power to remove at once. He is now accustomed to the flowing narrative of the novel, and he does not find it easy to understand the summary indications of places and of action which are all that most playwrights are willing to provide him with. The dramatists must accept the situation; and, if they wish a play to be read, they must present it in print so that it is easy to read. They must clothe the play with certain of the graces of the prose fiction to which the average reader is now accustomed, and which he has learned to expect. They must amplify their descriptions of character and of action, as aids to his sluggish imagination enervated by a too exclusive devotion to the novel. In other words, they must translate what they have written in the shorthand of the theatre into the fuller and customary language of the library.

Of necessity, the practical playwrights think in terms of the actual theatre of their own time. This is what Sophocles did, and Shakespere, and Molière. To-day they conceive the story as taking place on the stage itself, with a succession of painted sets as its backgrounds. Their intentions as to these painted sets and as to the movements of the characters therein, they express in what may be called the sign language of the stage, a speech scientifically precise and entirely satisfactory to the playwrights themselves, to the stage-manager, to the actors, and to all those who live, move and have their being in the theatre. To the average reader, however, this sign language is not only incomprehensible, it is also irritating and repellent; he does not know what to make of it; and he is as unwilling to take the trouble to fathom its mysteries as he is to acquire the art of understanding the signals of the Morse code ticked off by the telegraph-sounder.

Here, for example, is the baldly brief manner in which the

scene at the opening of the second act of the "Esmeralda" of Mrs. Burnett and Mr. Gillette is described in the stage edition of that interesting play:

*"Scene.—Studio. Easel up R C—small table for paint above to R of it. Table down L bowl on it. Table down R. Window C. D R 3—D L 3—Cupboard R 2. Fireplace R 2.*

*"Discovered.—Nora and Kate in pretty, quaint costumes. Nora up C at easel; Kate left at table. Kate decorating large punch-bowl. Nora painting panel."*

And here again is the way in which Boucicault indicated summarily, and for the stage-manager only, the thrilling escape of Shaun in his most effective Irish play "Arrah-na-Pogue," a drama which had a little of the glamour of Celtic romance:

*"Wall descends. Shaun climbs up as wall descends, and by the ledge reaches 2nd flat of wall. Climbs up as it descends, and upon the set platform of room, when the Soldier (coming on and going off R.) has his back turned to him. Shaun goes up to the cannon, climbs on it and out of gap. Soldier comes on, looks off front, down the wall, while Shaun climbs through gap. Soldier exits, R. Shaun is seen back of 4th groove, flat, climbing along wall to exit, R. All is worked down. Gas up."*

Now, it is simply absurd to suppose that the average reader, accustomed to the ampler description of the modern novel, will take any interest in these shorthand indications. If the playwright wants to have his play read by the general public, he must translate it out of the special dialect of the stage folk into the speech of the people. Just as the full score of an orchestral work is transposed for the simpler piano, so the prompt copy of a piece needs to be expanded when the play is published in the hope of pleasing the reader as it has already pleased the spectators. A rumor is current that one of the most adroit and artistic of American playwrights was indignant that a firm of publishers had summarily declined to print one of his most effective plays. But his indignation was wholly without warrant if he had presented to the publishers the manuscript of his piece in the shape in which he would present it to the managers. This American playwright is wont to take infinite pains with the presentation of his pieces before the spectators in the theatre; and he ought to have foreseen the necessity of taking some trouble also to prepare his play for the different needs of the reader in the library.

So much of the purely theatric effect will be lost in the transference of the drama from the stage to the study, that the least the dramatist can do is to put forth every effort to preserve as much as may be possible, and to make it easy for the willing reader to reconstruct for himself the actual performance.

This is what has been done very carefully by some modern dramatists who have devised their plays for the actual theatre, first and foremost, but who have also taken into account the necessities of the mere reader. Here, for example, is the opening description of Ibsen's "Little Eyolf," in which we are supplied at once with all that is needful for us to visualize, first, the place where the story begins to unfold itself, and, second, the appearance of the two important characters who begin the play:

"*A pretty and richly decorated garden-room, full of furniture, flowers and plants. At the back, open glass doors, leading out to a veranda. An extensive view over the fjord. In the distance, wooded hillsides. A door in each of the side walls, the one on the right a folding-door, placed far back. In front on the right, a sofa, with cushions and rugs. Beside the sofa, a small table and chairs. In front, to the left, a larger table with arm-chairs around it. On the table stands an open hand-bag. It is an early summer morning, with warm sunshine.*

"*Mrs. Rita Allmers stands beside the table, facing towards the left, engaged in unpacking the bag. She is a handsome, rather tall, well-developed blonde, about thirty years of age, dressed in a light-colored morning-gown.*

"*Shortly after, Miss Asta Allmers enters by the door on the right, wearing a light-brown summer dress, with hat, jacket and parasol. Under her arm she carries a rather large locked portfolio. She is slim, of middle height, with dark hair, and deep, earnest eyes. Twenty-five years old.*"

Even more elaborate are the indications of scenery and of stage business which Mr. Bernard Shaw has employed to make his plays easy reading. These descriptions are never telegraphic in their brevity; they are ample and rich in characteristic detail. They are always as readable as the dialogue itself; and they are often quite as amusing. Here, for instance, is a portion only of the several elaborate paragraphs by means of which Mr. Shaw, at the very beginning of his play, introduces to us two of the characters who are to take part in "The Devil's Disciple":

"*At the most wretched hour between a black night and a wintry morning in the year 1777, Mrs. Dudgeon, of New Hampshire, is sitting*

*up in the kitchen and general dwelling-room of her farm-house on the outskirts of the town of Websterbridge. She is not a prepossessing woman. No woman looks her best after sitting up all night; and Mrs. Dudgeon's face, even at its best, is grimly trenched by the channels into which the barren forms and observances of a dead Puritanism can pen a bitter temper and a fierce pride. She is an elderly matron who has worked hard, and got nothing by it except dominion and detestation in her sordid home, and an unquestioned reputation for piety and respectability among her neighbors, to whom drink and debauchery are still so much more tempting than religion and rectitude that they conceive goodness simply as self-denial. This conception is easily extended to others-denial, and finally generalized as covering everything disagreeable. So Mrs. Dudgeon, being exceedingly disagreeable, is held to be exceedingly good. Short of flat felony, she enjoys complete license except for amiable weaknesses of any sort, and is consequently, without knowing it, the most licentious woman in the parish on the strength of never having broken the seventh commandment or missed a Sunday at the Presbyterian church.*

. . . . . .

*"Suddenly there comes a tapping at the door, not loud enough to wake the sleepers. Then knocking, which disturbs Mrs. Dudgeon a little. Finally, the latch is tried; whereupon she springs up at once.*

*"Mrs. Dudgeon (threateningly):* Well, why don't you open the door? *(She sees that the girl is asleep, and immediately raises a clamor of heartfelt vexation).* Well, dear, dear me! Now, this is—, *shaking her:* Wake up, wake up: do you hear?"

Mr. Pinero, on the other hand, prefers an austerer method, like that of the dramatists of France,—a fortunate country in which the habit of reading plays was never allowed to lapse, and in which the playwrights have always been conscientious in preparing library editions of their complete works. Mr. Pinero wisely eschews the shorthand of the prompt copy; but his indications of background and of action are summary, as though he chose to let his characters speak for themselves, and as though he wished to rely solely on his dialogue to convey his full intent. This sober presentation of the words of the play is not without advantages of its own, as the reader's attention is concentrated upon what the several characters say. But one may venture to doubt whether a more elaborate explanation would not be profitable for English readers at the present time, when they need to be allured into the acquiring of a new habit,—when they are to be coaxed into a new groove. One may venture to doubt whether

the passages already quoted from Ibsen and from Mr. Shaw are not more likely to accomplish their purpose than a passage like the following taken from Mr. Pinero's "The Cabinet Minister":

> *"The scene is a conservatory built and decorated in Moorish style, in the house of the Rt. Hon. Sir Julian Twombley, M.P., Chesterfield Gardens, London. A fountain is playing, and tall palms lend their simple elegance to the elaborate Algerian magnificence of the place. The drawing-rooms are just beyond the curtained entrance. It is a May afternoon.*
>
> *"Brooke Twombley, a good-looking but insipid young man of about two-and-twenty, faultlessly dressed for the afternoon, enters, and sits dejectedly, turning over some papers."*

This much the professional playwrights must do if they hope to tempt the average reader to the perusal of their pieces; they must smooth the path of any one who is willing to embark on the novel enterprise of playreading; they must make the way straight before him. But the reader, in his turn, needs also to take a little trouble; and he must not only overcome the initial difficulty of enjoying a story set forth in bare dialogue, he must also train himself, as best he can, to visualize the action of the drama he has in hand. He will get more pleasure out of its perusal, if he is able to evoke, however faintly, the actual color of the scenes and the actual movement of the characters, as though the play was being acted before him. That is to say, he needs to summon all his imaginative sympathy to picture an actual performance, in his mind's eye, so to speak.

The reader needs often to be reminded that the masterpieces of the great dramatic poets were all written to be performed by actors, in a theatre, before an audience. None of them was prepared primarily for the reader, but only secondarily for him. It is in the theatre alone that the drama is truly alive; and there alone does it disclose itself in all its beauty. What Mr. Henry James says of Ibsen is equally true of Sophocles, of Shakespere, and of Molière,—that "it is impossible to read him without perceiving that merely book in hand we but half know him,—he addresses himself so substantially to representation." And therefore must we, book in hand, put out all our energy to imagine the black-and-white skeleton proffered by the printed page, bodied forth by flesh-and-blood figures, framed in the broad arch of the playhouse, wherein the drama had its birth and wherein it breathes most largely.

Perhaps it is impossible to do this completely; and to do it at all is difficult enough. Most readers lack the needful imagination, and most of them are also without a sufficient acquaintance with the art of the stage. Sir Walter Scott spoke for many another man of letters when he confessed that he felt "severely the want of knowledge of theatrical business," and when he admitted himself "inadequate to estimate those criticisms which rest on stage effect." Not only men of letters, but also men of the theatre, managers of experience and of intelligence, are unable to perceive in the book, and to foresee, the exact effect which a play will make on them when it comes to be performed. Yet the effort to visualize a performance, however insufficient may be the result, is ever its own reward, for it gives the willing reader just so much more pleasure, just so much more insight into the ultimate value of the book in hand.

It is a good augury for the immediate future of the English drama that the promising playwrights of our tongue are again taking thought of the reader, book in hand, and are now appealing once more to him as well as to the playgoer. Nothing is more likely to stimulate the ambition of our dramatists, to lead them to the choice of ampler themes, to nerve them to the utmost endeavor, to give them the hope that they may find favor also in the library after they have conquered in the theatre. But of these two victories there is no doubt which is the more important, and in which area a triumph is achieved with most difficulty. The play is, and has been, and always will be, written to be played, by actors, in a theatre, and before an audience; and this is why Shakespere and Molière were careless in collecting their masterpieces for posterity. They had succeeded in pleasing their contemporaries who flocked to see their plays performed. What could they wish for more? As M. Coquelin pointed out in the splendidly illuminative lecture on Molière and Shakespere which the incomparable comedian delivered in New York now nearly a score of years ago, these two great dramatists were indifferent to the printing of their works, because "they did not recognize these on paper. 'Tartuffe' and 'Hamlet' existed for them only before the footlights. It was only there that they felt their plays bone of their bone and flesh of their flesh."

BRANDER MATTHEWS.

# THE FUTURE OF THE BRITISH WEST INDIES.

BY W. P. LIVINGSTONE.

THE reduction of the British naval and military establishments in the West Indies, to a point which means the practical abandonment of the colonies as a factor in the scheme of Imperial defence, has brought up once more for discussion the value of the political relation which binds them to Great Britain. A few years ago, it was the acknowledged purpose of the Home Government to render both Jamaica and St. Lucia impregnable as naval stations, and up to a recent date large sums of money were being expended on the construction of barracks and fortifications. All new works have now, however, been stopped, the white troops are being withdrawn, and the military lands are being turned over to the local Governments or offered for sale.

This policy is, no doubt, largely dictated by the necessity for rearranging the strategic bases of the Empire in view of modern world-developments; but it is significant that it coincides with the growth of American power in the Caribbean. Previous to the war with Spain, the United States possessed no foothold in the West Indies: since then, her outposts have been extended halfway down the chain of islands, and the control of the main shipping routes in the region has passed into her hands. Two sites for naval stations have been acquired in Cuba. Bahia Honda is nearly opposite Key West, and both guard the entrance to the Gulf of Mexico. Guantanamo, an extensive stretch of sheltered water, will command the Windward Passage hitherto dominated by Jamaica. Puerto Rico and Culebra defend the Mona Passage. It is only a question of time ere Mole St. Nicolas on the Haitian side of the Windward route is secured, while Samana Bay, probably the finest harbor in the West Indies, is marked

out for early American possession. The operation of the Monroe Doctrine will prevent St. Thomas, another valuable naval asset, from being transferred to any other Power than America; and it is not difficult to foresee that circumstances will necessitate the acquisition of an island off the South-American coast. This will complete the series of defensive posts, and give the United States the absolute mastery of the Caribbean Sea and all the approaches to the Panama Canal.

There cannot be any doubt that the cessation of Imperial activity in the British islands has been influenced by these actual and potential developments, and the effect has been, not unnaturally, to unsettle the minds of the inhabitants of the British West Indies, the more thoughtful of whom have also been revising the situation, and asking themselves if the time has not come when a radical change in the fundamental conditions of government is not essential for the future welfare of the islands. Ever since these became dependencies of the Crown, West Indians have clung, with more or less confidence, to the hope that their prosperity would eventually be established on a sound and permanent basis; but the conviction is steadily growing that, under the present régime, there is no prospect of any substantial change for the better taking place. Rightly or wrongly, it is maintained that, while the Home Government has provided a high-class and efficient administration, with all the adjuncts of an orderly civilization, it has failed to develop the resources and stimulate the industries of the islands, with the result that the public burdens are out of proportion to the elementary character of the people and their economic capacity and status. What has been accomplished within recent years, such as the abolition of the sugar bounties, the initiation of the direct fruit-trade with England, and the creation of the Imperial Department of Agriculture, has been due solely to the individual initiative of Mr. Chamberlain. The normal policy of the Colonial Office is to concern itself only with the routine of executive detail, and the general appearance of the islands undoubtedly supports the contention that they are suffering from neglect. They are splendidly endowed with natural wealth, yet the lives of their inhabitants are a continuous struggle with poverty and debt. Trinidad is the only island which at present suggests to the visitor the prevalence of activity and affluence. Government reports and statistics may

point to other and more favorable conclusions, but the whole talk of planters and merchants is of declining business, and of an increasingly gloomy outlook.

What is the cause of this perpetual dissatisfaction and reaching out towards some external source of stimulus and aid? The answer will be found to lie in the racial characteristics of the population. The great majority of the inhabitants are negroes and persons of mixed blood, who are incapable of independent progress. They can advance only under the pressure of the vigorous influences of northern civilization; without this contact they degenerate and regress. Some of the island administrations endeavor in a limited way to foster the spirit of self-help among them; but the process is too superficial and slow in its operation to show much appreciable result in the mass. Unlike the great self-governing colonies, which can be left to themselves, the West Indies require to be taken in hand, as the United States Government has set itself to make the most of Puerto Rico and the Philippines. The intelligent members of the community are fully aware of their position and of their need for the impact of a higher outside force upon their national existence; and, convinced that no improvement in their material condition is to be expected from a longer connection with the parent country, it is not surprising that they should be speculating on the possibility of a new relation being established. There are only two other courses open to them,—absorption in Canada or annexation to the United States.

For some years, there has been a disposition in many quarters to regard a political union with Canada as the most practicable solution of the difficulty. Canada has not hitherto been considered a factor in the New World. She has been looked upon as a dependency of Great Britain, occupying a position similar to that of the American colonies before the Revolution—a young country concerned mainly with questions of internal development and expansion. But, with the steady growth of her political autonomy, her increasing population, the rapid progress of her manufacturing industries, and an ambition that is almost Imperial, she is becoming a force to be reckoned with. While chiefly devoting her energy and capital to profitable local enterprise, she has been making bids for the trade of far-distant countries, and succeeding in capturing a share of it. So far, however, the smaller

markets of the West Indies have not attracted her to any extent. A number of individuals and companies have invaded the islands, and these have created a certain sentiment in favor of closer commercial ties. The Maritime Provinces of Canada, as the portions of the Dominion most likely to benefit from the arrangement, naturally support the idea, but the Canadian Government has never exhibited any anxiety to bring the matter within the range of practical discussion. When the last effort in this direction was made by Jamaica, the Hon. Sydney Olivier, then Colonial Secretary, was sent as a delegate to Ottawa empowered to arrange for a subsidized steamship service, but he found the officials so indifferent that nothing was accomplished. It is true that a preference of 33 1-3 per cent. has been granted to West-Indian sugars; but this has been retained by the Canadian refiners, and the planters derive no benefit from the concession.

Federation with Canada no doubt presents special advantages. The arrangement would cause little dislocation in the loyalty and attachment which the inhabitants naturally feel towards Great Britain, and would probably not be resented by the black population. It is claimed by those who advocate it that the result would be to simplify and cheapen administration, though the officials, whose view is, of course, colored by their prepossession in favor of England, combat this assumption. They assert that the public services would have to be maintained on practically the same lines as at present, and the same amount of revenue would have to be raised by taxation for the payment of the island debt, educational and medical facilities, and the relief of the poor. They admit that it might be possible to reduce the salaries of the Governors and higher officials, but otherwise the burdens of the community would not be lightened.

The main body of private responsible opinion throughout the West Indies, however, is opposed to the scheme. A closer and more vital connection with Canada would involve reciprocal trade and preferential tariffs, and this, it is believed, would lead to retaliation on the part of the United States which the Dominion would be powerless to resist or counteract. The latter does not possess the consuming capacity of its southern neighbor, and will not, for a long time to come, be able to provide a sufficiently large market to replace the one now available for the tropical products of the West Indies. Until that period arrives, West-

Indian business men are not disposed to take any steps which might bring them into a suicidal fiscal conflict with the United States. Moreover, New York is considerably nearer than Canadian ports, the majority of the business interests of the West Indies are rooted there, and the methods and terms of New York houses are more advantageous to the mercantile community than those offered in Canada, while there are greater distribution facilities and a wider market for goods consigned on option. The matter has been publicly discussed by representative commercial bodies in a number of the colonies; and the general conclusion to be drawn from the opinions expressed is that, while improved trade relations with Canada may profitably be established, it is too early to look upon political union as a practical proposition.

The truth of the matter is that, despite all tendencies to the contrary, the West Indies are slowly but irresistibly drifting towards the United States, and will inevitably be drawn into organic connection with that country. The process is in line with natural law and economic necessity. Physically, they are part of the United States, and their trade flows thither, because in the United States they find, for the majority of their products, their nearest and most profitable market. If we take Jamaica, we find that over sixty-eight per cent. of its exports goes to the United States, while over forty per cent. of its imports is credited to the same country. It is relying more and more upon delicate and perishable produce, which comprises sixty per cent. of its total exports, and of this the greater proportion finds its way to the United States, the value of fruit alone being nearly six million dollars. The other colonies are very much in the same position. Yet, while thus commercially dependent on the United States, the relation subsisting between them is of the most precarious nature. Both have comparatively high tariffs, the United States imposing its tropical rates in the interest of home production, and the West Indies for the ostensible purpose of securing public revenue. In this respect, the latter find themselves in a peculiarly difficult position, loyalty prompting them to give the most favorable terms to England, and self-interest dictating that the demands of the United States should be granted in order to avoid the risk of retaliatory imposts. The smallest tax on bananas, for instance, would ruin Jamaica; that on oranges has made the industry unprofitable. A short time ago, the writer

rode through one of the finest orange-producing districts in Jamaica, and saw millions of the fruit dropping from the trees and lying rotting on the ground. The growers stated that they could obtain no sale for it, and it did not pay them to employ men to pick it up and cart it away as refuse. It is only a few years since the same island was panic-stricken by a report that America intended to penalize her produce, and the local Government was very glad to negotiate a convention which involved a large loss to the customs revenue. The islands suffer from the dread that, under the stress of party exigency in the United States, their relatively insignificant trade may be sacrificed and their industrial prospects blighted.

It is in view of such facts that very many West-Indians believe that the only possible hope for the islands lies in their cession to the United States, and in their securing, like Puerto Rico, a free entry for their produce into its natural market. There has never been any serious public consideration of the question, but one finds it privately advocated by planters and merchants everywhere. The chief reason for the absence of a responsible movement is the fact that the idea is thought to be unpopular among the mass of the people, who might boycott the individuals that supported it. The negroes are well aware of the inferior position occupied by the colored population in the United States, and it is believed that they would resist American domination, though there has never been any opportunity of testing their real sentiment in the matter. The struggle for subsistence with them, as with others, is gradually intensifying with their expanding tastes and requirements, and it is difficult to say what they would not risk in order to improve their material condition. While fully conscious of the freedom and justice they enjoy under the British rule, they are shrewd enough to know that the advent of Americans would mean abundance of employment and a greater circulation of money. A negro aptly described the general feeling when he said that he would like to work in America and sleep in England. One intelligent black artisan, a leader of his fellows, assured the writer that his race would not oppose annexation if the prohibition of lynching could be secured: he thought it likely, however, that the half-castes, who have more to lose from a social point of view, would incite the negroes to resist the proposal, and this opinion was echoed by many others in the various is-

lands. It is very probable that, if the United States could solve its black problem on satisfactory lines, there would be little objection on the part of the native population to the transfer.

Neither in the United States nor in England does the question of the ultimate disposal of the colonies excite much attention. The average American is inclined to believe that the nation has already absorbed a greater number of the colored race than it can digest, while many deprecate the further extension of colonial enterprise. Few, probably, would object to the possession of Jamaica, the strategic importance of which, in relation to the Panama Canal, is generally recognized. This island has also become a popular winter resort with all classes of Americans, and American capital has been largely invested in it, one company owning extensive tracts of fertile lands and practically controlling the fruit trade with the United States. The decision in such matters, however, does not always rest with the citizens of a country: a government is sometimes forced into new paths of development, and compelled to accept wider responsibilities and duties, in order to safeguard the national interests; and it is clear that the United States is being drawn into a policy which will necessitate further territorial acquisition in the Caribbean. In England, there is equal indifference on the subject among the mass of the people. To many, the famed beauty of the islands and their splendid historic background appeal with a force which one can readily understand and sympathize with; but the majority of the taxpayers, who are often called upon to contribute towards their upkeep without commensurate benefit, appear to be ready to acquiesce in any arrangement for their transfer, if the inhabitants themselves wish to enter into it. In official circles, the opinion grows that it is useless to attempt to meet, by artificial means, a state of things due to a fundamental twist in the political and commercial relations of the islands, but no statesman has been bold enough to make the formal proposal that they should be ceded to the Power to which they naturally belong. The effect of such a suggestion from a responsible source is purely problematical. It might be received with universal approbation in the West Indies; it might, on the other hand, set the islands in flame. What is certain is that, if any change is to be effected, the initial impulse must come from the colonists themselves.

W. P. LIVINGSTONE.

# MOST-FAVORED-NATION RELATIONS BETWEEN GERMANY AND THE UNITED STATES.

BY N. I. STONE, TARIFF EXPERT IN THE BUREAU OF STATISTICS.

THE pending tariff changes in the German Empire have given rise to renewed discussion of the commercial relations between that country and the United States. One of the results of this discussion, carried on in the light of the diplomatic negotiations between the two countries in the last twenty years, has been to call into question the nature of the most-favored-nation relations between the two countries. For hardly any of our commercial treaties has given rise to such divergence of views on the part of the respective Governments as the one which serves to-day as the basis for our commercial relations with the German Empire.

There are two reasons to account for this situation: first, the fact that the treaty in question was concluded by the United States, not with the German Empire, but with the kingdom of Prussia; second, the difference between the German and American interpretations of the most-favored-nation principle.

As to the first: The treaty at present in force was concluded with the King of Prussia on May 1st, 1828. Article XV of the treaty of 1828 provides that "the treaty shall continue in force for twelve years," and, in the absence of an official notification on the part of either party of its intention to terminate the same, "it shall remain binding for one year beyond that time, and so on until the expiration of twelve months which will follow a similar notification, whatever the time at which it may take place."

On January 18th, 1871, Prussia ceased to be an independent State so far as its foreign relations are concerned, and became part of the German Empire. However, since no declaration of an intention to terminate the treaty, as provided

in Article XV, had ever come from either side, the treaty is still considered to be in force. Yet, for purposes of international dealings, Prussia has ceased to exist; moreover, that kingdom has no longer any jurisdiction over the regulation of its foreign commerce, since tariff legislation has been vested in the Imperial Government. Articles 4 and 35 of the Constitution of the German Empire provide that "all matters relating to customs," as well as "legislation as to customs tariffs and commerce," fall within the jurisdiction of the Empire. According to Article 33 of the Constitution, the Empire "forms one customs and commercial territory." The Imperial Government, in line with these provisions, has considered that the treaty with Prussia, as well as the similar treaties between the United States and the Hanseatic republics of Lubeck, Bremen and Hamburg of 1827, and the Kingdom of Hanover of 1846, have now come within the province of Imperial responsibility, and are therefore applicable to the entire Empire. All the claims and discussions of the most-favored-nation relations on the part of the Imperial Government proceed from this assumption.

On the other hand, the United States Government has generally insisted on the strict construction of the original wording of the treaty of 1828. Said Secretary Gresham in 1894, in his otherwise favorable reply to the German protest against the countervailing duty on sugar created by the Wilson act: "The stipulations of these two articles [of the treaty of 1828] place the commercial intercourse of the United States and Prussia, *not the entire German Empire,* on the most-favored-nation basis." Similar views were expressed by his successors, Secretaries Olney and Sherman.

So much for the status of the treaty. As regards the scope of its application, the following two articles, referred to above by Secretary Gresham, form the basis of the most-favored-nation relations between the two countries:

"ARTICLE V—No higher or other duties shall be imposed on the importation into the United States of any article the produce or manufacture of Prussia, and no higher or other duties shall be imposed on the importation into the Kingdom of Prussia of any article the produce or manufacture of the United States, than are or shall be payable on the like article, being the produce or manufacture of any other foreign country. . . .

"ARTICLE IX—If either party shall hereafter grant to any other

**nation any particular favor in navigation or commerce, it shall immediately become common to the other party, freely, where it is freely granted to such other nation, or on yielding the same compensation when the grant is conditional."**

The Germans, following the general diplomatic practice of European countries, have held that the principle laid down in Article V is the regulating factor in most-favored-nation relations between two countries; that is to say, whenever Germany reduces any of her rates of duty on any products coming from a certain country, it unconditionally and immediately extends the same rates to all other countries with which it has most-favored-nation treaties.

The United States, on the contrary, holds that the conditions laid down in Clause IX have a modifying effect on Clause V; that is to say, whenever the United States grants certain reductions of duty to a foreign country in return for similar concessions, these reductions are not extended to favored nations, unless the latter are willing to reciprocate in a similar way.

It is about this difference in interpretation of the principle that the contentions between Germany and the United States have largely centred. To what extent each Government has held consistently to its point of view of the subject will appear from the following review of their relations.

## I.

The first test of the most-favored-nation principle under the treaty of 1828, in its application to import duties, did not occur until 1885. On February 10th of that year, Prince Bismarck took occasion, in the course of a debate in the Reichstag, to make the following statement:

**"The previous speaker assumed that the United States does not belong to the most-favored nations. As a matter of fact, it does not on the basis of treaties with the Empire, but of those she has with Prussia and other German states which cannot be kept distinct from the Empire. Practically, we treat each other as most-favored nations, a circumstance which furnishes us the reason to claim the same advantages—say, for our sugar imports—in the United States as those granted to Cuba and Porto Rico in the treaty between Spain on behalf of her colonies and the United States, should that treaty be put into effect."**

Ten days later, the same principle was recognized by the German Bundesrath, in the ordinance extending the lower rates

granted to imports of rye from Spain to the most-favored nations, among which the United States was expressly included. Whether that was merely a shrewd move on the part of the Iron Chancellor, made with a view to creating a precedent which would strengthen the claims of Germany for most-favored-nation treatment for its sugar by the United States under the provision of our treaty with Spain, in the event of its ratification, may be left an open question. But the question is more than justified in view of the fact that, two years previous to that, when Germany had no occasion to make use of its most-favored-nation privileges in this country, the United States was not treated in the same manner. On October 24th, 1883, the Bundesrath issued an ordinance similar to the one mentioned above, extending the concessions granted to Italy and Spain, in the recently concluded commercial treaties, to the most-favored nations, among which the name of the United States did not appear.

No sooner had Chancellor Caprivi succeeded Prince Bismarck than a new occasion presented itself for testing the most-favored-nation principle in the commercial relations between the two countries. On October 6th, 1890, the McKinley Tariff went into force in the United States. Section 3 of that act placed in the hands of the President the power of retaliation against any country levying discriminating duties on United States products, by authorizing him to impose certain duties on sugar, molasses, coffee, tea and hides. All of these products were placed on the free list. The section was designed principally to secure special concessions from South-American countries for our own products, in return for duty-free admission of the products just mentioned. As Germany, however, had built up an important sugar trade with this country, she was vitally interested in securing duty-free admission of her sugar to the United States.

In the following year, the German Government inaugurated a series of negotiations with several European countries, with a view to the conclusion of commercial treaties for the reciprocal reduction of import duties in their respective tariffs. If the German Government was still of the opinion expressed by Bismarck, that the most-favored-nation principle was the regulating factor in the commercial relations between the United States and the German Empire, there was no other course left for it to pursue but to follow the precedent Bismarck and the Bundesrath had

set in 1885, and to extend to the United States the reduced rates granted to the various European countries.

Germany, however, adopted an entirely different course. In a communication, dated at Saratoga, August 22nd, 1891, the German *Chargé d'Affaires* in this country addressed the Hon. John W. Foster, informing him of the intention of the German Government to remove "the prohibition, promulgated on sanitary grounds in the year 1883, of the importation of hogs, pork and sausage of American origin, in view of recent American legislation for the inspection of meats intended for export." At the same time, the letter stated that "the Imperial Government, in making this declaration, bases its action upon the supposition that, after the abolition of the aforesaid German prohibition of importation, the President of the United States of America will no longer have any occasion for the exercise, as regards the German Empire, of the discretionary powers conferred upon him by the Fifty-first Congress" (that is, under Section 3 of the McKinley act). To emphasize further the fact that the whole transaction was to be in the nature of a bargain, the letter concluded with the following statement:

> "The Imperial Government thinks that it has the greater reason for this assumption, since it is prepared to grant to the United States of America the same reductions in customs duties on agricultural products that have been granted by it (or still are so) to Austria-Hungary and other states during the negotiations for the conclusion of a treaty of commerce that are now being conducted by Germany."

Any reference to the most-favored-nation clause which, according to Bismarck's declaration and German diplomatic practice and precedents, entitled the United States to the reduction of duties granted to Austria-Hungary, is conspicuous by its absence in the letter quoted above. On the contrary, the Imperial Government intimates that "it is prepared" to grant us lower rates, provided the United States will admit German sugar free, making it plain that the concessions are to be mutual. Furthermore, it is not even prepared to grant us all the reductions in duties conceded to Austria-Hungary, but those affecting "agricultural products" only.

The agreement finally concluded between the two countries, proclaimed February 1st, 1892, and known as the Saratoga Con-

vention, was in every respect in conformity with the propositions laid down in the letter of the German *Chargé d'Affaires,* and only agricultural products were included in the list of articles to be admitted to Germany at reduced rates of duty.

That the German Government disregarded its own precedents and avowed principles in the premises, was admitted later on by Baron Marshall von Bieberstein, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, who, in a speech before the Reichstag, delivered December 14th, 1894, said:

> "*We granted these concessions to the United States without any equivalent in return,* because we were bound by treaty to do so, since, by virtue of Articles V and IX of the Treaty of 1828 concluded between Prussia and the United States, we were bound to extend unconditional most-favored-nation treatment, according to the construction which we have always placed upon that treaty. . . . However, *the preceding speaker is mistaken when he believes we made a free, unconditional gift to the United States* by extending to them, through most-favored-nation treatment, the concession granted to Austria-Hungary. On the contrary, we have secured certain guarantees by the exchange of notes of August 22nd, 1891."

It is only necessary to read in succession the two italicized passages in the above utterance to note the striking contradiction in the speech of the German Secretary. As a matter of fact, neither the most-favored-nation principle nor the treaty of 1828 is in any way, directly or indirectly, mentioned in the notes referred to by the Secretary.

The Saratoga Convention was based, as we have seen, on reciprocity. In return for the German concessions, the United States granted duty-free admission of sugar and a few other products. When, in 1894, the Wilson act removed sugar from the free list and repealed Section 3 of the McKinley act providing for reciprocity, the United States virtually withdrew the concessions it had granted in the Saratoga Convention, and thereby terminated the agreement *de facto,* although no official declaration was made to that effect. Besides placing sugar on the dutiable list, the Wilson act provided for an additional duty of one-tenth of a cent per pound on sugar imported from countries paying an export bounty. In two communications, dated July 16th and August 28th, 1894, addressed by the German Ambassador to the United States, he took occasion to protest against the imposition of the

countervailing duty as "in harmony neither with existing stipulations nor with those tendencies which the exchange of notes of August 22nd, 1891, called forth."

According to the view of the German Government:

> "The payment of a bounty is a purely domestic matter, and it is not to be considered in connection with the establishment of duties between states which, like Germany and the United States, sustain the relation of the most-favored nation toward each other. The United States might, for instance, with the same reason, assert that German manufacturers in any particular branch of industry paid lower taxes than elsewhere, and then, in order to bring about a so-called equalization, levy a discriminating duty on the German product concerned, on its importation into an American port. It is quite evident that such a view of the case would render the most-favored-nation clause altogether illusory.
>
> "The Imperial Government feels conscious that it has always conscientiously fulfilled the duties rendered incumbent upon it by the most-favored-nation clause, and it consequently deems itself authorized to expect similar action on the part of the United States of America."

Secretary Gresham thought the points raised by Germany well taken, and advised the President accordingly. On a later occasion, however, when Germany reiterated its protest, Attorney-General Olney pointed out the inconsistency of the German views, recalling the fact that "Germany expressly declared, at the International Sugar Conference of 1888, that the export bounty on sugar of one country might be countervailed by the import duty on sugar of another, without causing any discrimination which could be deemed a violation of the terms of the most-favored-nation clause."

The protest of the German Government, although transmitted by President Cleveland for favorable consideration to Congress, was not heeded by the latter, and the countervailing duty on bounty-fed sugar was applied to the German article.

However, as the Cuban insurrection crippled the sugar industry of that island, the German exports to this country continued to grow, in spite of the increased duty. Nothing was therefore heard from that country again until the Dingley bill raised the countervailing duty to the amount of the export bounty actually paid by any country.

On April 5th and July 28th, 1897, the German Ambassador addressed the Secretary of State, renewing the protest of his predecessor, made in 1894, and embodying it in his own, as against

an action which "is incompatible, both with the most-favored-nation rights that are secured to German products by the treaties in force . . . and with the provisions of the Saratoga agreement of August 22nd, 1891," and intimating that, unless the protests were heeded, his Government would "be confronted with the question whether those advantages should be further continued which it had hitherto extended to the United States by applying to the importations from that country, especially with regard to its agricultural products, the minimum tariff. . . ."

While the German Ambassador was urging his protest at Washington, Baron von Marshall, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, made the following statement in the German Reichstag, May 3rd, 1897:

"When the Imperial Government concluded the commercial treaty with Austria-Hungary in 1891, it did not doubt for a moment that it was duty-bound to extend unconditionally to the United States the tariff reductions granted to Austria-Hungary. If, in spite of this clear situation, negotiations were entered upon with the United States which subsequently led to the Saratoga exchange of notes, it was exclusively due to the fact that at the time . . . the McKinley act gave rise to grave doubts as to whether our view as to the right in the matter was reciprocally shared by the other side. . . . In order to secure ourselves in this regard, we entered into negotiations, the result of which was embodied in the exchange of notes at Saratoga. This shows that no new rights, no new obligations, were created by the above exchange of notes . . .; that, in other words, the ultimate aim thereof was to clearly define what form the existing most-favored-nation relations, based on treaty rights, would assume when applied to the new commercial legislation of the two countries."

In other words, realizing that the Saratoga agreement could no longer stand as a reciprocity agreement, the German Foreign Secretary tried to construe it now as merely a declaratory statement, defining more precisely the most-favored-nation relations between the two countries. This view the United States Government refused to entertain, declaring that the agreement, being clearly a reciprocity arrangement, was no longer in force, with the repeal of the McKinley act.

The last occasion for an exchange of views on the most-favored-nation relations between the two countries was furnished by the "Reciprocal Commercial Agreement" concluded between the United States and France, May 28th, 1898. By the terms of

that agreement, each of the contracting parties granted to the other reduced rates of duty on a limited number of articles, the American concessions being based on Section 3 of the Dingley act. Germany now claimed that the same concessions should be extended to German products under the most-favored-nation clause.

Following its usual policy, the United States refused to grant these reductions of duty unconditionally, but expressed its willingness to do so on a basis of reciprocity. This offer finally prevailed, and resulted in the conclusion of a similar agreement with Germany in 1900, by which, in return for the concessions authorized by Section 3 of the Dingley act, Germany extended to the United States her entire minimum tariff.

## II.

Having reviewed the German attitude on the subject, we may now turn to the American aspect of the case. I shall confine myself to those cases only which directly affected the scope of application of the most-favored-nation principle.

The first commercial treaty that the United States ever concluded was that with France in 1778. In 1792, Jefferson, in his capacity of Secretary of State, reporting to the President on the negotiations with Spain for a treaty of commerce and navigation, expressed himself against granting any special reductions of duties to Spanish products for this reason: "If we grant favor to the wines and brandies of Spain, then Portugal and France will demand the same; and, in order to create an equivalent, Portugal may lay a duty on our fish and grain, and France a prohibition on our whale oil, *the removal of which will be proposed as an equivalent.*" This passage clearly proves that our first Secretary of State regarded the clause of the French treaty corresponding to Article IX in our treaty with Prussia as having a modifying effect on Clause V. As Jefferson took a direct part in the drawing up of the early treaties, and was moreover associated in his official capacity with the signers of the first treaty in which Clauses V and IX were embodied, it is apparent that what is known as the American interpretation of the most-favored-nation principle is coextensive with the existence of the United States as a nation.

In 1894, Germany protested against the imposition by the United States of a duty on German salt as in conflict with Germany's "rights of the most-favored nation." The matter was

submitted to the Attorney-General for an opinion. Denying the claims made by Germany, he said among other things:

"The most-favored-nation clause of our treaties with foreign Powers has, from the foundation of our Government, been invariably construed, both as not forbidding any internal regulations necessary for the protection of our home industries, and as permitting commercial concessions, and to which no other country is entitled except upon rendering the same equivalents. Thus, Mr. Jefferson, when Secretary of State in 1792, said of treaties exchanging the rights of the most-favored nation that they leave each party free to make what internal regulations they please and to give what preference they find expedient to native merchants, vessels and productions. In 1817, Mr. John Quincy Adams, acting in the same official capacity, took the ground that the most-favored-nation clause only covered gratuitous favors and did not touch concession for equivalents, expressed or implied. Mr. Clay, Mr. Livingston, Mr. Evarts and Mr. Bayard, when at the head of the Department of State, have each given official expression to the same view. It has also received the sanction of the Supreme Court in more than one well-considered decision."

It will be apparent from what has been said that the United States has been consistent throughout in its interpretation of the most-favored-nation principle, although radically at variance in this respect with nearly all the European countries. A noted exception to this rule is furnished by the American-Swiss treaty of 1850, but even that exception could never stand the test of practical application. On June 29th, 1898, the Swiss Minister to the United States addressed the American Government asking it to extend to Swiss imports into the United States the tariff concessions which had just been granted to France. He based his request on the ground that the treaty of November 25th, 1850, entitled Switzerland to the most-favored-nation treatment, and he called attention to the fact that the most-favored-nation clause specified in Articles 8, 9, 10 and 12 of that treaty was "absolutely unlimited."

To this, Mr. Day, then Acting Secretary of State, took exception on the ground "that it is and always has been the view of this Government that a reciprocity treaty is a bargain and not a favor, and that it therefore does not come within the scope of the most-favored-nation clause." But after a further exchange of notes, Secretary Hay, who had in the mean time succeeded Judge Day in office, in his historic reply on No-

vember 21st, 1898, was led, upon "examination . . . of the original correspondence of the American negotiator with his Government," to admit "the equity of the reclamation" presented by the Swiss Government; however, since the treaty with Switzerland, if allowed to stand, would constitute "an exception to the otherwise uniform policy of the United States," he believed it would be necessary "to arrest the operation of the treaty of 1850, or of the clause of said treaty" which referred to the most-favored-nation treatment.

The Swiss claim for reduced rates was accordingly granted; but, after failure to arrive at a common understanding, the clauses referred to were finally abrogated, March 8th, 1899.

Thus, the exceptional most-favored-nation treaty with Switzerland had to be repealed at the first practical test to which it was put. The step taken by the United States Government was unavoidable, if it was to adhere to the established policy of this country. To have left the treaty in force would have made us liable, under Clause IX, to extend *freely* to all favored nations any concessions we might make in the future to some country on a reciprocal basis. This would signify a complete reversal of the historic policy of the United States.

## III.

A good deal is to be said in favor of either construction of the most-favored-nation principle. There has been quite a tendency, manifesting itself of late among economic writers in Europe in favor of the American system, as the more expedient and better fitted to protect the interests of a country. A strong argument on the American side is that to extend gratuitously to one country what has been purchased by another country at the cost of equivalent concessions, is manifestly unfair to the latter. To this the advocates of the European view rejoin that the injustice is more apparent than real. If the discriminations were made against one country only, the American argument would be unanswerable. But, when the rule is made applicable to all countries alike, all are benefited, and there is no discrimination. The same is true when the matter is considered from the point of view of the country which grants the concessions. Under the American system, a country which has concessions to make will be able to exact equivalent concessions from every country which desires to

obtain them; while, under the European system, once the concessions are granted to one country, they must be extended gratis to all other countries included among the most-favored nations. On the other hand, the rule, being universally applied, works both ways, and every country becomes not only a dispenser of free favors, but a recipient as well.

There is another and far more important aspect of the question urged by the advocates of unlimited most-favored-nation treatment. Under the American construction of the most-favored-nation principle, a party to a commercial treaty can never be certain as to whether the provisions stipulated therein for safeguarding its interests will not be upset by some new treaty subsequently entered into by the other party with some third country. The United States might, for example, grant a reduced rate on textiles to Germany; if it saw fit, after the conclusion of that treaty, to grant a still lower rate on the same article to France, this obvious discrimination against Germany would be perfectly legitimate under the American construction of the most-favored-nation treatment, and Germany would not be able to get the reduced rate granted to France, except by new bargaining with the United States. Although it actually never occurred in the history of this country, the possibility of such discrimination, which is obviously at variance with the spirit of most-favored-nation practice, is entirely out of the question under the European system of unconditional most-favored-nation treatment.

With the increasing importance of our commercial intercourse with foreign nations, the divergence of the two systems becomes more painfully impressed upon the commercial interests of the latter. The first impulse on their part has been to accept the American construction for their dealings with the United States, while retaining their own in the intercourse between European nations. This may serve to explain the inconsistencies and the vacillations in the otherwise settled commercial policy of Germany, whenever it had to be applied to the United States. However, as pointed out by the late Secretary Hay, such a procedure on their part is impossible, as it would be in conflict with their treaties with this country now in force. Article IX of the treaty with Prussia says that any favor granted by one of the contracting parties to another country shall be extended to the other party "freely, where it is freely granted to such other nation, or on

yielding the same compensation when the grant is conditional." As every European nation, when making concessions to one country, is bound to extend those concessions *freely* to the other European nations, under their construction of the most-favored-nation principle, we are also entitled to the free enjoyment of the same under article IX.

An illustration from current history will make this clear. Germany has just concluded commercial reciprocity treaties with the following seven countries: Austria-Hungary, Russia, Italy, Switzerland, Belgium, Roumania and Servia, all of which gave something in return for those concessions. If Germany stopped there, we could not claim the benefit of the reduced rates unless we were willing to make reciprocal concessions. But, under her most-favored-nation treaties with Great Britain, as well as with several other countries, Germany will extend these concessions to Great Britain, France and several other countries *freely*. This gives the United States the right to claim the benefit of the reduced rates, without giving anything in return. On the other hand, in 1898 we concluded a commercial agreement with France, by which we granted to the latter certain reductions of duty in return for equivalent concessions. When Great Britain claimed the same favor for its products, under the most-favored-nation clause, we refused to grant it. Germany and other countries desiring to obtain the concessions granted by us to France had to conclude special reciprocity treaties with this country, while Great Britain, having no concessions to offer, continues to pay higher rates of duty on certain imports to the United States than other countries, which treat us far less liberally.

It goes without saying that the Europeans are reluctant to accept this situation indefinitely; and, unless the United States should see fit to modify its construction in conformity with the modern European practice, the only way the Europeans see out of the dilemma is to follow the example we set in the case of Switzerland,—namely, to repeal their most-favored-nation treaties with the United States.

Such is the drift of discussion now actively going on in Europe on the subject. What the probability is of either alternative taking shape in the near future remains to be seen.

N. I. Stone.

# THE PENDING SHIPPING LEGISLATION.

BY W. E. HUMPHREY, OF THE MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

THERE is pending in Congress, now being debated in the Senate, a bill that should appeal to the commercial interests, the patriotism and the pride of the American people. The object of this bill is to restore our flag to the seas.

The condition of our foreign shipping had aroused the most serious apprehension of Presidents McKinley and Roosevelt. Each urged Congress to do something to rehabilitate it.

On the 28th of April, 1904, in accordance with the recommendation in the Message of President Roosevelt of December 7, 1903, an act was passed by Congress creating a Merchant Marine Commission, consisting of five Senators and five Representatives. The duty of this Commission, as defined by the Act, was to investigate the condition of our shipping and report to Congress what legislation, if any, was necessary for the development of our Merchant Marine and American Commerce.

*Conditions.*—This Commission held meetings in all the principal seaports of the United States. Our foreign trade last year amounted to more than $2,240,000,000, the balance of trade in our favor exceeding $400,000,000; yet, of this vast trade only about seven per cent. was carried under the American flag. More than $500,000, in gold, each day is taken from the Treasury and paid to the foreigner for carrying our commerce. Ninety per cent. of this vast sum is wages paid to foreign labor. Our flag has practically disappeared from the sea, and, except upon a battle-ship or private yacht it is unknown in most of the ports of the world. During the year 1903, not one vessel flying the Stars and Stripes, engaged in the foreign trade, was seen in the port of Philadelphia—the second port of the country. There is but

one port in America where more tonnage is carried in American than in foreign bottoms, and that is the extreme Northwest port of the United States,—Puget Sound.

This nation to-day, with all its vast wealth, unlimited resources and mighty commerce, has actually 108,000 tons less engaged in foreign trade than it had ninety-five years ago. Within the last two years, Germany alone, with a population of only 53,000,000 has built more tonnage than the entire tonnage of this country. We have naval vessels to-day that we are not able to furnish with crews. If war should come to-morrow, we would have magnificent vessels of war without men to man them. Had we lost a single first-class fighting ship in our brief war with Spain, we could not have furnished officers and crew for another. These are some of the alarming, humiliating and discreditable conditions which the Commission found.

*Why Our Merchant Marine has Declined.*—The cause of the decline of our merchant marine was made plain to this Commission by the testimony given before it. It costs from 40 to 100 per cent. more to build an American ship than a foreign one of the same class. It costs from 20 to 40 per cent. more to operate an American than a foreign ship. All other countries, with any attempt at commerce, pay subsidies. One concrete, graphic illustration eloquently tells the story of the rapid disappearance of American shipping. The Boston Steamship Company has a fleet of five magnificent vessels running from Seattle to the Orient. Starting from the same wharves, bound for the same Oriental ports, is a line of Japanese ships consisting of three vessels. Directly on their way to the sea, this American line comes into competition with a line of British steamers, consisting of three vessels running from Vancouver, B. C. Character of ship considered, the Japanese owner has one-half less, and the British one-third less, invested than the American owner. The cost of running each of these foreign lines is at least twenty per cent. less than that of the American vessels. Added to this tremendous handicap the Japanese line receives an annual subsidy of $333,500; the English line $300,000, while the United States last year paid to the American line of five vessels the proud sum of $4,935. Against such fearful odds as these no human endeavor can long prevail.

*Free Ships.*—The facts developed by these hearings destroyed

many preconceived opinions and dearly beloved theories. When the Commission was formed, some of its members believed that the remedy was free ships. At the hearings, practically every ship-owner and shipping interest in America was asked: If given the opportunity would they purchase foreign ships, other conditions remaining the same as they now are? The one answer given was, No. Invariably they declared that, if given the ships for nothing, they could not operate them at a profit. This statement was vividly corroborated by what the Commission saw, for in many ports were found good vessels, fitted for the foreign trade, out of commission; indefinitely swinging at anchor, where they had been driven by the foreign subsidized vessels.

*Discriminating Duties.*—This was the most deeply cherished and most firmly believed in of all the preconceived remedies by the members of the Commission. The majority of the Commission believed in the beginning that discriminating duties would be the solution of the problem. But it was found that forty-seven per cent. of our imports were on the free list. The Democratic members of the Commission, true to the ancient doctrine of free trade, could not consent to a duty on articles already free. The Republican doctrine had always been against a duty on non-competitive articles, and as most of this forty-seven per cent. was of that class, the traditions of both great parties forbade discriminating duties. On exports, of course, no discriminating duties could be laid; and this was the traffic which it was most desired to increase.

When the Commission reached the Pacific at Puget Sound, it discovered that, if a ten-per-cent. discrimination on imports were to be made in favor of American vessels, it would amount to only $70 each. Or, in other words, one of the Boston Steamship Company's great steamers of ten thousand tons would receive the tremendous advantage of $70 for a twelve thousand mile voyage, probably enough to pay the second cook.

After the meeting at Seattle, the first on the Pacific, the theory of discriminating duties was abandoned by the Commission.

*The Navy.*—In recent years four nations by great expenditures have, theoretically, become great naval Powers—Germany, Russia, Japan and the United States. Two of these nations, Germany and Japan, realizing the futility and the folly of a navy without trained sailors and without auxiliary reserves, as they built a

navy built a great merchant fleet. The United States and Russia are the only nations that have committed the inexcusable and costly blunder of trying to create a navy without men to command it and without auxiliary ships to support it.

The sunken and captured vessels of Russia's paper navy tell in graphic story her costly and humiliating mistake. It was the subsidized ships of Japan that carried her troops and supplies to Manchuria and made possible her brilliant victories on land; and the trained seamen from the subsidized vessels of Japan manned the fighting ships that destroyed the Russian navy.

The subsidy bill under which Japan has built her great merchant marine passed her legislative body by unanimous vote. Will the United States profit by the wisdom of Japan or the blunders of Russia? Unless we do, the $100,000,000 annually spent for our navy is worse than wasted. We have already more ships completed than we have men to command. We have no auxiliary fleet. We are in a condition to-day as bad as was Russia at the beginning of her late war.

*The Army.*—In our war with Spain, we exposed our troops to great peril and distressing hardships in getting them to Cuba. After twenty days of effort, and after all the American vessels on the Atlantic had been secured, we only had sufficient to carry about 10,000 troops. That this fleet arrived in safety was entirely due to chance. This expedition, according to a report of the Department of War just made public, could only justify its starting by its safe arrival. To-day, we are utterly powerless to protect our foreign possessions in case of war. We have no American ships to carry troops or supplies, and the law of nations, if it were otherwise possible, prevents us from securing foreign ships. If any country wants to fight with us, she will have to seize one of our possessions, and then kindly give us time to get ready. The often-heard boast that we are to-day a "World-Power" is grotesquely egoistical.

*The Foreigner Controls Our Commerce.*—It must not be forgotten that, with a complete monopoly of our carrying-trade in the hands of the foreigner, we are helpless to defeat any combination or trust that might be formed against our commercial interest. Lest such statement might provoke a smile of incredulity from the enemies of American shipping, it may be stated that a combination of this character has not only been contem-

plated, but now actually exists on the Pacific Coast among the foreign sail-vessels. These vessels have entered into an agreement that while from a foreign port each vessel may charge such rate as it sees fit, from American ports no vessel is permitted to carry freight for a less price than that fixed by the combine, and the rate so fixed is considerably higher than the prevailing rate when such combine was formed. This combination of foreign vessels, upon which by our own acts we are now almost entirely dependent, is a disgraceful menace to American commerce. It shows that our foreign commerce to-day is entirely at the mercy of foreign nations. During the little Boer War, England withdrew a sufficient number of ships to increase freight rates from some of our ports 150 per cent. Every industry felt the effect. On the Pacific Coast, it reduced the price of wheat of the American farmer twenty-five cents per bushel.

What would be our condition to-day in case of war between England and Germany, or between either of them and any other great nation? Our foreign markets would be paralyzed; our farm products would rot in the field; the machinery would rust in our mills; factories would close their doors; labor would be forced into idleness; there would be want and suffering beyond description. Industrially we would suffer all the horrors and consequences of war. Can any candid judgment contend that shipping is the only industry in America which is interested in American commerce being carried in American ships?

*Failure of the Republican Party.*—The one conspicuous and disgraceful failure of the Republican party is the present humiliating condition of our merchant marine. This condition is entirely due to the system of protection as applied and retained by the Republican party. Every other industry has been protected from the deadly curse of foreign cheap labor. But the shipping industry, wholly unprotected and subjected to the fiercest and most direct foreign competition of all, on the one hand, has been compelled, on the other, to employ high-class protected labor to build and to operate its ships. If this country had absolute free trade in all industries and in all commodities, notwithstanding the handicap of subsidy, our shipping would care for itself. If it has extended to it the same measure of protection that is extended to other industries, it will flourish.

*Bill Reported by the Commission.*—The bill reported by the

Commission provides for the payment of subventions to ten mail-lines, to be established as follows: Three from the Atlantic Coast, one to Brazil, one to Argentina, and one to South Africa; four from the Gulf of Mexico to Brazil, Mexico, Isthmus of Panama and Cuba, respectively; three from the Pacific, one to Mexico, Central America and the Isthmus of Panama, one to China, Japan, and the Philippines *via* Hawaii, and one direct to China, Japan and the Philippines. For these lines the maximum compensation under the bill is: Atlantic, $1,050,000; Gulf, $475,000; Pacific, $1,140,000—a total maximum of $2,665,000.

The bill also provides a compensation of $217,000 to the Oceanic line between San Francisco and New Zealand and Australia.

The policy of mail subventions is not a new one in the United States. The most important contract of this character was consummated during the administration of Grover Cleveland. This feature of the bill received the unanimous indorsement of the members of the Commission, both Democrats and Republicans. The vessels receiving these compensations must not only carry the mails, but the ships in the new lines must be built under the direction of the Navy Department with reference to their use in time of war, and all vessels receiving such aid must also carry an increasing proportion of their men who are naval volunteers. The other feature of compensation provided for by the bill is the payment of $5 per gross ton to any vessel, steam or sail, of any size, engaged for a year or more in the foreign trade; if engaged for a shorter time than one year, they receive less compensation. No vessel can receive this subvention for a longer period than ten years. The special object of this section of the bill was to help the slow cargo ships—the pioneers of commerce, the "delivery wagons" of the seas. No vessel receiving mail subventions can participate in this tonnage compensation.

*Arguments Against the Bill.*—Two arguments are most frequently urged against the bill, although the first of these, that our people have such opportunities on land that they have not seen fit to turn their attention to the sea, hardly merits the dignity of being called a reason or an argument. The fierce struggle for existence of our few remaining ships, and the millions of American money invested in foreign ships, certainly dispose of this statement. But the argument most used and most relied on by the enemies of this measure, both foreign and domestic, is:

If the foreigner can do our carrying cheaper, why not permit him to do it? This theory is and ever has been the foundation of the doctrine of free trade. This doctrine has been met and answered by every protectionist in the Republic, from Alexander Hamilton to William McKinley. In recent years this argument was the one advanced in opposition to placing a tariff on tin-plate, and it has been at various times advanced against every protected article that ever appeared on a tariff schedule; and the history of every article upon which a protective tariff has ever been placed has demonstrated the falseness of the theory. If this argument be sound, the whole system of protection rests on a false foundation. A Democrat can take the affirmative of this proposition with consistency, but the Republican who does so is at war with all traditions and principles of his party.

*Can the Foreigner Do Our Carrying More Cheaply?*—We have protected for many years our manufactures, and we can produce manufactured articles more cheaply than any other nation. We protect agriculture, and the products of the soil are produced more cheaply here than anywhere else. We have protected our railroads by enormous subsidies and by immense land grants, and our railway-rates are the cheapest in the world; and yet, in each of these industries, the labor employed therein is the best-paid labor of its class upon earth, and capital invested therein receives a fair return.

United States shipping in coastwise-trade and on the Great Lakes is absolutely protected from foreign competition, yet the freight-rates upon the Lakes and in our coastwise-trade are to-day, and for many years have been, the lowest in all the history of commerce; and let it not be forgotten that, at the same time, the sailors on the Great Lakes and in our coastwise-trade are the best paid and fed seamen that ever manned a ship.

The history of every other industry in this country demonstrates that the foreigner cannot carry our trade more cheaply than we can do it ourselves; and the history of shipping itself, where protected, is an unanswerable argument against this contention. These facts demonstrate that the shipping industry, like every other industry, if given the same protection and encouragement, would drive the foreigner from our ports, restore our flag to the sea, and at the same time would reduce freight-rates, widen our markets and increase the wages of labor.

*The Cost.*—The cost of carrying out the provisions of this bill will, no doubt, be one of the most fiercely assailed and most grossly exaggerated by the agents of foreign steamship companies, who have had the audacity to oppose any legislation in behalf of American shipping, even in the committee-rooms in the Capitol at Washington. This point also will be the principal one of attack by the free-traders. The Commission has had careful estimates made upon this question; and the net cost to the Treasury, should the bill go into effect in July, 1906, as contemplated, could not exceed for the ten years $40,000,000; and in order to reach this amount every steamship-line contemplated must be established, and at least 1,500,000 tons of new shipping must be added to our foreign fleet.

*Purposes of the Bill.*—The great purpose of this bill is to give increased markets for the products of the field and factory; to increase American commerce; then to provide and man an auxiliary fleet for our navy, and last, to aid shipping. Will this purpose of the bill be accomplished? It has always been argued that every vessel in a foreign port is an advertiser of home industries, and that the most powerful developer of foreign trade is regular steamship-lines.

Upon this proposition I ask consideration of the following facts:

In 1886, Germany established a steamship-line to the East Indies. In two years, her export trade on these ships was 27,369 tons; in eight years, it had increased to 89,148 tons. So well satisfied was Germany with this East-Indian line that in 1890 she subsidized another line running to East Africa. The receipts of this line increased from 453,000 marks in 1892 to 1,476,000 in 1898. The subventions to both these lines were increased and renewed for fifteen years in 1898.

The tonnage of Japan has increased from 200,000 tons in 1896 to 830,000 tons in 1904. Her commerce has increased from $153,251,000 in 1896 to $342,160,000 in 1904. Her commerce has increased in harmony with the growth of her tonnage.

From San Francisco a line of subsidized ships runs to British-Australasia. The exports on this line have increased from $12,674,000 in 1896 to $27,401,000 in 1904. No line of American steamships runs from the United States to Brazil. Our export trade with that country has decreased from $15,000,000 in 1895 to $10,000,000 in 1903. During the same period, our exports

to Canada increased from $51,000,000 to $161,000,000; and to Mexico from $12,000,000 to $41,000,000. But we have American means of transportation; we own our "delivery wagons" by both land and sea, to these two countries. The time was when there were American business houses in South America, India and China. Then we had ships that sailed to these countries. When the American ship disappeared, the business houses vanished. A few years ago, the export trade of Puget Sound was practically nothing. In 1901, the Boston Steamship Company was established; the exports that year amounted to $20,357,000. Last year it was $50,000,000. Recently the two great Hill vessels have been put on between Seattle and the Orient, and the export trade of Puget Sound for the month of last November was $6,247,783. For the coming year it will certainly reach $75,000,000. This vast increase, that has benefited every interest, is almost wholly due to the expansion of our Oriental markets by these American ships. This expansion especially benefited the farmers of the West, and it has benefited every wheat-raiser in America. Mr. Hill recently stated that he would carry a barrel of flour from St. Paul to Hong-Kong for eighty cents. The great Boston line, established in view of the promises of the Republican party to assist shipping, has always been run at a loss, and is soon to be discontinued, unless assistance comes. Mr. Hill stated in New York city, before the Merchant Marine Commission, that he would never build another ship in America so long as present conditions continued. The Japanese Government now has an option of purchase of the magnificent steamers of the Pacific Mail. Such is the shame of the situation of American shipping on the Pacific Coast—the only place where an unaided attempt is being made to keep our flag on the seas. Most inexcusable and outrageous of all, the Government runs the antiquated transports, an inherited curse of the Spanish War, in competition with these Pacific lines, although it costs the Government twenty-five per cent. more than it would to have the same service performed by private lines. This infamy is perpetrated on American shipping solely that petty government officials and their friends may "junket" over the seas, "deadhead," at Government expense. History demonstrates that as a nation's merchant marine has increased so has her commerce expanded. The experience of all nations demonstrates that trade

follows the flag. Wherever our flag has gone our trade has increased. Wherever it has retired, our trade has vanished. In view of these facts, who can doubt the wisdom of the words of the beloved McKinley in his last speech: "One of the needs of the times is direct commercial lines from our vast fields of production to the fields of consumption, that we have but barely touched. Next in advantage to having the thing to sell is to have the convenience to carry it to the buyer. We must encourage our merchant marine. We must have more ships. They must be under the American flag, built and manned and owned by Americans."

*The Result.*—Neither nations nor individuals can expect anything of value for nothing. This bill will cost something if its provisions are entirely complied with. The maximum amount for the entire period of ten years might reach $40,000,000, as already shown. But the expenditures under the bill will be regulated by the new lines established, and by the new ships that enter the foreign trade. Nothing will be spent until value received has first been given. Should this forty millions be spent, then let us pass from the picture of cost to the picture of results. It will add 1,500,000 tons to our foreign shipping. It will give investment to $700,000,000 of American capital. It will give employment to 500,000 American workmen. It will keep at home more than half a million dollars, in gold, each day now sent to Europe. It will give to American labor $1,000,000 in work;—$1,000,000 in wages each day, that is, now given to those in another land owing allegiance to another flag. It will widen our markets. It will increase our exports. It will reduce our freights. It will increase the price of what we sell. It will decrease the price of what we buy. It will build up our shipyards. It will increase the demand for labor. It will increase the wages of those who work. It will keep at home the stupendous sum of more than two billion of dollars, and give it to our own people. It will benefit all sections, all trades and all classes. It will make us independent of every other nation. It will make our flag more revered at home, more respected abroad. It will give us an auxiliary that will make our navy really great. It will protect us in war, and add to our wealth in peace. It will make the great Republic truly a World-Power—the mightiest nation in all the history of the world!

W. E. HUMPHREY.

# WORLD-POLITICS.

LONDON: ST. PETERSBURG: BERLIN: WASHINGTON.

---

LONDON, *February, 1906.*

WE thought last month we were merely taking part in a General Election. In fact, we were witnessing a vast elemental convulsion. The writer who compared the movements of the polls with "an earthquake in the Himalayas launching down whole hillsides, swinging forests from the root, and burying cities in ruin," scarcely exaggerated. The magnitude of the Liberal and Free-Trade victory, without precedent in the political history of the last seventy years, surprised no one more than the victors themselves. They expected, of course, to win; they did not expect to trample their opponents almost out of existence. Yet this is what they have accomplished. The Unionist members of Parliament, who after the General Election of 1900 numbered 402, have shrunk to a group, so disunited and so bitter in its disunion that it hardly deserves to be called a party, of 157. The Liberals and the Labor representatives, who five and a half years ago were no more than 186, are now 430 strong. The Nationalists have captured one seat more than they held in 1900, and face the new Parliament a compact and disciplined body of 83. The Liberal, Labor and Nationalist majority over the Unionists is 356. The Liberal and Labor majority over the combined forces of the Unionists and the Nationalists, who might on some matters be found acting in unison, is 190. The Liberal majority over all other parties—Labor, Nationalist and Unionist—is 88. Such is the record in figures of one of the most amazing transformations in English politics. But figures are far from telling the whole tale. Only four of the Ministers in the late Cabinet escaped destruction, and of these one only survived because of a split between the Labor men and the Liberals, and another was defeated in his

own constituency and had to reenter Parliament through the back door of a safe seat in Dublin. The rest, with the late Prime Minister at their head, were ignominiously rejected. Seats that were regarded as so irredeemably Conservative that they had not been contested for twenty years were last month attacked and carried. Members who had represented their constituencies for more than a generation found themselves miraculously turned adrift. Social and territorial influences, faithful service, a distinguished career, historic associations availed them nothing. Wales returned not a single Conservative. Scotland was barely less emphatic in its condemnation of the late Government. The English counties and the English boroughs plunged unhesitatingly into the flowing tide. London, which a month ago was represented by 51 Unionists and 11 Liberals, is now represented by 42 Liberals and 20 Unionists. Counting votes and not seats, it appears that a Unionist plurality of about 300,000 has been converted into a Liberal plurality of some 600,000. As one stronghold of Toryism after another was captured, it began to be doubtful whether such a thing as a safe Conservative seat any longer existed. When Mr. Balfour's defeat was made known, two Conservative candidates who felt assured of victory in their own constituencies offered to retire in his favor. Their offers were not accepted, and on the whole it was just as well that they were not, for both candidates were rejected. Birmingham alone stood firm, and no one, I think, grudged Mr. Chamberlain his magnificent success in the city he has served so splendidly, first as Mayor and then as Member of Parliament, for five-and-thirty years. But no one, on the other hand, mistakes the meaning of that success. It was not a political, but a personal, triumph. Knowing Birmingham pretty well, I have no hesitation in saying that it voted far less for Tariff Reform than for Mr. Chamberlain. It has faithfully clung to him through all the somersaults of his political career; I do not doubt that it will continue to cling to him through whatever surprises and changes he may still be capable of. Moreover, although Birmingham itself proved impregnable, the Birmingham area was successfully invaded. In what for the past twenty years has been considered the special sphere of the Chamberlain influence, the Liberals carried no less than twenty-one seats. That is an achievement which considerably discounts Mr. Chamberlain's triumph in Birmingham itself. Birmingham, it is clear, is no longer the

Midlands. Still less is it England. Outside of the city's limits there was no place, from the Isle of Wight to the Shetlands, where the Unionists were able to make any sort of a stand.

Political elections are rarely fought exclusively on a single issue, and last month's campaign was not determined solely by the Free-Trade instincts of Great Britain. The Liberals were greatly helped by the Chinese Labor question, and they made the amplest and in many cases the most unscrupulous use of its assistance. They were also helped by the unmeasured hostility of the Non-conformists towards the Education Act of 1902. In all constituencies where no Labor candidate was running, the Labor vote went to swell the Liberal majority, chiefly because the late Government did nothing to reverse the decisions that made Trades-Unions liable for damages and declared picketing illegal. Again, the Licensing Act passed by Mr. Balfour's Cabinet was regarded by many Englishmen who are far from being Temperance agitators as an unworthy surrender to the brewers. These were tangible allies on the Liberal side, and their influence was considerably increased by the natural "swing of the pendulum," the inevitable discontent that fastens upon any Government that has been long in power, the memory of several grave administrative scandals arising out of the South-African war, and above all by the conviction that Mr. Balfour's failure to make his fiscal policy intelligible to the multitude and his tactics of evasion and subterfuge dishonored both the country and the Parliament. All this, undoubtedly, had its weight. A direct plebiscite on the question of Protection or Free Trade most probably would not have shown such an overwhelming majority in favor of leaving things alone as the Liberals piled up last month. Nevertheless, without in any way minimizing these subsidiary issues, it remains the fact that, taking the country as a whole, they were subsidiary issues and not the predominant ones, and that the fiscal question overtopped all others. I doubt, for instance, whether there was a single convinced Protectionist who voted for the Liberals because of his objection to Chinese Labor or the Education Act. I doubt, again, whether there was a single convinced Free-Trader who voted against the Liberals because he approved of the policy of the late Government in all other matters. On both sides, the final and compelling argument was the opinion the individual voter had formed on the merits of Mr. Chamberlain's and Mr. Balfour's

fiscal policies; and, though heroic efforts are still being made to explain the result away, it cannot seriously be doubted that the country decided, and meant to decide, against Protection in any form. No one is quite so hardy as to deny that, had the Unionists gone into the fight unhampered by the fiscal issue, they would have made a far better showing. They would probably have been defeated in any case, but they would not have been, as they are, snowed under. It made comparatively little difference at the polls whether the candidate was a Chamberlainite or a Balfourite. In either case, he was held to be tarred with the same brush, and the conservatism of the British people would have none of him. After three years of incessant agitation in Parliament, in the press and on the platform, in the course of which every aspect of Protection and Free Trade was meticulously canvassed, it seems to me almost a species of dementia to pretend either that Protection was not the controlling issue of the campaign or that the country did not pronounce emphatically against it.

Nevertheless, there are Unionists who make this pretension. They insist, what is perfectly true, that the turnover in the number of votes cast was nothing like so great as the turnover in Parliamentary representation, that where Free Trade polled a hundred votes Protection polled nearly ninety, that the issue was confused by secondary questions, that an extraordinary conjunction of circumstances such as is never likely to occur again played into the hands of the Free-Traders, that the result of the first clash between Protection and free imports gives ground for hope rather than despondency, and that Unionists have only to persevere in Mr. Chamberlain's footsteps to reach their ultimate goal. That is the view of the "whole-hoggers." They emphasize it by pointing to Mr. Chamberlain's success in Birmingham and to Mr. Balfour's defeat at Manchester. They attribute the disaster which has overtaken them partly to defective organization, but chiefly to Mr. Balfour's ambiguities, half-heartedness and hesitations; and they are fiercely maintaining that the Unionist party has only to be reconstituted on a more democratic and representative basis, has only to get rid of the domination of the "country-house clique," and has only to commit itself to Mr. Chamberlain's programme to be certain of the future. Whether those calculations are ill or well founded, action based upon them can only lead to a second and more disastrous split in the Unionist ranks.

Mr. Chamberlain is not cast down and means to commit the Unionist party to his policy and to continue fighting for it as long as he lives. The internal situation in the Unionist ranks is, at present, full of fascinating perplexity. I dare not even attempt to predict its outcome, but I may repeat, without endorsing, the rumor that Mr. Chamberlain may in the end attempt a compromise by dropping his food taxes and striving to rally the party on a ten-per-cent. duty on foreign manufactured goods. Whether such an attempt, if really made, would succeed in its object cannot at present be determined. In any case the chances of reconstituting the party on its old Free-Trade basis seem to be almost infinitely remote. In a greater or less degree it appears inevitable that the Unionist party will emerge from its present confusions pledged to a policy of fiscal change. Whether that programme will not prove a greater millstone round its neck than even Home Rule proved round the neck of Liberalism is an interesting speculation. Mr. Chamberlain looks forward apparently to winning over to his side both the Nationalists and the Labor Party; and I am by no means disposed to lay it down that his anticipations may not ultimately be realized. The Nationalists even now are not on his side only because they are Home-Rulers before they are Protectionists. If Mr. Chamberlain can find the means to satisfy their purely Irish demands, they would not hesitate a moment about forming an alliance with him. The Labor Party he hopes to conciliate by an advanced programme of social reform. Here again it is not certain that he will fail. The problem of finding the money for the measures which the Labor men advocate, without having recourse to indirect taxation, will puzzle Liberals, will puzzle Labor, and may lead to a secession of Labor to the ranks of Protection.

Quite apart from everything else, the General Election of January, 1906, will always be memorable as marking the first emergence in English politics of a definite Labor Party. Fifty-one Labor men have been returned to the House. Twenty-nine of these are pledged to act independently of both Liberals and Conservatives. They will sit on the Opposition benches; they will have their own whips and their own organization; they will vote with an exclusive regard to the interests of their class. That means, for one thing, the beginning or rather the development of the group system in the English House of Commons. It

means, for another, that the working classes are becoming conscious of their political power, are throwing off the domination of caste and social influences, and are determined for the future to be represented in the national legislature by men of their own class. Quite apart from the programme which they will advocate, that is to my mind a singularly auspicious omen. It foreshadows the day when England will be as democratic in fact and spirit as she long has been in her political forms. In these communications I have frequently insisted that the Labor Party is the coming party in English politics. The infusion of these direct, hard-headed, severely practical men, every one of whom has served a long apprenticeship in affairs on municipal councils and on the committees of their trades-unions and benevolent societies, is not a phenomenon to be deplored, still less to be alarmed at. It will make, on the whole, for national efficiency, and for a juster valuation of the really important things in politics and society. On most points, for the present at any rate, the Labor men will be found supporting the Government. The two principal measures of the opening session are assumed to be bills for amending the Education Act and reversing the decision of the House of Lords in the Taff Vale case. These are measures that the Labor men will undoubtedly support. The time, however, will undoubtedly come when official Liberalism will find itself unable to comply with the demands of the Extreme Left. Then will come Mr. Chamberlain's opportunity for driving a wedge into the Government ranks—if he can.

---

ST. PETERSBURG, *February, 1906.*

A FEW weeks ago, Russia was jubilant and revolutionary; to-day, on the eve of the elections, she is sober and conservative. For it is with nations as with individuals; after the gay carnival comes the black fast; the day of dissipation is followed by a week of the blues. And the vastness of the change that has come over the nation is as striking as its suddenness. In October, the revolutionary spirit was omnipresent and well-nigh irresistible. It cheered the pessimistic, made the phlegmatic enthusiastic and converted some of the most aristocratic to the cause of the democracy. Many a Saul of the revolution became a Paul overnight, while less noteworthy conversions by the hundred were so common that they soon ceased to evoke surprise. It was a veri-

table harvest-time for psychologists, who could study the soul-states of the crowd, follow their rapid transitions as never before. The cases one came across were truly curious. I remember one man, in particular, who enjoyed a literary reputation in Russia and deserved it. He was also one of those fitfully demonstrative patriots who love their country as Mrs. Micawber loved her husband; and he consequently looked askance at the United States and Great Britain as the real enemies lurking behind Japan. He was a *bourgeois* of the *bourgeois,* when the lightning-flash of the revolution revealed the truth to him and he became a Social Democrat overnight. Thenceforth his zeal knew no bounds, his will brooked no contradiction, his views admitted no doubt. That was in October. . . . A reactionary wave has passed over the land since then, drawing in many scores of thousands. It swept away that literary convert to Socialism from the presence of his comrades, and many others with him.

The capers cut by the officials were especially amusing. Prematurely giving up the Autocracy as lost, large numbers of them made hot haste to turn from what they deemed the setting to the rising sun. They announced that they had always been democrats at heart, had always known that the régime was rotten and would fall to pieces. The Autocracy, on which they had lived and still were living, they proceeded to scourge with tongues that stung like scorpions, until there was not a sound place left in it. "A man's foes shall be those of his own household." Some of these new converts actually supplied the popular party with materials for their indictments of the dynasty; they revealed state secrets, they refused to forward official telegrams. Over them, too, the reactionary wave has since rolled, blotting out impressions that lately seemed deep and abiding, and these men now fulminate against the Government for not employing repressive measures early enough. The revolutionary rabble ought to have been treated with shrapnel. Witté, who failed thus to deal with them, is a traitor. He richly deserves to be impeached and punished or punished and impeached. As for them, they have been true to the Autocracy all along, its real friends in need.

That the revolution should have lost its glamour in the eyes of the struggling classes who have something to lose, needs no explanation. It is human nature. But the attitude of the peasants is less easy to grasp, and a good deal more depends upon their

conduct. If the peasants keep the peace, all is well for a long time. For, in Russia proper, the armed insurrection is virtually suppressed, and the only care of the authorities is lest it should break out in Spring anew in the guise of agrarian disturbances.

The Russian peasant is an enigma, even to his own people. You can seldom tell what he will say or do about any question whatever, unless it refer to his land, to God or the Tsar. And then he thinks and acts like his forefathers two or three hundred years ago. Those are the three essential elements of which time and eternity seem to him composed. He loves the land, and is in most cases ready to "crawl out of his skin" to increase his share of it. He does not always think pillage, arson, and even violence against the person too high a price to pay for a slice of a nobleman's property, especially if others share part of his responsibility for these misdeeds. God and the Tsar are also of the essence of his life, and although many mujiks were attracted by the seductive pictures of a republic which professional revolutionists drew for them, they nearly all insisted that the Tsar should be the acknowledged "Emperor of the commonwealth." Politics, therefore, as such, have no more charm for the average peasant than the higher mathematics, of which he understands no less. Hence, the only way to win him over to the popular movement is by promising him land for nothing, and that is precisely what the revolutionists and several Liberals freely did, and did in the name of God and the Tsar. "The soil," they said, "is God's, not the noblemen's, therefore the Tsar has given it to the peasant. Let them take and till it." And, accordingly, they took it, sacked the manors, in many instances burned them and divided the spoil among themselves. That was the only point of contact between the revolutionists and the peasantry, the one gave freely what belonged to their neighbors, and the others took what was thus given. Then came the day of judgment, when the spoil had to be disgorged, the land vacated, punishment endured; and the last state was recognized as worse than the first. The truth is that both revolutionists and democrats committed a grave mistake in their treatment of the peasants. Aiming at immediate results, they bribed instead of educating them—and, what was still worse, bribed them with the property of other people which the whole State was able and minded to protect.

Here is an instance of how the prophets of the revolution went

to work: A peaceful little village named Khorino, some four hours' railway journey from St. Petersburg, was thrilled one night by the arrival of thirty-eight strange men and eight strange women. It was hours after every one had gone to bed; and the visitors made straight for the schoolhouse and put up at the schoolmaster's. But they had come for business, and, without a moment's delay, they called a meeting of the peasants, of whom some eighty, including women and children, were brought together. One of the speakers cried: "Sugar really costs seven copecks, but the retailers are charging you seventeen. Isn't that true? The cost price of flour is four roubles, but the dealers make you pay five and a half." And the upshot of his address was to prove that the Duma was a delusion and a snare for the peasants. The proper course for them would be to take revolvers and rifles and begin to pillage the country houses of the landlords. That, the speakers added, could now be done with impunity, because there were no authorities any more. An old peasant objected that the Tsar was still there. "Not at all," they answered. "He too has been removed. We have no need of a Tsar now; he is a needless luxury." Then another of the peasants urged that in any case God would punish them if they broke their oath of allegiance. But the revolutionists took a cigarette, stuck it into the glittering image of St. Nicholas, and asked: "Come now, what do you think? Is that a holy image? Isn't it a mere dry spruce board?"

At this the peasants murmured and left the house, for their religious sentiment was deeply hurt. Next day, the agitators were driven off and compelled to return to their homes. Then another emissary went to the half-station Oksochy, and handed in a telegram addressed to St. Petersburg. The official explained he had orders to accept none but official telegrams, and then the emissary, raising a revolver, shot him dead. Other revolutionists came and showed written orders compelling the peasants to give them their horses from place to place *gratis*. The final verdict of the peasantry in that part of the country was: "The Emperor acknowledges us as citizens, he gives us admittance to the Duma. But the gentry don't wish us to enter, so they send strange people with revolvers against us."

That is only one instance, but it stands for many. The Socialists who preach violence use the promise of free land as a lever.

They do not, of course, mean to fulfil it, for that would be to renounce Socialism; they only intend to rouse the peasantry against society, and they are successful. On the other hand, the parties of order cannot hold out any such seductive prospects, because they believe in the principle of private property. Hence, they are seriously handicapped. The revolutionists can be generous, nay prodigal, with other people's possessions.

Here is an instructive example of how the oracle is worked. In South Russia, there is a county of the province of Poltava known as the Lokhvitsky District. The Revolutionary League occupied it, and at first struck terror to the hearts of the peaceful inhabitants. But they promised to confiscate the estates of the landlords and gentry and distribute them among the peasants, giving nine acres to each—not less than nine acres. And the mujiks, believing, were delighted. Yet the truth is that, in the entire province of which Lokhvitsky is but a mere fraction, all the arable land that exists, if taken and divided among the peasants, would give less than an acre and a half for each. In the Lokhvitsky District, the share would not be even as much.

Anarchy would have been the outcome of this movement if the authorities had not succeeded in checking it. The difficulty lay and still lies in the lack of troops. But, none the less, the peasants have of late been picking up wholesome ideas on the principle and practice of private property. And already they are mistrustful of the speechmaker from the city, who is generally a peace-breaker as well. They are beginning to grasp the fact that the abolition of property is a weapon that might be employed against themselves. They also understand that the transfer of landed property cannot be permanently effected without writing, signing and sealing. Therefore, many of them are now writing to their landlords asking them to sell them lots on reasonable terms, the money to be advanced by the Peasants' Bank in accordance with the imperial ukase recently promulgated. And in the villages there is a growing revulsion of feeling against extreme Liberalism.

Before the armed insurrection broke out, Liberalism of the most uncompromising character was popular everywhere. People were anxious, above all things, to see the old régime abolished, and, believing that violence only could effect it, they secretly or openly held with those who preached and employed force.

Almost everywhere, this moral support was freely accorded, money was subscribed, hospitality extended, information volunteered. "*Écrasez l'infâme!*" was the watchword of the enemies of the Autocracy, and their name was legion. If at that time the elections had been held, it is probable that a large majority of the elected would have been extreme radicals. The Minister President, it is affirmed by some of those who know him, would also have been a friend of the popular party. That, however, is merely surmise. What is certain is that everything would have been different from what it is and will be. In the days before the armed rising, Liberalism was still a cherished dream from which the nation hoped to awaken to a millennium. There had been as yet no disillusion. Since then it has become a nightmare, the recollection of which gives quiet folk a shudder. The violent action is being followed by a correspondingly violent reaction.

Who is to blame? The Liberals timidly accuse the revolutionists, while the moderates lay the responsibility upon the radicals, who expected to see order emerge from anarchy, prosperity emanate from destruction. But the unbiassed outsider will probably be disposed to look upon the conduct of the Russian people, and of each of its parties, as the national outcome of character, training and mental condition. It is clear that the Slav nation lacks political education and self-control; has no idea of tactics, no habit of discipline, hardly yet a standard by which to separate the secondary from the essential, the final goal from the intermediate aims which differ little from the means. The elements of the population that display an interest in public affairs are animated by a spirit of insubordination which makes it hard for them to combine. They are atoms which would seem to repel rather than attract each other, so that in lieu of a few strong parties a large number of little groups are likely to be formed. Moreover, they are more deeply moved by purely personal considerations than by patriotism, discerning friends and enemies where we should expect them to see only Russia and her destinies. This, too, will doubtless be remedied in time, but it seems premature to expect a change to-day or to-morrow. The fact that certain powerful parties have been called into being, such as the Constitutional Democrats, the Party of Order, the Party of October 30th, hardly weakens the force of my remarks. The members of those bodies hold together most loosely, the bond that links them being often

agreement on some secondary matter, while they disagree in essentials. The Constitutional Democratic Party, for example, contains republicans and monarchists, men who would nationalize the land and men who would resist nationalization by force if necessary; politicians who are willing to employ the machinery of the Duma for reform, and others who obstinately refuse to accept a Duma or any chamber not invested with the functions of a constituent assembly. And all these mutually repellent elements are for the moment gathered together as chance pedestrians might be assembled under an archway during a violent shower of rain. In a few weeks or months they will probably have split up into a number of little groups.

A majority of advanced Liberals would in all probability have been sent to the first Russian Duma if there had been no insurrection. But now? Events which then seemed surer even than that are now become doubtful. Security for life and property appears a much greater boon to the struggling masses than political rights which most of them are incapable of grasping. I should not be surprised in the least if the nation were to return a majority of moderates resolved to take their stand on the platform of the October Manifesto. That the Government will exert any pressure on the voters is absolutely excluded. It would run counter to the psychology of the people. Moreover, political considerations will play but a slender part in the struggle of the parties. The average Russian man cares extremely little what political programme is represented by this candidate or that. What concerns him infinitely more is that Ivanoff his friend, or Petroff his enemy, wants to be sent to St. Petersburg to help the Tsar to govern the Empire, and his feelings towards the concrete individual whom he loves or hates will shape his vote.

Sadder far than the probable return of a lukewarm majority to the Duma is another result of the violence of the insurgents. The enfranchisement of the Jews may long be delayed in consequence. I sincerely hope I may be unduly pessimistic, but I cannot get rid of the impression made by a long sequel of phenomena which cannot be enumerated here. When the October Manifesto was promulgated, the Jewish question was uppermost in men's minds, and so little doubt was entertained that the secular grievances of that much-suffering people would be shortly redressed that many journalists fancied it was a question of weeks

only, while a few believed a report then circulating that a ukase was being written abolishing the existence of the Ghetto or Jewish Pale of Settlement. Count Witté was known to be in favor of full enfranchisement and equal rights, while the workmen, the intellectuals, and a very large section of the officials concurred in his view. Looking around for support in the country, the Minister President naturally and in the first place relied on the Hebrew elements. If they would not stand by him from sentiment or political conviction, they certainly would from interest. So he hoped, nay thought.

But the Jews were among the first to abandon Witté. They would enfranchise themselves by their own efforts. They were as the swimmer who, feeling that he can freely float and move in the water, discards his cork belt. Had they not materially contributed to win the battle of freedom? They had sacrificed their racial and denominational aims and pooled their interests with those of the Russian revolutionists, swearing to stand or fall with these. It was on that basis that they founded the famous Bund or Revolutionary League, which has produced many of the most fearless, heroic and cruel terrorists in all Russia. The revolutionist leader whose name is a clarion to thousands, the redoubted "Maxim," whose adventures are the theme of a cycle of legends, is a Jew. The Jewish organizations, one of them the Bund, were among the revolutionary societies that summoned the Russian people to withdraw gold from the Savings and State Banks, to refuse payment in paper, and to rise up in arms against the Government of the Tsar. Among the results were the last great strike, the insurrection in Moscow and other cities, the bloodshed which still continues, the financial losses, and, worse than all else, the economic and psychic derangement of the Russian nation.

It was a terrible, an irreparable, mistake! There is a tide in the affairs of people as of individuals which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune, and unless the symptoms were unusually deceptive it came for the Russian Jews on the 30th of October. Not that Witté was their Moses who would work miracles for them. Even if they had rallied round him, he is far too cautious a politician to have endangered success by haste. Measures of relief, partial, indeed, but most welcome, he would have bestowed. A number of them were outlined, some were even drafted; but before they could be enacted as statutes the Jews had thrown in their

lot with the Russian revolutionists, and after that no more was heard about the partial reforms. Two of the least important were, indeed, carried out by the Finance Minister; but then the impulse died out, and the last state of the ill-starred Jews is likewise worse than the first.

If Count Witté and his Cabinet, many urge, were truly Liberal, they ought never to have abandoned the Jewish cause, however dissatisfied they might have been with the attitude of the Jews And that is, undoubtedly, true. If it be ethically wrong, as it certainly is, to treat a cultured people as an inferior race, it is no answer to the charge to plead hostility on the part of their leaders. Two blacks do not yet make a white. But that is not Count Witté's plea. What his few friends advance in his behalf is this: his plan was to grant the Jews a good deal of relief in secondary matters, but not to confer equal rights upon them, because that was beyond his power. The Russian people represented by the Duma is alone competent to strike off their fetters once for all. But it was possible, probable, nay all but certain, that they would have done that if the Russian Liberal movement had been guided by political common sense. If the Jews, whose influence upon that movement was powerful, had held aloof from the armed rising and thus enabled Count Witté to lean upon the Liberals, the Duma would certainly have had a sweeping majority of delegates favorable to the enfranchisement of the Jews.

At present, that is but a melancholy chapter of the depressing records of things that might have been. A heavy wave of reaction had swept over Russia, washed away those Liberal impressions before they could serve as moulds for legislation. Witté's views are immaterial to the issue; for, if Witté were as Liberal as Abraham Lincoln, he would still be almost as powerless as a Sioux chief, unless he had a strong Liberal following, and that was denied him chiefly by the Jews. It was a curious conjuncture: on the one side, a formidable body, almost a whole nation, proclaiming Liberal principles and needing a cautious leader; on the other side, a successful leader looking out for a Liberal party; between them, a little hollow which the prominent leaders deliberately deepened and widened until it became an impassable gulf. The leader and the party never met.

And now there has come a period of meditation. *La Russie se recueille.*

BERLIN, *February, 1906.*

SUNDAY, January 21st, the anniversary of the massacre of St. Petersburg, was a notable day in the annals of German Social Democracy. The leaders of the movement had decided to celebrate the occasion by convening meetings throughout the Empire, for the purpose of proclaiming their sympathy with their Russian "comrades," and of formulating the popular demand for the abolition, in favor of manhood suffrage, of the three-class system of election to the State Diets. No sooner was the intention of the Social Democrats made known than it was denounced by the Conservatives as a revolutionary plot. What the Socialists secretly proposed, and the Reactionaries affirmed, was to organize street demonstrations in all the big towns of Germany, and, in particular, to furnish the world with a Berlin sequel of the St. Petersburg tragedy by marching in procession before the Imperial Palace, with the object of extorting the suffrage from the hands of the Emperor-King. The alarm, thus sounded, awakened far-reaching echoes. In Saxony, the Government at once issued a general prohibition against all public meetings announced for January 21st, and in Berlin proclamations were posted at every corner warning the inhabitants that, in case of emergency, the police would be assisted by the military in ruthlessly suppressing all attempts to improvise street demonstrations. The manifest nervousness of the authorities was intensified, at this juncture, by the intelligence of serious rioting in Hamburg, where some fifty thousand workmen had ceased work in order to attend meetings of protest against the enactment of a Bill, designed to deprive them of the right to elect their own representatives in the Legislature of the Republic of Hamburg. At the close of the meetings, sanguinary conflicts had occurred between the police and bodies of Hooligans, who had attempted to invade the precincts of the Municipal Buildings; and in several streets barricades had been erected. The Social Democratic leaders were moved by these disturbances promptly to disavow all participation in them on the part of their followers; and they were in a position to support their denial by pointing to the fact that the mob, in addition to a number of private shops, had devastated a Social Democratic Cooperative Store. As regards the contemplated meetings in Berlin, the leaders did not hesitate to affirm that the intention of organizing demonstrations in the streets had never existed.

The tranquillizing assurances of the Socialist chiefs were dismissed with contumely by the reactionaries, who redoubled their exhortations to the Government to enforce "exceptional measures against the dangerous agitation of the revolutionaries." The consequence was that, when Sunday arrived, Berlin was found to be, for all practical purposes, in a state of petty siege. Inside the Imperial Palace, where at noon the Emperor was to preside over the annual *Ordensfest,* or Decoration Festival, several companies of mounted troops were assembled; and in the Imperial liveries, behind the palace, an imposing force of artillery stood in readiness to send its "whiff of grape-shot" coursing through the streets. The barracks of all the regiments garrisoned in and around Berlin were also filled with troops, armed as for a campaign, and awaiting the order which, fifteen years before, the Emperor had foreshadowed in the following memorable words: "It is possible, in view of the present Socialistic machinations, that I may order you to shoot down your own relatives, brothers, nay, your parents—which God forefend—but even then you must obey my commands without a murmur."

The streets were teeming with policemen. All of them carried swords and revolvers, and they were ranged in chain formation at regular intervals across the roads. Near them—a highly significant feature—stood the self-appointed agents of the Social Democratic party, conspicuously adorned with red rosettes, and actively assisting the official guardians of the law in preventing the formation of crowds. This formal recognition on the part of the authorities of the ability of the "Party of Disorder," as it is usually designated, to cooperate, on special occasions, in the task of preserving order is justly regarded by the Social Democrats as one of the most important achievements of the day; for the *début* of their proletarian police was uniformly successful. They did duty at no less than ninety-three Assembly Halls, all of which were packed, and in each locality they preserved perfect order.

A foreigner, accustomed to the liberal institutions of the United States or of Great Britain, could not but admire the spirit of discipline pervading the meetings. The key-note of the orations was a deep-set determination to strive, by constitutional means and through the medium of the existing laws, to obtain increased political liberties, designed eventually to enable the working-

classes to acquire predominant political power. "The proletariat," observed one orator, "is well aware that it would be hopelessly worsted in open conflict with the military. It does not propose to try conclusions of that character. But the Russian revolution has taught it that it possesses, in the general strike, a far more effective instrument than armed resistance for the defence of its rights and privileges." Beneath the platform from which these words were delivered lay concealed a formidable body of police, prepared to fire on the meeting at the least sign of disturbance. It was a superfluous precaution. The assembly, which had been frequently admonished by its rosetted agents against yielding to provocation in any form, was exultant in the sense of its own disciplined order. With stentorian cheers, it carried a resolution of sympathy with the "comrades" in Russia in their fight against an effete Autocracy; and to that resolution was added a second, denouncing the "monstrous injustice" embodied in the three-class system of election prevailing in Prussia, and demanding, in virile language, the substitution for it of the principle of manhood suffrage. That done, the many thousands who had attended the meeting poured into the streets and passed peacefully through the multitudinous lines of armed police on their way home. Every one of the ninety-three meetings ended thus; and in the provinces the public order was preserved equally intact. Throughout the Empire not a shot was fired nor was a single demonstrator arrested. "Red Sunday," in fact, was come and gone: it lives in history under the mocking sobriquet of "Quiet Sunday."

It must be admitted, however, that the Social Democrats were partly responsible for the excitement which preceded their grand demonstration. For months they had indulged in language of the most exalted description. At Jena, where the Party Congress was held in September, they spent two whole days in discussing the probable attitude of the military when the time should arrive for the proletariat to "go into the streets." Bebel himself proclaimed his conviction that the soldiers would not "shoot down their relatives, their brothers, nay, even their parents," but would make common cause with the "comrades." The army, he exclaimed, is permeated with the spirit of Social Democracy, and when the day of revolution dawns, entire regiments will side with the people in defending their rights. The professed confidence of the great demagogue in the "enlightenment" of the

army was not, however, allowed to pass unchallenged; and several speakers, notably the Trades-Union leaders, emphatically admonished the Congress that, on the first sign of revolution, the German Government, to adopt Mr. Krüger's phrase, would "stagger humanity" even more effectively than the Russian Cossacks had done. The upshot of the debate was that Bebel feigned astonishment at the "sanguinary deductions" made from his remarks, and that the Congress passed a diluted resolution, approving of the general strike as the only effective means of repelling any reactionary attack on the Imperial suffrage, and of wresting the concession of an extended suffrage from the various State Governments. The Jena Congress was followed by the forcible elimination from the councils of the party executive of the so-called "intellectuals," who are in favor of an opportunist policy of cooperation, for immediate purposes, with the Parliamentary representatives of the *bourgeoisie;* and for some months the agitation was fomented by systematic appeals to the passions of the proletariat. Frau Rosa Luxemburg, now one of the most prominent figures in the party, publicly boasted that the general strike in Russia had been largely engineered by the German comrades; and she added that the spirit of revolution was destined to travel from the "demolished Empire of the Tsar" to the western states of Europe, where its ideals would be realized, not with the aid of barricades, which were impotent against modern artillery, but by the enforcement of the principle of the general strike, which would infallibly bring the forces of capitalism to their knees. The reactionaries indulged in language of a not less inflammatory character. Their newspapers bristled with appeals to the Imperial authorities regarding the evils of manhood suffrage, as illustrated in the composition of the Reichstag. To Social Democracy, they argued, manhood suffrage is as the breath of life: abolish it, establish for the Empire a franchise similar in principle to that prevailing in the states of Prussia and Saxony, and the revolutionary movement will be deprived of the possibility of further development.

In fact the extremists in both camps seemed bent on organizing a conflict. Count Posadowsky, the Secretary of the Interior, whose moral courage has on more than one occasion proved to be a most valuable asset of the Government, therefore, deemed the moment appropriate for an appeal to the conscience of the

country. He addressed a remarkable homily to the Reichstag on the subject of Social Democracy. After expatiating with great eloquence on the admirable social legislation of the Empire, on the blessings conferred upon the working classes by the State Insurance Laws, on the rapidly growing prosperity of all classes of the community, and on the excellence and incorruptibility of the public services, he asked his hearers to ponder, in a spirit of detachment, upon the possible causes of the existence of a party of three million voters, who were filled with implacable resentment against an order of society from which they derived such unique advantages. Count Posadowsky admitted that the social legislation begun under Bismarck was conceived with the idea of propitiating the working-men, and that it had failed conspicuously in that object. But he warned the legislators of the Empire, some of whom were irritated and others profoundly discouraged by this failure, in the most solemn language, against withdrawing their hands from the plough and abandoning all further attempts to perfect their social laws. They must pursue their task, he said, as a matter of conscience, and not of mere expediency. From these general observations the Imperial Secretary passed on to exhibit in detail some of the causes of Social Democracy. He deplored the policy pursued by the great employers of labor in their persistent refusal to distinguish between the working classes, as such, and the Social Democrats. Attention has been called in these pages on a previous occasion to the blunder of which the German capitalists are guilty in their deliberate neglect to differentiate between the trades-unionist and the Marxian movement: how, instead of exploiting the inherent antagonism between the economic and the political organizations of the working classes, they seemed determined to confuse them and to weld them indissolubly into one, possibly with the design of fighting the trades-unions by imputing to them a revolutionary character. At this fundamental error Count Posadowsky pointed a justly accusing finger. He indicted the propertied classes of the Empire on account of what he described as their moral impotency to overcome an essentially materialistic movement. Social Democracy, he reminded them, was admittedly and professedly materialistic. But the wealthier classes seemed to be no less steeped in materialism: revelling in their newly acquired riches, they too frequently overlooked the necessity of

making self-sacrifices in the interests of society. Finally, Count Posadowsky turned to the State, and confessed himself unable to acquit it on the charge of contributing to the spread of Social Democracy by its rigid adherence to the traditions of a petti-fogging bureaucracy and police.

It was a bold homily; and it aroused among the conservative sections of the community a storm of indignation against its author. But, since "Red Sunday" earned the nickname of "Quiet Sunday," people are recalling its precepts, and signs are even apparent that Prince von Bülow is approximating to the standpoint of his able and thoughtful lieutenant. Within the last few days he has definitely refused the request of the reactionaries, preferred in the Upper Chamber of the Prussian Diet, for the introduction of special legislation, after the Bismarckian pattern of repression, against the Social Democratic movement. While summoning the parties of the *bourgeoisie,* in necessarily ineffective language, to unite against that movement, he has made a significant concession to the spirit of parliamentary government by proclaiming his willingness to satisfy the demand, so frequently urged by the Reichstag, for the payment of its members. It is, indeed, not impossible that the striking proof of their discipline furnished by the Social Democrats on "Quiet Sunday" may eventually mark a turning-point in the domestic policy of Germany. For it is plain that Russia, which the statesmen of Berlin have in times past worshipped as the bulwark of Autocracy, has nothing more to teach them, unless it be the advisability of directing their eyes westward in search of successful methods of government. Already the retreat from Russian ante-revolutionary ideas has been sounded by the states of South Germany. In the Grand Duchy of Baden, a more liberal franchise has quite recently come into operation; in Bavaria, manhood suffrage is about to be introduced; in Saxony, the Government has announced its determination to revise on modern lines the electoral law, which it enacted three years ago in consonance with the reactionary Prussian model; and the Grand Duchy is now preparing to imitate the example of Baden. In these circumstances, it can, notwithstanding the retrograde step taken by the Republic of Hamburg, be merely a question of time before the Kingdom of Prussia yields to the cry for reform raised by the Social Democrats; for the justice of that cry is admitted by all liberal

minds. More than thirty years ago, Bismarck himself described the Prussian electoral law as the most wretched and inefficient of all systems. Its effect to-day is to exclude from all possibility of Parliamentary representation a party which, under the operation of manhood suffrage, polls three millions of votes in the elections to the Reichstag. Under the three-class system, the Social Democrats are without a single voice in the Prussian Diet, whose legislative functions are practically monopolized by the landed aristocracy. No less a person than the heir to the Bavarian throne, the only German prince who occasionally profits by the precedent set by the Emperor to indulge in the luxury of political oratory, has denounced this state of affairs. The press of South Germany has informed Prince von Bülow that under the sway of liberal laws, it is unnecessary for the parties of the *bourgeoisie* to unite against the Social Democratic movement; that the Social Democrats of South Germany are far less "revolutionary" in their sentiments than those of Prussia; and that the Prussian Autocracy, if it desires to prosper, will do well to sever its moral alliance with the principles of Tsardom and to approximate its legislation to the ideals of Western Europe.

---

WASHINGTON, *February, 1906.*

THE questions in which the Executive and Legislative departments of our Federal Government are most deeply interested continue to be, as they were last month, the fate of the bill conferring on the Interstate Commerce Commission the power to fix rates for railways; the disposition likely to be made of the Philippine Tariff bill; the reception which the Statehood bill may expect in the Senate; the outcome of the attempt to secure the ratification of the Santo Domingo Treaty, and the course which Congress may see fit to pursue with regard to the Panama Canal. Concerning four of these questions, the attitude of the Senate seems already defined. The Hepburn bill, embodying a method of rate-making which was supposed to have the President's approval, has but little, if any, chance of passing the Senate, though the House of Representatives adopted it by a stupendous majority, only seven votes being recorded against it. Even if the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce should report the bill by a majority of one, the large minority which insists upon amending it would prosecute the contest on the floor of the Senate-Chamber, and

probably would succeed in carrying the desired amendment. What such Senators as Mr. Foraker, Mr. Lodge, Mr. Aldrich and their coadjutors are resolved upon is that a railway rate fixed by the Commission, if the railroad affected by it appeals from it, shall not become operative until it has been sustained by the courts. In advocacy of an amendment to that effect, Senator Lodge made a powerful speech; and it is known that some of the soundest lawyers and most effective orators in the Senate will follow him on the same side. All the Democrats will be arrayed in the opposite camp, and so will a certain number of Republicans, including, it appears, three members of the Interstate Commerce Committee. Whether the friends of the bill, however, can muster thirteen Republicans, the number needed to transform the thirty-two Democrats into a majority, is considered very doubtful. Concerning the position now taken by President Roosevelt toward the measure there are conflicting reports, from which the most reasonable conclusion seems to be that he would rather have the bill amended than not passed at all.

The Statehood bill, upon which also the House of Representatives set the stamp of approbation, must be subjected to amendment in the Senate, it is generally believed, if it is to become a law. Senator Foraker is determined to get inserted in the bill, as it came from the House, a provision that the question whether Arizona and New Mexico shall be admitted to the Union as a single State shall be submitted to the inhabitants of those Territories separately. Should a majority in either Territory reply in the negative, the proposed unification will not take place. If we are correctly informed, the bill, thus amended, would not entirely fall to the ground in the event of an adverse vote in Arizona or New Mexico, but those sections which authorize the admission of Oklahoma and Indian Territory into the Union as one State would remain operative. Mr. Foraker's hope of carrying his amendment rests on the assumption that he can control sixteen of his Republican colleagues, and secure in addition almost every Democratic vote. Were he deserted by six, or even five, Democrats his amendment might be defeated. If the outcome of Mr. Foraker's amendment shall be to preserve the Territorial status of Arizona and New Mexico for an indefinite term, no inhabitant of the larger States will grieve, for both of them put together fall signally short of the

population that ought to be exacted for Statehood, and Senator Beveridge is unquestionably right in treating as utterly inadmissible the proposal that they be admitted separately.

Senator Lodge, who has in charge the Philippine Tariff bill, expresses confidence in his ability to secure the adoption of it by the Senate without any material change. Few onlookers are equally optimistic. The spokesmen of our beet-root sugar and cane-sugar interests, and the champions of our native tobacco interest, are much stronger in the Senate than they were in the House, and they are determined not to let the bill become a law in its present form. To the plea that equity requires us to treat the Filipinos as we have treated the Porto-Ricans, and to give the former, as we have given the latter, the boon of free trade with the United States, they answer that equity, like charity, begins at home, and that the Government has no moral right to expose our sugar and home-grown tobacco industries to a ruinous competition. Those who argue thus ought logically to advocate the immediate concession of absolute independence, not only to the Philippines, but also to Porto Rico, for the latter island likewise is a producer of sugar and tobacco. Logic and consistency, however, though, ultimately, they may generate an overwhelming public opinion, are not always omnipotent in a legislative chamber, and it looks as if a majority of the Senators could be prevailed upon to disregard the Porto-Rican precedent, and compel the sugar and tobacco of the Philippines to pay duties amounting to fifty (instead of twenty-five) per cent. of the Dingley rates for some time to come. That is to say, a majority of the Senate will consent, under pressure, to confess that, by the acquisition of the Philippines, we have placed ourselves in a position in which we cannot treat our new subjects justly without wronging our fellow citizens. As, of two duties, we ought to do that which is nearest to our hand, the unavoidable deduction from the premises is that we ought to give up the Philippines. The defeat or mutilation of the Philippine Tariff bill as it came from the House will give the anti-Imperialists an irresistible argument. The conscience of this nation will not stand for the strangulation of the sugar and tobacco industries of the Philippines.

Nobody expects to see the Santo Domingo Treaty reported to the Senate and submitted to a vote until the Republicans are sure of support from enough Democratic Senators to command rati-

fication. As there is a vacancy for Delaware, and as Mr. Burton of Kansas is not expected to vote or to be paired, we may say that there are eighty-eight votes in the Senate. Of these the Republicans have fifty-six and the Democrats thirty-two. If three Democrats would cooperate with the Republicans, the treaty would get fifty-nine votes, or the requisite two-thirds. We here assume, what is not quite certain, that every Republican Senator can be relied upon to uphold Mr. Roosevelt's interposition in Santo Domingo. But for the Democratic caucus, the required *quantum* of assistance from the Democratic side would undoubtedly have been forthcoming. As it is, only Senator Patterson of Colorado and Senator McEnery of Louisiana can, it seems, be relied upon. The speech in which the former defended his refusal to obey the caucus, though unquestionably sound in logic and morals, made no impression on his Democratic colleagues—mainly, doubtless, because he himself very recently voted to make the decision of a caucus binding upon all participants therein. We are told that Secretary Root is trying to make the treaty more acceptable to its Democratic critics, by modifying the clause authorizing the United States to interpose with force for the maintenance of order in Santo Domingo, a clause which underwent considerable alteration at the hands of the late Secretary Hay. As remoulded by Secretary Root, it will simply empower the United States to protect those American citizens who are engaged in the collecting of customs duties. We doubt whether even this careful restriction of our right to intervene will suffice to induce a majority of the Democratic Senators to rescind the caucus resolution. Meanwhile, until it has been submitted to a vote and definitely rejected, the treaty remains inchoate, and the *modus vivendi* continues under which American citizens appointed by the Dominican Executive are performing the function of collectors and distributors of the Dominican customs revenue.

What the Senate will do about the Panama Canal depends, doubtless, upon the general attitude of the Republican majority toward the Roosevelt Administration, which attitude will be affected materially by Mr. Roosevelt's acquiescence in an amendment of the rate-making bill. Should the Republican majority be unfriendly to Mr. Roosevelt, it could make itself exceedingly unpleasant by a drastic investigation of the work of the Canal Commission. The $21,000,000 already appropriated to the Com-

mission will have been spent in a few weeks, and a large additional appropriation will be asked for. The American people find it very hard to understand how so huge a sum could have been disbursed, when not even the type of the canal has as yet been fixed upon. It is tolerably certain that, if we had decided to let the canal be constructed by contract, very little if any money would have been laid out by the contractor before he knew what kind of a canal was wanted. We have not yet even arrived at the preliminary decision. It is well known that, some time ago, a majority of the Board of Consulting Engineers recommended a sea-level canal. The Canal Commission, however, has not accepted that recommendation, but has reported to the President in favor of an 85-foot-level lock canal. If Mr. Roosevelt concurs in their opinion, he will submit their report with his approval to Congress. We take for granted that Congress will agree with the Commission in preferring the 85-foot-level lock canal, because it will cost much less than a sea-level waterway, and can be completed much more quickly. It is quite possible, however, that the Senate, if in an unsympathetic mood, may decline to place any more money in the hands of the Canal Commission, and may advise that the waterway be constructed either by Government engineers or by contract. It is probable that no contractor would undertake the task unless he were entirely untrammelled with respect to labor. If he had a free hand, he would employ Chinese. The Federal statute which forbids the importation of Chinese labor into the United States is inapplicable to the canal strip. When we consider how much trouble and odium has been brought upon the War Department by the canal business, we can appreciate the wariness which led Secretary Root to resist the proposed transfer of the management of the canal strip and interoceanic waterway to the Department of State. The widely current suspicions of the wisdom and trustworthiness of the Canal Commission have seriously impaired Judge Taft's popularity, and tend to disqualify him as a candidate for the Republican nomination for the Presidency. His elimination would leave the course pretty clear for Mr. Root. Mr. Roosevelt himself must be growing impatient at the dilatory movements of the Canal Commission, which he must recognize as the weak spot of his Administration.

## CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER.

A Jeffersonian Democrat

is a well-known writer who by conviction and tradition is what he describes himself, and from the point of view of erudition and wide political knowledge is probably the ablest Jeffersonian Democrat in the country.

Paul Morton

was in the service of the Burlington railroad system from 1872 to 1890. Beginning as clerk in the land-office of the Burlington and Missouri Railroad, he became, successively, assistant general freight agent and general passenger agent, and ended as general freight agent of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railway. He was President of the Whitebreast Fuel Company from 1890 to 1896; third Vice-President of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé Railway from 1896 to 1898, and second Vice-President of the same railway from 1898 to 1904, when he was called into the Cabinet by President Roosevelt as Secretary of the Navy. Last year he became President of the Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States.

Darwin P. Kingsley

was born at Alburg, Vermont, in 1857, and graduated from the University of Vermont in 1881. He was State auditor of Colorado in 1887-8. Since 1898, he has been Vice-President of the New York Life Insurance Company. In 1884, Mr. Kingsley was a delegate to the Republican National Convention. He is a trustee of the University of Ver-

mont and a director of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad.

A. O. Bacon

graduated from the University of Georgia in 1859, and from the law department of that institution in 1860. He served in the Confederate Army as regimental adjutant and staff-captain, and after the war he took up the practice of law in Macon. He has long been active and influential in the politics of Georgia, his native State. He was a member of several State Democratic Conventions, and presided over the Convention of 1880. He was a delegate to the National Democratic Convention in 1884. For many years he sat in the Georgia House of Representatives, of which he was Speaker in 1873-4 and 1877-81. He was sent to the United States Senate in 1895

Booker T. Washington,

a distinguished American citizen of African descent, was born near Hale's Ford, Virginia, about 1859. Having graduated from Hampton Institute, Virginia, he taught in that institution until he was elected by the Alabama State authorities, in 1881, to his present position as Principal of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, which he organized and made successful and famous. He has written and spoken much on racial and educational subjects, and he is the author of several books, including "Sowing and Reaping," "Up From Slavery," "Character-building," and "The Story of My Life and Work."

Vernon Lee

is the pen-name of Miss Violet Paget, an English writer and critic who has lived for a number of years in Italy. She has written much on the history of the arts, literature and drama of Italy. Among her published works are "Studies of the Eighteenth Century in Italy," "Belcaro" (essays), "Ottilie," "Euphorion" (essays on Renaissance), "Miss Brown," "Baldwin" (philosophical dialogues), "Juvenilia" (essays), "Althea," and "Renaissance Fancies and Studies." Readers of the Review will recall with pleasure three brilliant papers contributed to its pages by Miss Paget's gifted pen—one on "The Economic Dependence of Women," one

entitled "A Postscript on Ruskin," and one entitled "Nietzsche and 'The Will to Power.'"

EDWARD PORRITT

is a native of Bury in Lancashire, England. For several years he was connected with a number of English papers. In 1884, he came to the United States and joined the staff of the "St. Louis Globe Democrat." Returning to England, he was employed for some time as a parliamentary reporter. He now resides in the United States as correspondent for important British newspapers. He writes besides for a large range of American periodicals. In 1893, he published "The Englishman at Home," an account of English government and institutions. In 1901, he finished "The History of the Unreformed House of Commons," which was published in two volumes by the University Press of Cambridge. Mr. Porritt accompanied the Commission of whose work he tells in his article.

LOUISE COLLIER WILLCOX

is an American writer and student of literature, who was educated, mainly, in England, and who has contributed comment and criticism to some of the leading publications of the country.

UPTON SINCLAIR,

a native of Baltimore, was graduated from the College of the City of New York in 1897, and did four years' post-graduate work at Columbia University. He is the author of a number of novels: "King Midas, a Romance," "Prince Hagen, a Phantasy," "The Journal of Arthur Stirling," "Manassas, a Novel of the War," and "The Jungle." The last-named work, just published, deals with life in Chicago's Packingtown, narrating the adventures of a family of Lithuanian emigrants who came to America in search of fortune, and showing the conditions which turn the hero into a criminal and a tramp. Mr. Sinclair is Vice-President of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society.

IDA HUSTED HARPER

is an Indiana woman of New England parentage. She studied at the University of Indiana and, later, took almost an entire course at Leland Stanford University. For several

years she was one of the editors of the Indianapolis *News,* and for a number of years she edited a department in the New York *Sun.* Mrs. Harper prepared a State monograph for the Columbian Exposition, and read papers before several of the Congresses. In 1899, she was sent to the International Council of Women in London as speaker on "The Women Journalists of the United States" and was elected Chairman of the International Press Committee. She was a delegate to the International Council of Women which met in Berlin in June, 1904. Of late years, Mrs. Harper was intimately associated with Miss Anthony in the work of promoting the interests of women. She is author of the "Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony," and, jointly with Miss Anthony, of "The History of Woman Suffrage to the Close of the Century."

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

No. DXCIII.

APRIL, 1906.

# WHOM WILL THE DEMOCRATS NEXT NOMINATE FOR PRESIDENT?

BY A JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRAT.

It is high time that thoughtful Democrats should begin to consider the question, on what issue they mean to appeal to the American people in 1908, and what standard-bearer is most likely to lead their hosts to victory. A new Federal House of Representatives will be chosen in November of this year; so will many Governors; so will many State Legislatures, which, in their turn, may powerfully affect the composition of the Federal Senate. The rank and file of the Democracy will be immensely encouraged in their effort to pluck success from the coming contest at the ballot-box, if they know that their leaders, far from maintaining an expectant attitude, and allowing things to drift, have agreed upon a sound and attractive policy, and are prepared to name a candidate for the Presidency who shall be "available" in the true sense of the word, through his power to inspire confidence, to command respect, and to secure the zealous support of the Independents, who in 1884 and in 1892 proved themselves able to turn the scale.

## I.

So far as the framing of an issue is concerned, it should



Copyright, 1906, by The North American Review Publishing Company All Rights Reserved.

prove a much easier task for Democrats than for Republicans. As regards the two great questions of tariff revision and the regulation of interstate railways and other great corporations engaged in interstate commerce, the Republican party seems to be irreparably ruptured. Only with the help of Democratic Senators, if at all, will Mr. Roosevelt be able to place a rate-making bill embodying his personal views upon the statute-book. It follows that Government control of consolidated capital cannot be made a pivotal issue at the next Presidential election. It is true that the Democrats may justly claim to have upheld from the outset the popular demand for Federal supervision of huge railway combinations and of all formidable trusts; but the Republicans may as justly say that the same demand was recognized and pressed by their Executive chief in the White House, by many of their Senators and by all but seven of their Representatives. It would, therefore, be difficult, if not impracticable, to make the election of 1906, or that of 1908, turn on the Trust issue. It is otherwise with the question of tariff revision. The Protectionist Republicans, or Stand-Patters, have shown themselves absolute masters of their party, in both the Senate and the House of Representatives; for, if they permitted the House to pass the Philippine tariff bill, it was with the foreknowledge that the measure was going to its grave in a Senatorial committee. President Roosevelt, who, some time ago, was an advocate of tariff revision, seems to have bowed to the inevitable, and, of late, has evinced no inclination to urge reductions of the Dingley Tariff. On the other hand, the Republican friends of revision in the Fifty-ninth Congress, though relatively few, are resolute and impassioned, and have betrayed more than once a willingness to organize a revolt against the dominant element of their party, and their spirit of insubordination is strengthened by the knowledge that, in many sections of the country, the movement for revision is gaining great momentum even among Republican voters. We doubt if it would be possible to find a single Independent—by which, of course, we mean a man who in theory and practice is non-partisan —who is not also an avowed and earnest revisionist. Under the circumstances, the Democrats are not so much called upon to make tariff revision the axial issue of the contests in 1906 and 1908, as they are to accept frankly and eagerly an axial issue already made for them. That they will hail such an issue with

enthusiasm is obvious. A party which in the past has demanded a tariff for revenue could not fail to welcome revision as at least a step in the right direction.

We see, then, that tariff revision, which events have made the main plank in the Democratic platform, will strongly commend Democratic candidates, provided these are wisely selected, not only to the great scale-turning body of Independents, but also to that large and growing minority of Republicans whose party allegiance is slack compared with the firmness of their demand for certain reductions of the Dingley tariff. Under the circumstances, Democrats should be able to repeat in Massachusetts the triumph gained by Governor William L. Douglas two years ago. In New York, where the Republican party is rent by faction, the Democrats certainly should be able to do much better next November than they did in 1902, when they cut down Governor Odell's plurality to less than nine thousand votes. They ought not to miss victory in Pennsylvania, where their nominee for State Treasurer was elected less than five months ago. Bright also is their prospect of carrying Ohio, where their candidate for Governor was successful at the latest election. They will surely recover Missouri, which only for transient reasons gave her electoral votes to Mr. Roosevelt in 1904. They have a right to expect considerable gains in Maine, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin and Iowa, where there are many tariff-revisionists in the Republican ranks. On the whole, the Democracy seems pretty well assured of preponderance in the next House of Representatives.

## II.

Having thus proved successful in the preliminary skirmish, what step should next be taken by the national Democracy in order to win the great battle for the Presidency? It will not avail them to have the right platform: they must have the right candidate as well. They had the right platform in 1880, and, if, with or without his consent, they had nominated Samuel J. Tilden, feeble and moribund as he was, they would have proved as irresistible as were the Christian cavaliers of Spain when they charged with the dead Cid at their head clad in his armor and propped upon his war-horse. That they had the right platform in that year is evident from the fact that President Arthur soon after recognized the necessity of revision, and brought about the

creation of a Commission for the purpose. In 1884, the Democrats did not win by virtue of their platform, which was an evasive one, but because a large fraction of the Republicans in pivotal States bolted from Mr. Blaine and voted for Mr. Cleveland. In 1888, Mr. Cleveland stood on the right platform, but the nonpartisans were inactive. Four years later, the Independents rallied; and, as there was simultaneously a good deal of discord among Republican leaders, caused by Mr. Harrison's frigid treatment of many of them, Mr. Cleveland's victory was monumental. It is our judgment that in 1904, after Judge Parker's electrifying telegram to the St. Louis Convention had blazoned in deathless colors his fidelity to the gold standard, the Democratic candidate could not have been beaten by any man except Mr. Roosevelt, who, although not, by principle and by practice, a Jeffersonian Democrat, as Senator Tillman justly says, had at that time proclaimed his approval of two Democratic demands, that, namely, for the Federal supervision of interstate railways, and of interstate commerce generally, together with that for tariff revision. Having stolen the Democratic thunder by his advocacy of Federal supervision of interstate railways, and of interstate commerce, Mr. Roosevelt remained the cloud-compelling Zeus, and kept his place upon the summit of Olympus. It is, in other words, our opinion that the contest of 1904 did not turn upon platforms at all, but solely upon the vote-getting qualifications of the candidates, and, naturally, as Chief-Judge Parker was comparatively little known, and may possibly have lacked Mr. Roosevelt's magnetic personality, he had to succumb.

To which of the great sections of the Republic should the Democrats now turn for a candidate? Nebraska and some other Western States declare that we ought to put forward William J. Bryan for a third time. We have never questioned the ability or the patriotism of the eminent Nebraskan. We believe that, if elevated to the White House, and loaded with a sense of tremendous responsibilities, he would evince sobriety and caution, sagacity and foresight. Neither have we ever seen cause to doubt his loyalty to Chief-Judge Parker, the nominee of Mr. Bryan's party in the last Presidential campaign. Traitors there unquestionably were among pretended Democrats; but William J. Bryan was not one of them. Can he, however, blame his brethren when they confess a superstitious fear that he was born under an unlucky star? Never

in the history of this country has an American citizen been elected Chief Magistrate who twice previously had been a candidate for that great office, and twice had been defeated. Only thrice in our annals has a man who had even been *once* defeated been renominated and elected. We refer, of course, to Jefferson, to Jackson, and to Cleveland. The only other man whom Western Democrats would be at all likely to propose is Governor Folk of Missouri. He is relatively a young man, little more than eligible, in respect of age, for the Presidency, if we judge by precedents as well as by the letter of the Constitution. His career, which promises great distinction, has but begun. He, if any man, can afford to wait. As for the States east of the Mississippi and north of the Potomac, they present at the hour when we write no man whom the national Democracy would be at all likely to nominate. It is improbable that Mr. Hearst would even come forward as a candidate before the next Democratic National Convention, unless he should have been successful in obtaining the Governorship of New York. Mr. George B. McClellan has solemnly declared that he will accept a nomination for no other office, so long as he is Mayor of New York City. It is possible that a Democrat may be chosen this year Governor of Pennsylvania, but there is reason to fear that this State would still prove insuperably Republican in a Presidential year. We may add that no Pennsylvania Democrat can be said to have a national reputation. We should next point out that the day is distant when either the Democrats or the Republicans will take a nominee for the Presidency from the States west of the Rocky Mountains. That section has yet much to gain in respect of population before it can pretend to such an honor.

There remains the section south of the Potomac and the Ohio, which is composed of former slaveholding States. The Democratic leaders of that section have hitherto deemed it inexpedient to press upon Democratic National Conventions the nomination of a Southern man. There is nothing new about this belief in a Southerner's unavailability. It prevailed for many years before the Civil War. James K. Polk was the last Southerner nominated by a Democratic National Convention for the Presidency. The Whigs, for reasons that we cannot pause to enumerate here, did not concur in the opinion that a Southern man was unavailable. They twice nominated Henry Clay, a representative

of Kentucky; and, on one of the only two occasions when they were successful, they nominated Zachary Taylor of Louisiana. Is it any longer true that the nomination of a son of the South is inexpedient? Is it not a fact that all Northern Democrats, all Independents, and many large-minded Republicans, are convinced that the time has come to make a Southern man Chief Magistrate? Must we not acknowledge that the South, although nominally restored to the full privileges of States in the Union when she was permitted to send Senators and Representatives to Congress, is still partially disfranchised so long as her sons are debarred from the highest honor in the gift of the Republic? Shall we ever witness a veritable union—not of force and law, but of hearts—until, with the cordial concurrence of a large part of the North, a Southern man becomes Chief Magistrate? When a Southern man takes possession of the White House, then indeed will the white flowers of concord and mutual affection bloom above our battle-fields, and the last drop of bitterness be purged from the sad memories of fraternal warfare. Then, indeed, will peace smile upon the land, and equity lift its head triumphant. We profess in the North to have forgiven the South, but not yet can we claim to have brought forth fruits meet for forgiveness. They profess in the South—and they proved in 1898 that the profession was sincere—to have accepted accomplished facts, and to have acquiesced loyally in a Union which they failed to subvert. Their recognition deserves acknowledgment, and their loyalty reward. That reward can only take one adequate, one convincing, one decisive form—the elevation of a Southern man to the Presidency of the United States.

## III.

No observant and fair-minded Northerner will deny the existence of an abundance of Presidential timber in the South. For fashioning the ribs of the Ship of State, Georgia pine is as well fitted as the cedar of Maine. It is not true that the States, once Confederate, have lost the breed of statesmen that once dominated the Commonwealth. We could name many a Democratic Senator to-day, and more than one Democratic Representative, who, in respect of political experience, political insight and political prescience, measures fully up to the standard of Chief Magistrate. There are Senator Morgan of Alabama, and

Senator Pettus of the same State, and, if some persons perchance should deem them disqualified by age, there are Senator Daniel of Virginia, and Senator Bailey of Texas, than whom no men in the Senate are more respected on the score of knowledge, judgment and the power of lucid, forceful exposition. May it not, however, be true that these distinguished Southern legislators, by the very reason of their prolonged prominence in public life, and of their strenuous and gallant upholding of the interests of their section, are ill calculated to allay lingering prejudices that ought to be extinct, and to quench the last flickering embers of sectional animosities, which it is a shame to keep alive?

We must remember that the question of nominating a Southern man for the Presidency is complicated with the imperative necessity that the first *post-bellum* Southern Administration shall be memorably successful. If the first Southern Administration should prove a failure, or only a half-success, it is much to be feared that there would never be another, so vast and so rapidly increasing is the numerical preponderance of the North. To insure such success, it is indispensable that the temper of the Republicans, if beaten in 1908, shall be resigned and acquiescent, not angry, vindictive and defiant. In other words, if a Southern President is to leave behind him a bright record of constructive statesmanship and useful legislation, he must have the good will, if not the active support, of the whole country, and such good will is only to be gained from a conviction, deep implanted at the North, as well as at the South, that both sections can count upon his sympathy, and, above all, upon that intimate acquaintance without which sympathy is fruitless.

We probably will be permitted to assert without contradiction that such all-embracing sympathy, such intimate and comprehensive acquaintance with the views, wishes and interests of all sections of the Republic is not possessed at the present juncture by any eminent Southern statesman. No veteran Southern statesman would claim it, we think, though we are sure that more than one of them sincerely regrets the lack of it. Is it necessary, however, that the Democracy, in its search for a worthy and a promising candidate for the Presidency, should confine itself to men who have spent the best part of their lives in the political arena? In this country political parties that have coveted success have not always circumscribed thus narrowly their field of selection. It

was not, of course, his brief and almost speechless legislative experience in the Virginia Assembly, but his priceless military services, culminating in the capture of Cornwallis, which caused Washington in 1788 to receive every electoral vote for the Presidency. It was not his civil record in Tennessee, but the victory of New Orleans, that carried Andrew Jackson to the White House in 1828. It was not the fact that he had been Governor of Indiana Territory, and a member of both Houses of Congress, but the fact that he had triumphed at Tippecanoe, and, in the War of 1812, had beaten British soldiers under Proctor, and totally routed them in the Battle of the Thames, that caused the country to go "hell-bent" for William Henry Harrison in 1840. It was the battles of Palo Alto, of Resaca de la Palma and of Buena Vista that made Zachary Taylor Chief Magistrate, although he was asserted and believed never to have voted in his life. Not a few well-informed persons are convinced that, had the Republicans in 1868 put forward a typical representative of the Thaddeus Stevens faction, and had the Democratic National Convention nominated, as it was on the verge of doing, Chief-Justice Chase, the latter, sure as he was of Horace Greeley's zealous support, would have had a fair chance of securing a majority of the Presidential electors. If the Republicans were overwhelmingly successful that year at the ballot-box, it was because their choice fell on the man who hailed from Appomattox, though he had not voted for years, and though his latest vote is alleged to have been cast for a Democratic ticket.

Nor have party managers in the United States always confined themselves to the army, when, turning away for the moment from professional politicians, they have discussed or agreed upon the selection of a candidate from some other field of public usefulness. We can see in retrospect that, if the Republican National Convention in 1856 had followed the advice of Thaddeus Stevens, not yet discredited by headlong partisanship, and had nominated Justice McLean of the United States Supreme Court, they would probably have carried Pennsylvania, and, in all likelihood, have gained a majority of the electoral votes. In 1904, the Democracy conferred a nomination for the Presidency on the Chief Justice of the New York Court of Appeals, and, as has been already intimated, there is but little doubt that, after his memorable telegram to the St. Louis Convention, Chief-Judge Parker would

have been elected had he not been pitted against a popular idol. He would have beaten with the utmost ease a Republican competitor of the Hanna type.

IV.

Is it only in the legislative arena, in the army or in the judiciary that great political parties must seek a name to conjure with in contests for the Presidency? Is it true that, as things are now, the intellect of the nation flows solely or mainly through those channels? Has not industry its generals, its commanders-in-chief, its conquerors? If brains were the only prerequisite, would not the creator of a transcontinental railroad, the imparter of prodigious development to the nation's natural resources, the successful consummator of such an enterprise as the Panama Canal, deserve the suffrages of his fellow citizens for the highest post at their disposal? There was a time when a large part of the American people would have answered the question in the affirmative, for in 1812 they gave no fewer than eighty-nine electoral votes to De Witt Clinton, who was already advocating the great undertaking which he was ultimately to accomplish, the construction of the Erie Canal. It is possibly true, however, that, in our day, owing to the inimical relations of labor and capital, a victor in the field of industrial evolution, however qualified he might be on the score of intellectual worth and of services to the country, would be unavailable as a candidate, if considered from the view-point of his vote-getting ability. For the moment, therefore, the triumphant organizers of production and transportation, who, by sheer dint of mental energy, have amassed colossal fortunes, may be eliminated from the list of available nominees.

There remains a field of activity and usefulness the importance of which to the nation cannot be overestimated; nor will any fair-minded man dispute that the eminent and fruitful workers in that field may challenge the highest office in the gift of the American people on the score of merit and of availability. We refer, of course, to the victors in the vast and inestimable department of public instruction; to the great captains of the higher education. The designation of such men for distinguished functions under the Federal Government is by no means unprecedented. George Bancroft had been a college tutor and a schoolmaster, and he left incomplete his famous "History of the United States," to become Secretary of the Navy in the Polk Administration, and, subsequently, he

was sent to represent his country in London and in Berlin. Edward Everett, after the death of Daniel Webster, left the Presidency of Harvard College to become Secretary of State. Mr. Andrew D. White, the former President of Cornell University, has more than once been invited to occupy the highest posts in the nation's diplomatic service. No one has ever disputed that the statesmanlike duties assumed by these organizers, directors and inspirers of the higher education were admirably discharged. Why, then, should not the Democratic party in 1908, when seeking a nominee for the Presidency who will not only deserve but command success, turn its eyes in the same promising direction? Is it not quite possible to find among the Presidents of honored universities a man richly qualified for the headship of the Federal Government by great natural ability, by long and distinguished professional experience, by the illuminating and invigorating trend of his studies, by his exceptional popularity and by his unique power of securing the confidence, the sympathy and the support of all sections of the Union?

V.

We submit that such a man may be found in Woodrow Wilson of Virginia, now President of Princeton University. Woodrow Wilson, we may briefly recall, was born at Stanton, Virginia, on December 28, 1856, and is not yet, therefore, fifty years of age. He was graduated from Princeton in 1879, and, after studying law in the University of Virginia, he began the practice of his profession in Atlanta, Georgia. The lady whom he married in 1885 was a native of Savannah. Impelled by his personal tastes and aptitudes to transfer his energies from the law to the field of the higher education, he became successively a Professor of History and Political Economy in Bryn Mawr College and Wesleyan University, then a Professor of Jurisprudence and Politics at Princeton; and, finally, since August, 1902, he has been the President of the last-named University. He is held in the highest honor by every Princeton graduate and by all university men. He is known to a multitude of thoughtful readers as the author of "Congressional Government: a Study of American Politics"; of "The State: Elements of Historical and Practical Politics"; of "Division and Reunion, 1829-1889"; of a life of "George Washington"; and, finally, of an elaborate and comprehensive "History of the American People." As was pointed out the

other day in "Harper's Weekly," no one who reads understandingly his record of his country's extraordinary growth, which in his "History of the American People" seemed to flow with such apparent ease from his pen, can fail to be impressed with the belief that he is, by instinct and education, a statesman. The grasp of fundamental principles, the seemingly intuitive application of primary truths to changing conditions, the breadth of thought and the cogency of reasoning exemplified in the pages of that work, were rightly acclaimed in "Harper's Weekly" as clear evidences of sagacity, worthy of Virginia's noblest traditions, as was also the eloquent appeal addressed last year by President Wilson to his brethren of the South, in which he called upon them to rise manfully from the ashes of prejudice and lethargy, and come back into their own. We ourselves cordially concur—and we believe that far-sighted Democrats all over the country will concur also—with "Harper's Weekly" in the conviction that the country needs relief from the strenuous and histrionic methods of Federal administration now exemplified in the White House. It needs a man who is a genuine historical scholar, and who has conclusively proved himself a competent executive. It needs a statesman of breadth, depth and exceptional sagacity; an idealist, who, at the same time, shall be exceptionally sane. It needs a man who, although steeped in Jeffersonian teachings, can be trusted at a given crisis to ask, not what Jefferson *did* a century ago, but what Jefferson would do *now*. It needs a man whose nomination would be a recognition of the South, which the South nobly deserves, and whose election would be a decisive proof of the full restoration of the Union. Such, unquestionably, is the man whom the country urgently requires, by whatever political party he may chance to be brought forward. Such a man is Woodrow Wilson of Virginia and New Jersey. We add that he is a Democrat, and of course a tariff-revisionist. In a word he meets all the exigencies of the situation.

A JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRAT.

# LIFE-INSURANCE LEGISLATION.

BY PAUL MORTON, PRESIDENT OF THE EQUITABLE LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY OF THE UNITED STATES, AND D. P. KINGSLEY, VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE NEW YORK LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY.

## I.—PROTECT THE POLICY-HOLDERS.

THE life-insurance companies, at the present moment, are like great passenger-steamers that have encountered heavy weather, and whose passengers have become apprehensive, notwithstanding the fact that it has been clearly shown that the vessels are absolutely seaworthy. The best counsel, therefore, that I can give these passengers is to advise them to stick by the ship.

There has been too much racing, but that has been stopped. Charts may have been disregarded, but every ship is now in its right course.

It is true that laws must be passed providing for more thorough inspection. Compasses must be looked to. Anchors and cables must be tested. Charts must be carefully followed. But the comfort and convenience, and, above all, the safety of the passengers must not be threatened by well-meaning but injudicious legislation.

The policy-holders of a life-insurance company, however, are not in all respects like passengers, for they are the owners of the ships on which they sail. Just here, reformers and critics and legislators and the public at large are in most danger of going astray. The policy-holders of a life-insurance company are not merely customers; they have a proprietary interest (whether the company has a capital, or is organized on the mutual plan). The policy-holders constitute the company; contribute the money with which the business is conducted; pay their own losses; reap the profits of good management, and suffer the penalties of mis-

management. It does not follow from this that the business must be conducted by the policy-holders themselves; but it does follow that those who are charged with that responsibility shall protect the interests of the owners.

### SECURITY IS ESSENTIAL, BUT INVESTMENTS SHOULD YIELD AN INCOME.

It goes without saying that no life-insurance company should be permitted to embark in speculative ventures, or to place the money of its policy-holders in anything but gilt-edged securities; but, in avoiding danger in one direction, care must be taken that we are not injured in some other direction. This whole question is of far greater importance than the superficial observer imagines. While it is essential that the assets of an insurance company shall not be imperilled, it is equally important that investments shall yield an adequate return. Few persons realize the fact that the actuaries, in computing premium charges, credit policy-holders in advance with the interest which their premiums are expected to earn. Hence, if the companies should be limited hereafter to investments that yield less than this credit, there will be, to that extent, a deficiency.

Or, if a company that has many millions of dollars invested in safe securities should be forced by law to throw them on the market, the resulting impairment might be greater than the loss from a mere shrinkage in interest; for a part of the principal might have to be sacrificed. Moreover, it might be difficult to find investments as safe or as valuable to replace them.

The assets of the life-insurance companies of the United States form an enormous aggregate; and, if investments are restricted within too narrow a limit, the authorized class of securities will command a fancy price (as in the case of Government bonds), and policy-holders will have to content themselves with investments yielding an inadequate return.

And if a retroactive law, forcing the life-insurance companies to undo the work of years, should be passed, would not a dangerous and far-reaching precedent be established? Would not such a law pave the way for retroactive legislation regarding the investments of railroads, banks and other corporations?

It is one thing to decide upon future action, and another to reach back into the past and make even desirable readjustments;

for in the latter case there is danger of doing more harm than the good aimed at can possibly accomplish.

If any truth has been demonstrated by the investigation of the Legislative Committee, it is that the prominent insurance companies have great financial strength. And that strength is due to the good character of the securities in which their funds have been invested.

### THE VALUE OF SURPLUS.

It has been said that the large surplus accumulations of many of the companies have resulted in careless and extravagant administration, and that, therefore, the law should stipulate that no company shall be permitted hereafter to hold more than a very narrow margin of surplus. But permanent security is the consideration of first importance, and no greater calamity could fall upon policy-holders than the passage of a law which might imperil the solvency of any one of these great institutions.

It is the chief glory of a bank or trust company that it has abundant surplus strength; and the market value of its shares depends largely upon the amount of the surplus held. And, although the policy-holder in an insurance company is in a sense a depositor, his interests are also those of a shareholder, or proprietor.

### AGENTS' COMMISSIONS.

Strict economy is now the watchword of the insurance companies; and it is universally agreed that the compensation of agents must be reduced, but coupled with that resolve is the determination that more care than ever before shall be exercised in the selection of agents. And, if men of standing and responsibility and integrity are to represent the companies hereafter, they must receive fair remuneration.

### THE INSURANCE COMPANIES HAVE BENEFITED THE STATE.

New York is the financial centre of the Western Hemisphere, and may be classed with London, Paris and Berlin. The industry of the New York companies, the funds gathered together by them from all over the country, have had much to do with this development. Therefore, in remedying the evils that have crept

into the business, the New York Legislature will do well to view the question broadly; for it is easier to pull down than to build up, and the insurance companies of New York are surrounded by citizens of other States who would glory in their discomfiture, and would be eager to turn to advantage any blunders committed by them, no matter how praiseworthy their motives might be. In the mad rush for preeminence, excesses have been committed; but, in ridding ourselves of the evil, let us be careful not to destroy the good.

There are multitudes of companies of other States that have found the competition of the companies of New York State hard to contend against. If that competition should be removed, they might be tempted in turn to abandon their former conservatism. The New York companies, moreover, have armies of trained men in the field. These men are working, not only within the borders of New York State, but in every other State. They are abundantly able to make a living if their companies are able to meet the public demand; but those who are interested in the welfare of the New York companies must take heed lest these trained men become disheartened and desert to the companies of other States. A twofold injury would result: not only would business be lost, but the extensive plants which have been built up by the great New York companies would be idle; an expensive burden would then be saddled upon policy-holders, and dividends would dwindle.

### DEFERRED DIVIDENDS.

Deferred-dividend policies have been criticised, and valid objections have been advanced, but these objections do not relate to the plan itself. They relate simply to the manner in which that branch of the business has been conducted.

Dividends have been disappointing, but this disappointment has not been confined to the dividends on deferred-dividend policies; the dividends on annual-dividend policies have been equally unsatisfactory. The companies and the agents have been blamed for this state of affairs; the companies, because early estimates were too high; the agents, because they have been accused of making exaggerated predictions. But the decline in dividends during recent years has been due primarily to two altogether different causes,—namely, (1) shrinkage in the income on invest-

ments; and (2) the large surrender values and expensive benefits granted to policy-holders under modern contracts of insurance. These surrender values and benefits, which were not granted formerly, have used up part of the surplus which might otherwise have been distributed in dividends. Otherwise, dividends to-day would correspond more closely with the predictions made when the policies were issued. Hereafter no predictions must be made as to the amount of future dividends; and policy-holders must understand that expensive privileges granted during the period of accumulation will necessarily reduce the amount distributable in dividends at the end of the period. If all this is made plain, a plan of insurance may be maintained which has one characteristic impossible under any other plan—a characteristic which seems to have been overlooked by critics and reformers. I refer to the circumstance that, under the deferred-dividend plan, the burden is lightened for every policy-holder who exhibits exceptional vitality, and, therefore, becomes a paying member of the organization—the one who contributes most towards the payment of death claims. The whole fabric of life-insurance is based on the theory that those who live long must contribute most of the money needed to pay the insurance on the lives of those who die first. In the event of early death, the return to the beneficiary, as compared with the amount paid in premiums, is enormous in every case; and this is as it should be. But the manner in which *dividends* shall be paid is discretionary. It is true that the company has no right to forfeit the dividend of one policy-holder and pay it to another; nor is such the practice under the deferred-dividend plan, although that has been charged. The deferred-dividend plan simply offers a contract under which the applicant voluntarily agrees that in the event of premature death he will relinquish all claim to a participation in profits, if, *in consideration of that waiver,* it is understood that, if his life is prolonged, his dividend shall be increased by the profits relinquished by those who die prematurely. Surely, the man who pays premiums for twenty years, or longer, is entitled to as much relief as his fellow members can furnish, provided no one is victimized thereby.

But, whatever may be the course of wisdom regarding the future, it is to be hoped that nothing may be done to disturb the minds of the hundreds of thousands of people throughout the

United States whose existing policies are on the deferred-dividend plan. The manner in which dividends are distributed is of minor importance; and every one of these policy-holders (if his insurance is in a solvent company) has a good asset, which has been growing in value from the day the investment was made.

To all such I commend the following advice of Senator Armstrong, Chairman of the Legislative Committee:

*"I am asked for a brief message to policy-holders. . . . Do not allow your policies to lapse. . . . Those who suffer their policies to lapse will lose the benefit of what has been done already, as well as what we hope to accomplish. No such sacrifice ought to be made by policy-holders."*

In conclusion, let me say that it is my firm belief that, from this time on, it will be the honest endeavor of the officers and directors of all the reputable companies in New York to conduct their affairs in such a manner as to merit the approbation of every citizen of the State. I know of no opposition to wise legislation. The courage and sincerity and thoroughness with which the Legislative Committee has conducted its investigation deserve the highest commendation, and all that I, or any other conscientious life-insurance manager, can ask is that the laws to be enacted shall be reasonable and beneficial, and that policy-holders shall be protected and not injured. And the point which demands most emphasis in this connection is that, if the life-insurance companies are injured, even inadvertently, the policy-holders are the ones who will be damaged thereby.

PAUL MORTON.

---

## II.—SAFEGUARD THE COMPANIES.

LIFE-INSURANCE as practised in the United States, and especially by the companies of New York State, has had, within fifteen years, a most astonishing growth. At least three companies chartered by the State of New York have become international in their character, and one of the three holds at the present time a concession to do business, and is actually doing business, in every important country of Europe, in South America, in South Africa, in Australia, in China and in India.

The conduct of this business, or rather the condition of it,

was referred to a Committee created by the New York State Legislature, and the sitting Legislature of the State has before it the findings and recommendations of that Committee, based on an inquiry which extended from the early part of September to the close of December, 1905.

Much of the legislation proposed has received the cordial support of all life-insurance men: for example, the provisions for publicity; the prohibition of political contributions; the regulation of lobbying; the prohibition of rebates; making the policy the entire contract between the company and the insured, etc. But with some of the other proposals all life-insurance men take issue, and over a few there is difference of opinion.

One section of the proposed legislation has met the united opposition, in one form or another, of all companies, whether chartered by New York or chartered elsewhere. This section undertakes to limit the amount of money that may be paid for securing new insurance in any year. The opposition unites in saying that the theory of this section is unworkable, that its provisions are impracticable and destructive, that it will substantially exterminate the existing agency organization of any company operating hereafter in New York. There is no resisting the conclusion that the Committee must have decided, before it prepared this section, that the business of the New York companies, and, broadly speaking, the life-insurance business of the State, ought, for some good and sufficient public reason, to be curtailed, if not substantially brought to a standstill.

In another section, the Committee goes further; and, notwithstanding the provision already referred to, which would limit the cost of the yearly output of the companies, provision is made for an arbitrary limit on the amount of that output in any year. To the impartial observer, this suggests even more strongly a determination in the Committee's mind to stop the growth of the business in New York. It was obviously decided that if any company, notwithstanding what for the sake of argument we will call sound limitations on the cost of new business, succeeded in doing business, then that company should only be permitted to do, with relation to what it has previously done, a restricted amount. This, assuredly, is strange doctrine to be found in the statutes of any State. That the law should limit success, that it should say to a man or a corporation, doing an honest business

honorably, "Thus far and no farther," is a new doctrine, and one that will not be generally welcomed.

In another section, the Committee undertakes to recite the exact phraseology of the life-insurance contract hereafter to be used in New York; and, in still another, specific prohibition is laid on companies doing business in the State and on the citizens of the State, which forbids the issue of contracts providing for a distribution of dividends on any plan except what is known as the "annual-dividend" plan. This is pure paternalism and sumptuary legislation.

In still another paragraph, the Committee lays down a programme with regard to the future control of the two great mutual companies of New York city, which cannot be called anything less than revolutionary, and which even the sharpest critics of the conduct of the companies must hesitate to endorse. In a word, provision is made for the abrupt termination of the tenure of office, not of a portion, but of all, of the trustees of these two companies on the 15th of November next. An election law is provided, and the control of the companies is obviously to be forced, if not into, then very near, the arena of politics. No one can object to an arrangement by which the policy-holders may vote, and vote easily; but any arrangement which would shift suddenly the control of nearly nine hundred million dollars of accumulated savings from one set of trustees to another can be justified only because of the clear existence of the gravest peril to the assets if that were not done.

It is not easy, even to one's own satisfaction, to analyze the condition of mind which, after four months of most strenuous labor, made the Committee feel that its duty required it to offer such suggestions as these. To me, it seems that the Committee, listening day by day to a recital of mistakes and faults and errors of judgment, and, in some cases, of actual dishonesty, became so impressed or overwhelmed with the mass of material which was cast upon it, that it was unable to see out, unable to get and keep a broad grasp on what life-insurance really is and what it really needs.

The three great New York companies alone have in force throughout the world insurance amounting to, approximately, five thousand million dollars. Admitting that life-insurance is good for the individual and the State—and it is difficult to find

a man in these days who will refuse to make that admission—it is not easy even to approximate the value of what these three companies have done, not merely in New York State and in the United States, but throughout the world. Existing insurance is so valuable, viewed from an economic standpoint, that any suggestion which looks towards its regulation should always be very carefully considered, and any suggestion which involves the possibility of its serious injury ought not to be even entertained. These companies represent about the earliest expression, on a large scale, of a definite out-working of the theory of cooperation. They have been making the experiment boldly and ably, and, upon the whole, honestly. This I say notwithstanding all the evidence brought out before the Legislative Committee, and notwithstanding the need of drastic correctives.

There is a very sure and simple way to arrive at the conclusion that the business of life-insurance, as practised by our great companies, has been, on the whole, honestly managed. Each of the three companies most under criticism of late, has been submitted, not only to this legislative inquisition, but, in addition, to all sorts and varieties of examinations by the State, by groups of States, and by chartered and certified accountants of known reputation. Out of this whirlwind of inquiry, the companies have emerged abundantly solvent, and abundantly able to carry out every contract on their books. This condition is a fact that any one can verify. It shows conclusively that the presentation made before the Armstrong Committee of errors and faults and wrong-doing proven, did not reach to the body of any one of the companies. Having passed through this fiery ordeal, and having shown itself to be thoroughly sound, it is not strange that life-insurance now stands somewhat appalled at the suggestion that the laws of the State should be so amended that the business will be seriously crippled, its working organization destroyed, and an asset of great value to the policy-holders arbitrarily dissipated.

Some of the proposals of the Armstrong Committee, in the interests of the State, should be radically modified. The expense of getting business may be a proper subject for regulation, but that style of legislation is always dangerous, and any regulations adopted should, above all things, aim at securing publicity and insuring the operation of competition in the interests of the pub-

lic. Having established publicity, and a sensible regulation of first year's cost, any order which says that a reputable business, honestly conducted, shall limit itself in any one year in what it shall do, is abhorrent to every instinct of the American citizen. Therefore, any law arbitrarily limiting the annual output of these companies is worse than a mistake.

Again, the citizen should be allowed to take any style of insurance he sees fit, provided the contract is an honest contract; therefore, no one should be denied the right to buy a policy with "dividends," so called, payable at the end of each year. Neither should he be denied the right to make a contract with dividends payable at the end of five, ten, fifteen or twenty years. Each style of contract has its advantages, and to deny a man the right to buy what he wants is paternalism indeed.

To subject the present enormous savings in the two great mutual companies to the grave risk and danger of a sudden and violent shift of the entire Board of Trustees, is a proposition so radical and so revolutionary that it is rather surprising it should be so seriously entertained in any legislative body in the United States.

The Legislative Committee, from a moral standpoint, has already done an enormous amount of good, not only to life-insurance, but to all business. It is quite possible, however, by forcing through the measures discussed here, to do an injury to life-insurance which will more than offset all the good accomplished. The injury, as I view it, would be temporary only, although it might be serious. The good sense of the people of the State of New York will, after a little, reassert itself; and any unfair treatment given to a business which has had a useful existence of over two hundred years, and has, upon the whole, been conducted brilliantly and successfully by the companies of New York State, will certainly and speedily be remedied.

D. P. KINGSLEY.

# THE TREATY-MAKING POWER OF THE PRESIDENT AND THE SENATE.

BY AUGUSTUS O. BACON, UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM GEORGIA.

By the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, the range of the treaty-making power is practically without limitation and may extend to any subject, or agreement relative thereto, not forbidden by the Constitution, and not inconsistent with the nature of the Government itself and that of the state.* The wide scope of this power may, in its practical exercise, reach to every international concern and relation, from the least significant to the other extreme, such as the absorption of other countries or as alliances offensive and defensive—and the latter when in circumstances leading to inevitable war. Without transcending the bounds set for it by law, its rash or inconsiderate use may seriously impair the settled conservative policies of the United States; and in extreme cases such use may involve the country in disaster.

The exercise of this stupendous power, second to none under the Government, is vested in the President and the Senate. By some it is claimed that in this there has been conferred upon the President a vastly preponderating power, and that to the Senate there only belongs a comparatively insignificant and altogether limited function. It is claimed, on the contrary, by others that, in the exercise of the treaty-making power, the Senate possesses, under the Constitution, equal dignity, equal power and equal responsibility with the President.

In the process of making treaties, it is ordinarily true in practice that the work done by the President and that done by the Senate are separate and distinct, each from the other. In other words, it generally happens that the President does one part of

* 133 U. S., 267.

the work and the Senate another and a distinct part. The conception of a treaty is, in such ordinary cases, with the President; and also, in the general practice and experience, the formulation of its provisions, the suggestion to and discussion and agreement with the foreign Power, are the sole work of the President; and this, in common phrase, is termed the "negotiation of a treaty." On the other hand, when a treaty is thus agreed upon, and subsequently submitted to the Senate, the function of the Senate in such case is, in ordinary practice, confined, when the treaty is approved, to its ratification with or without amendment, or, when disapproved, to its rejection.

Out of this division of the work, thus in practice generally occurring, has naturally grown the understanding, among those who have not made careful investigation, that the Constitution in its distribution of powers has divided them in this manner between the President and the Senate respectively. Upon this is based the contention of some that the work of negotiation includes not only the subject and terms, but every phase of a proposed treaty from its inception to its submission to the Senate for ratification or rejection; that the negotiation, in this broad sense, up to the point of submission to the Senate, is the exclusive prerogative of the President, and that for the Senate prior to the time of such submission to attempt to participate in the work—either by suggestion of what should or should not be done relative to a proposed treaty, or by making any inquiry of the President concerning the same or relative to any pending or proposed negotiation of whatever character or gravity—is an unwarranted intrusion. From this is deduced the conclusion that no jurisdiction or responsibility attaches to the Senate, and no duty begins, until the proposed treaty is submitted to it, and that, except as to the power of amendment, the entire function of the Senate consists in the ratification or rejection of the proposed treaty.

Out of this claim of exclusive jurisdiction and power in the President arises the interesting and vitally important question, What are, under the Constitution, the relative and respective powers and duties of the President and of the Senate in the making of treaties?

Is the prerogative of the Senate narrowly limited to the giving of a perfunctory "yes" or "no" to a completed negotiation when

submitted to it by the President, or has the Senate, as the constitutional adviser of the President, a wider prerogative, to be exercised when the occasion demands, extending, with its responsibility, from the inception of a proposed treaty through all its stages, including its negotiation, to its final ratification or rejection? The gravity of this question will be realized when it is remembered that treaties which may thus cover every international subject, however grave and far-reaching, and every question which can arise for settlement and disposition between this and a foreign country, are, when made, declared by the Constitution to be "the supreme law of the land."

The reply to the question propounded must be found in the correct construction of the clause of the Constitution prescribing how treaties shall be made. Fortunately, so much of the Constitution as relates to this subject is within a very small compass. It is found in the second paragraph of the second section of Article II, where, in speaking of the President, it says:

> "He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided that two-thirds of the Senators present concur."

That is all there is in the Constitution as to the power of the President to make treaties and the right and the power of the Senate to participate. So far as the right to suggest a treaty to a foreign Power is concerned, or to receive suggestions from a foreign Power, it naturally pertains to the President as the one to hold direct communication with a foreign Power. He is styled by Chancellor Kent, and other eminent law writers, the "constitutional organ of communication with foreign Powers." But this function by no means includes the entire work of negotiation, and the contention is far overstrained that alone in the brain of the President, alone in his suggestion and deliberation, alone in his judgment, must be determined, evolved and shaped the great international policies and measures which, if they are subsequently embodied in a treaty, must, by the terms of the Constitution, be "the supreme law of the land." Such contention in no wise harmonizes with the design of the Constitution, which in no particular confides to one man alone the exercise of any great power, save in the single function of the execution of the laws.

The Constitution, in the clause above quoted, does not divide the powers conferred upon the President and the Senate respectively into two parts, so that the term "to make" should be construed to mean, in the first division, "to negotiate," and, in another division, "to consent," thus conferring the one upon the President and the other upon the Senate. It is one indivisible power—"to make"; and in the entire power "to make" the Senate is given full participation in advising and consenting. "To make" embraces the entire substantial work, including the negotiation; and it may be remarked that the Senate actively engages in the work of negotiation when it makes an amendment to a proposed treaty, which amendment is to be submitted by the President to the foreign Power for its consideration and approval. Such amendments are made by the Senate at every session. An amendment thus made by the Senate, to be by the President submitted to the foreign Power for its consideration and action, is as strictly a part of the "negotiation" as is any part of the proposed treaty originally submitted by the President to the foreign Power.

The contention that the power of the President includes everything up to the time of the submission of the proposed treaty to the Senate might be sustained if the language of the Constitution were that:

> "The President of the United States shall have power to negotiate and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, 'to make' treaties."

Such phraseology would indicate two separate functions. It would indicate a first division of the duty, "to negotiate," the jurisdiction of which would be confined entirely and solely to the President; and the second division, "to make," one in which the President and the Senate together should act.

But the language of the Constitution is: "He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties."

It is significant that the words "advice and consent" precede the words "to make." The phraseology of the clause plainly indicates, not that the Senate shall be limited to saying "yes" or "no" to a perfected and finished work when presented to it by the President, but rather that there shall be the assistance of the Senate, the advice and cooperation of the Senate, in the

determination as to the propriety and policies of proposed treaties and also as to the terms and provisions they shall contain. The omission of the words "to negotiate" was not accidental. There was design in not conferring a separate and distinct power on the President. So far is it from being accidental, that the words used by the framers of the Constitution in the very next clause, really only divided from the clause in question by a semicolon, prove that in constructing this paragraph they were weighing carefully the language when they conferred power upon the President of the United States in the making of treaties. The two clauses of the same paragraph are as follows:

"He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided that two-thirds of the Senators present concur"

Then follows the semicolon. Then the language proceeds:

"and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, Judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, etc."

In the latter clause, it was evidently the distinct purpose to divide the powers, and to confer in the first part of that division an exclusive function and jurisdiction upon the President of the United States—to wit, "to nominate." It is equally evident that the function of the Senate was limited to advising and consenting to the nomination previously made by the President in the discharge of a function and of a jurisdiction of nominating exclusively confined to him. But, on the contrary, there is in the former clause as to treaties no such division. The sole power is "to make" treaties, and in this entire undivided function the advice and consent of the Senate are prescribed as a part thereof.

If the Senate were intended to participate only after treaties were formulated and agreed upon with foreign Powers, only the word "consent" would have been used in this section. The word "advice" would not have been used. We do not advise men after they have made up their minds and after they have acted. We advise men while they are considering, while they are deliberating, before they have determined and before they have acted.

Not only do the letter and spirit of the Constitution, and the

history of the treaty-making power as well, deny the proposition that the duty and jurisdiction of the Senate do not begin until the President sends the treaty to the Senate, but the practice of the Government, from its foundation to the present time, also denies it. Washington during his administration, before negotiating treaties, visited the Senate to advise with it on the policy and propriety of making such treaties. He was the President of the Convention that framed the Constitution. He had heard all the debates in that Convention. He had, doubtless, conferred during all the months of its sitting with the delegates relative to the organization of the treaty-making power—a question, in the consideration of which the delegates, throughout the deliberations of the Convention, held most tenaciously to the preservation of the power of the States as represented in the Senate. He knew what the understanding and intentions were of the framers of the Constitution in this provision; and he conformed his practice when President to such understanding and intention. And that purpose of the Convention was most strongly emphasized when it required that, not only a majority, but two-thirds of the Senate should be necessary to assent to a treaty. Indeed, the importance of the Senate in the making of treaties was held in such esteem that a serious and determined effort was made to require two-thirds of the entire Senate to ratify a treaty, whether present or not. This fact is mentioned by Washington in a message of March 30th, 1796.

While that practice of personally visiting the Senate for consultation has been abandoned, the practice of consulting the Senate prior to making a treaty has not been abandoned by subsequent Presidents. Did space permit, many instances could be given in which Presidents have asked the advice of the Senate, as to the policy of making a treaty, prior to entering into negotiations concerning the same. These instances would include not only Washington, but the elder Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Jackson, Van Buren, Polk, Taylor, Fillmore, Pierce, Buchanan, Lincoln, Grant and Arthur.

In addition to these formal submissions to the Senate for advice, instances are innumerable, up to the most recent date, of the President's asking the advice of individual Senators prior to the negotiation of a proposed treaty. It has also been the well-recognized and continuous practice of the Senate by resolution

to inform the President that, in the opinion of the Senate, it would be advisable to negotiate a treaty to effect a stated purpose.

If the construction is correct that the Senate has no jurisdiction, no duty, no responsibility, until a treaty has been submitted to it by the President for ratification or rejection, then none of these Presidents had the right to ask the advice either of the Senate or of individual Senators; nor has the Senate had the right to advise the President as to the policy of negotiating any treaty for a stated purpose. On the contrary, such advice, when given by the Senate, would be a gratuitous intrusion upon the President's exclusive jurisdiction. But, so far from this being true, these numerous and long-continued precedents illustrate the correct construction of this clause of the Constitution. The law makes the Senate the adviser of the President in the making of a treaty through all its stages—not that it requires that, in every instance, the President shall have the advice and consent of the Senate, but that, in every instance, the President has the right to have it, and correspondingly, in every instance, the Senate has the right to offer it. It is a reciprocal right for a common benefit.

That is the relation. It is the right of the President to have; it is the right of the Senate to offer. It is no intrusion upon the right of the Senate, before the submission of a treaty and before it is asked whether or not it will ratify it, for the President to ask the advice of the Senate, and it is no intrusion on the part of the Senate to ask of the President information with reference to any treaty he proposes to make, and to advise as to the policy or impolicy of making it.

If the construction is correct which gives to the President exclusive jurisdiction and power, it matters not what may be the well-understood purpose of the Executive in negotiating a treaty or in sending delegates to a European political convention to settle European international questions, the Senate must be dumb until it receives a proposed treaty. It may be that the proceeding begun or proposed by the President tends inevitably to war. As stated by one of the commentators on the Constitution (Pomeroy), the President may "so conduct . . . the diplomatic negotiations with other governments, as to force war, as to compel another nation to take the initiative; and, that step once taken, the challenge cannot be refused."

Again, the Executive may, without even sending any proposed treaty to the Senate, continue to send delegates to European international political conferences, and thus in time practically destroy our recognition of the long-established doctrine of non-entanglement by us in such disputes. The sending of delegates from this Government to the Algeciras Conference is a case in point. It is known to all the world that that Conference was called to deal with an acute question between Germany and France which threatened war. All other questions which have been injected into it are mere shams and disguises to conceal the real purpose of the Conference. After our Government has taken an active part through our delegates in the Algeciras Conference, no proposed treaty may be submitted to the Senate. Nor is that all in sight. We are told in the press despatches that European questions concerning the Balkan States are again becoming acute; that there is great tension, and that another European war-cloud is gathering in the East. Doubtless, there will soon be another conference to deal with that situation. To that conference, according to the new doctrine, it will again be in order to send delegates from the United States. And after we have taken an active part in the deliberations of the conference, again no proposed treaty may be sent to the Senate. But a still wider field for our newly found diplomatic activities is opened by the events of the Algeciras Conference. The principle contended for by France is the right of domination in a foreign country by the nation possessing in that country the largest interest, either political, racial or other. With that principle conceded by the nations, Germany will not have been the loser; for it is not improbable that the day is not far distant when, with changing dynasties among her neighbors, she will invoke that principle in support of her claim of right to dominate both in Holland and Austria. And to the conferences which the assertion of those claims will require, the precedent of the Algeciras Conference, if controlling, will require delegates to be sent on the part of the United States. Although in each of these instances no treaty may be submitted to the Senate, nevertheless in participating in each of these conferences through our delegates, tremendous strides will have been taken in establishing precedents and in destroying the doctrine of an hundred years against entanglements in European international disputes.

The history of the treaty-making clause of the Constitution has a marked pertinence in this discussion. We have the Madison Papers written by Mr. Madison, containing his report, taken down during the Convention, in which there is a detailed account of the entire proceedings, with a statement of every motion that was made, every paper that was submitted and a summary of everything that was said by every member of the Convention. That Convention was in session about four months; and from the beginning to the end of it—until very near the close—the consensus of opinion was that the Senate should be clothed with the exclusive right to make treaties. Not a draft of the Constitution was submitted which did not contain unqualified provision that the Senate and the Senate alone should make treaties. Mr. Hamilton was the one great advocate of central power; and, so far as I have been able to discover, the only one, up to the last days of the Convention, who so much as suggested the participation of the President in the making of treaties. His suggestion, which he said at the time he would not offer for action, was that it was something which the President should do "upon the advice and with the approbation of the Senate." If the Constitution had finally used precisely that language, there certainly could have been no question as to its contemplation that the advice would precede the approval. In no instance was there, during the entire Convention, even a suggestion by any one that the President alone should have power to make treaties.

On the contrary, this proposal by Hamilton was the only instance, till near the close of the Convention, of its being even suggested that the President should participate at all. Mr. Charles Pinckney, in the early stages of the Convention, submitted a complete draft of a proposed constitution, which formed the basis of that which was ultimately adopted. In Article VII of that draft were the words:

"The Senate shall have the sole and exclusive power . . . to make treaties."

All of the various proposed provisions of the Constitution were debated, and it was finally committed to a few learned and prominent men to shape up the various articles which had been substantially agreed upon. When this committee on detail reported to the Convention the proposed Constitution, this was still the language:

"Article IX, sec. I. The Senate of the United States shall have power to make treaties."

In this last discussion, Mr. Madison made finally the suggestion: "That the Senate represented States alone, and that, for this as well as other obvious reasons, it was proper that the President should be an agent in treaties."

It was upon Mr. Madison's motion, based upon the proposition that the President should be "an agent in treaties," that the present provision in the Constitution was incorporated in it. This history of the clause certainly does not indicate an intention that the President should exercise an exclusive jurisdiction in the most important part of treaty-making, or that in it he should be "supreme"—a word which has recently often been used in the discussions as expressing the extent of the treaty-making power of the President. It is quite true that, after a proposed treaty has been ratified by the Senate, the President can put it in his pocket and refuse to exchange it with the foreign Power; but it is equally true that, when a proposed treaty is received by the Senate, it can bury it in its archives without considering it and without any action whatever. Such action by either would be unseemly, except for a sufficient and controlling reason. Neither has the right to capriciously disregard the functions of the other.

Of the treaty-making power, of the duty of the President, and of the duty of the Senate, it may properly be said that there is imposed by the Constitution a reciprocal and a common duty, one in which each has the advantage of the services of the other, one in which there can be no compulsion, one in which each can defeat the work of the other, one in which the cooperation and combination of the two, from the inception to the end, is necessary in order to comply fully with the intention and design of the Constitution-makers in this regard.

Ordinarily, in the making of treaties, it is not needful that the rule of constitutional law for which I contend should be invoked in practice. And, when it is invoked, there will doubtless be occasions when, by reason of the delicacy of a diplomatic situation, the President will reply that he does not consider it compatible with the public interests to give the Senate such information as may be requested—a suggestion of which fact by the President is always courteously acquiesced in by the Senate,

and that without reference to the question whether the President has constitutionally the right thus to withhold information when asked for. But the reciprocal right and duty nevertheless exist, and in grave emergencies they should be exercised, and the effort thus to exercise them is not properly met by the denial of their existence. Much less is there warrant for resenting as an intrusion the attempt of the Senate to exercise such right and duty either by suggestion or by inquiry.

It is a salutary practice for the President to be advised by the Senate whether there should or should not be an attempt to make a treaty, or to interfere in any manner with the affairs of other nations. There are Senators who have been in office for a generation and whose advice and counsel would be valuable to any President, however learned and able and patriotic he might be. It has rarely happened that a President is superior, in either natural or acquired ability, to the average ability of the Senate. It has frequently happened that the President chosen has been without any experience in national public affairs. There may be at some time in the future an impulsive and strong-willed or even, possibly, a weak President. An election to the Presidency does not *ipso facto* endow one with all knowledge and all wisdom; and it is not an unreasonable suggestion that, in the aggregate of ninety Senators, many of them men of great capacity and of large experience, there is more of knowledge of public affairs, more of conservatism, more of correct judgment of the requirements of the public interests, than is possessed by any one man in the United States, whoever he may be.

AUGUSTUS O. BACON.

# TUSKEGEE: A RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT.

BY BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, PRINCIPAL OF THE TUSKEGEE NORMAL AND INDUSTRIAL INSTITUTE.

THE Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute celebrates this year on April 4, 5 and 6, its twenty-fifth birthday. As I look back at its humble beginnings, and its gradual growth into what it is, and the promise of what it shall be, it seems to me that one of its more important services has been to provide Negroes with an unusual opportunity to engage in the education and upbuilding of their own race. This school represents, in a large measure, the effort of the Negro race to help itself, and therein is the real significance of its work.

From the first, it has been the effort of the Tuskegee Institute to teach the lessons of self-help by furnishing an example. With this aim in view, the task of building up and maintaining the school has been largely entrusted to its own students. They have, in a large degree, made the bricks and erected the buildings. They have, for the most part, done the work of the farm, raised the provisions and cooked the food. The fact that they have done this under the direction of Negro teachers, with very little assistance from outside the school, has given them self-appreciation and self-reliance and an added respect for their race.

In saying this, I do not forget the debt that this school owes to Hampton Institute, whence so many of its teachers came, nor the debt of gratitude it owes to its friends among the members of the white race in the North and in the South who have furnished moral and material support. But it should not be forgotten that the success of this school, like that of any other, depends, in the last analysis, less upon the effort of any one individual or group of individuals than upon the native qualities of its pupils and the

people from whom they sprang. While the school at Tuskegee owes much to others, I believe it is but fair to say that it owes most to the patience and persistence of the students, and to the simple piety, earnestness and self-sacrifice of their fathers and mothers at home on the farm and plantation.

A careful investigation of the records last spring revealed the fact that, in addition to its 888 graduates, something like 6,000 students, who were not able to remain to complete the full course of study, have been helped to such an extent that they are doing reasonably efficient work. Of the graduates of the school, less than ten per cent., so far as we can ascertain, have been unsuccessful in their trades; and special investigations that we have made indicate that all have increased their economic efficiency, on an average of about three hundred per cent., some more and some less. This shows the increased value that the average Southern white man places on the services of a Negro educated in the trades. It indicates what, under reasonably favorable circumstances, Negroes can do and what they are doing. It ought also to be added, in reply to those who assert that education has not improved the Negro, but rather injured him in respect to his moral life, that so far as we can learn no graduate of Tuskegee has ever been convicted of crime.

The idea uppermost in my mind, when I began the work of establishing the school at Tuskegee, was to do something that would reach and improve the condition of the masses of the Negro people in the South. Up to that time—and even to-day to a large extent—education had not touched, in any real and tangible way, the great majority of the people in what is known as "The Black Belt." I had not been many days in Alabama before I realized this fact. As my knowledge of conditions grew, I became increasingly convinced that any institution which was to be of real service to the millions of the lower South must not confine itself to methods that were suited to some distant community where conditions of life were vastly different. I made up my mind from the first that a school which should perform for the masses the service I had in mind would have to teach its students many things that students in the North and West were taught in their homes. I found that the teaching of books alone was not sufficient for the students who came to Tuskegee to be trained as teachers and leaders. Our students needed to be taught how to sit at table

and eat properly, the uses of a napkin, table-cloth, knife and fork, and tooth-brush. Large numbers of them were wholly ignorant of the very elements of right living. In addition to this, they had to be taught how to care for tools and animals and how to systematize their labor. The girls had to be trained to an intelligent appreciation of the value of housekeeping, cooking, sewing, laundering.

From the very outset of my work, it has been my steadfast purpose to establish an institution that would provide instruction, not for the select few, but for the masses, giving them standards and ideals, and inspiring in them hope and courage to go patiently forward. I wanted to give Negro young men and women an education that would fit them to take up and carry to greater perfection the work that their fathers and mothers had been doing. I saw clearly that an education that filled them with a "divine discontent," without ability to change conditions, would leave the students, and the masses they were to guide, worse off than they were in their unawakened state. It was my aim to teach the students who came to Tuskegee to live a life and to make a living, to the end that they might return to their homes after graduation, and find profit and satisfaction in building up the communities from which they had come, and in developing the latent possibilities of the soil and the people. To establish this idea, the Tuskegee Institute, with its 1,500 students, its 156 officers, teachers and employees, its 86 buildings, and its varied ramifications for extension work, has come into existence.

Starting in a shanty and a hen-house, with almost no property beyond a hoe and a blind mule, the school has grown up gradually, much as a town grows. We needed food for our tables; farming, therefore, was our first industry, started to meet this need. With the need for shelter for our students, courses in house-building and carpentry were added. Out of these, brick-making and brick-masonry naturally grew. The increasing demand for buildings made further specialization in the industries necessary. Soon we found ourselves teaching tinsmithing, plastering and painting. Classes in cooking were added, because we needed competent persons to prepare the food. Courses in laundering, sewing, dining-room work and nurse-training have been added to meet the actual needs of the school community. This process of specialization has continued as the school increased in numbers

and as the more varied wants of a larger community created a demand, and instruction is now given in thirty-seven industries.

Although we have constantly emphasized at Tuskegee the dignity and the nobility of labor, it has never been my idea that the training of the Negro should be limited to trade or industrial work. I have always felt that our students, in connection with their technical training, should have their minds thoroughly awakened and developed by a severe and systematic training in the academic branches.

Here I might add that Tuskegee's emphasis on industrial education implies by no means a lack of appreciation of the colleges and professional schools. The race needs both kinds of education, and each type of institution complements the work of the other.

But it was recognized that something more than industrial or academic training was necessary if our students were, in any large degree, to make themselves useful in changing the conditions of the masses of their people. They needed an education which not only did not educate them out of sympathy with the masses of their people, but made them actively and practically interested in constructive methods and work among their people. The better to accomplish this end we taught our girls, not only to work at their trades in the schoolroom, but to meet the people in their churches and other gathering-places on Sunday. In addition to the ordinary duties of the schoolroom, teachers who go out from Tuskegee are taught how to conduct monthly farmers' institutes or local farmers' conferences. They are expected to be able to show the farmers how to buy land, to assist them by advice in getting out of debt, and to encourage them to cease mortgaging their crops, and to take active interest in the economic development of their community.

Some months ago, I was rather severely criticised by an educated colored man in Washington because I had spoken rather frankly to the colored people in this section of the country about the habit of buying pianos and organs to put in their rented log-cabins. This man thought the colored people ought to be free to buy pianos and organs just the same as the people of any other race. As far as the right of colored people to buy pianos and organs is concerned, I think the Negroes should feel that they have the same right that any other people have. I do think, however,

that one is doing them service in telling them frankly that, while they have this right, it is hardly the part of wisdom for them to waste money in buying musical instruments before they get a home in which to put them, and before their children have had enough education to use them properly.

During the early days of my work at Tuskegee, I found that the Negro people in this section of the country earned a great deal of money, and were willing to work, and did, for the most part, work hard. What they needed was stimulation and guidance. In order to reach the masses with the knowledge that they most needed, we have worked out several methods of popular education which seem to be peculiarly adapted to the needs of the Negro farming communities. Among them we have (1) mothers' meetings, conducted by Mrs. Washington; (2) visits of teachers and students to communities distant from the school; (3) local Negro conferences, which meet once a month in various sections of the South; (4) the annual Negro Conference, which brings together at Tuskegee Institute every year from 1,200 to 1,400 representatives from various sections of the South, to spend a day in discussing the conditions and needs of the race; (5) the Worker's Conference, composed of officers and teachers of the leading schools for Negroes, which meets at Tuskegee the day after the annual Negro Conference; (6) the County Farmers' Institute, together with the Farmers' Winter Short Course in Agriculture, and the County Fair held in the fall; (7) the National Negro Business League, which seeks to do for the race as a whole what the local business leagues are doing for the communities in which they exist.

In addition to the work performed through these organizations, we give our cooperation, not only to the graduates who are teaching in small country schools, but to a number of large institutions like the Institute at Snow Hill, Alabama, and the Voorhees Industrial School, at Denmark, South Carolina, that are doing in a modified way the kind of work that we are seeking to do at Tuskegee. Sixteen institutions, offshoots of Tuskegee, have grown to a size where they have been incorporated by the State authorities. One of our Trustees, the Rev. R. C. Bedford, gives a large part of his time to keeping in touch, through correspondence and personal visits, with our graduates who are working in these schools and elsewhere throughout the South.

I have been asked in what way my views of Negro education have changed during the twenty-five years and more that I have been engaged in this work. As I look back over the past, I cannot now see that my notions have been modified in any material way during that time. I have sought at all times to put into effect at Tuskegee the ideas I had imbibed under General Armstrong's instruction at Hampton. Whatever difference there is between the work of the Tuskegee and Hampton Institutes grows out of the difference in the conditions of life in the territory surrounding the two schools. We, for example, are in a cotton-raising district. Agriculture plays a larger rôle in Alabama, perhaps, than it does in Virginia. Furthermore, civilizing influences have been at work for a shorter time here than at Hampton. While the Tuskegee students have, perhaps, gone further in the direction of putting up their own buildings than have the students at Hampton, yet the work of the two schools is in all essentials the same. Hampton, being older, is more perfect and complete; Tuskegee, still in the making, is necessarily imperfect, incomplete.

Although I have not in any appreciable way modified my views concerning Negro education within the last twenty-five years, I have found it necessary from time to time to correct impressions that have somehow got abroad. I do not, for example, advocate any kind of industrial or technical training for the Negro that I would not advocate for any other race in the same relative stage of civilization. From time to time, I have thought it necessary to say something that would prevent the impression spreading abroad that industrial education is class education. Nothing could be more harmful to the cause of industrial or technical education than to permit the idea to become current that industrial education was created especially for the benefit of the black race.

But, if I have in no important respect changed my views in regard to industrial education during the twenty-five years that I have been working at Tuskegee, I have become more and more convinced, as I have gained a more extended experience, of the value of the education that is imparted through systematic training of the hand. Of this I have had constant evidence in my acquaintance with a number of students who have appeared dull in their books, and yet have shown themselves extremely methodical and systematic in their work after they have left us and gone

out into the world to work for themselves. This ability to meet conditions may be largely accounted for by the fact that our students have studied not merely books, but things.

I do not care to venture here an opinion about the nature of knowledge in general; but it will be pretty clear to any one who reflects upon the matter that the only kind of knowledge that has any sort of value for a race that is trying to get on its feet is knowledge that has some definite relation to the daily lives of the men and women who are seeking it.

There is constant danger that boys and girls who have grown up on the farms, with very little familiarity with books and the ideas that one meets in books, will learn to repeat what they hear in the class-room or read in books without being able to interpret what they read. One of the best ways of testing the pupil's knowledge, in such cases, is to compel him in some way to act. In this way, it is possible to use the training of the hand to give definiteness and precision to the ideas acquired in the class-room. The pupil can be led to see the necessity of constantly applying the ideas he has gathered from books to an actual situation, in order to test his knowledge and find out the real significance of what he has learned in the class-room. We have sought to carry out this principle of putting everything learned in the class-room to the test of action in all departments of the school: to supplement and enlarge the knowledge obtained in the industries by studies in the class-room, and to give precision and definiteness to the things learned in the class-room by the practical application of them in the industrial departments.

Even in our Phelps Hall Bible Training School, which, to the ordinary student, seems farthest removed from the practical affairs of life, we have demanded of students, as a test of the value of what they have learned, that they take an active part in one or more of the various lines of extension work in which the school is engaged. While we constantly seek to interest all classes of students in the work of extending the influence of the school to the masses of the people, we have insisted that it was, in a very special sense, the duty of the students in the Bible Training School, most of whom are preparing themselves to go out into the country districts to become leaders of the people, to prove by some form of practical work among the people their capacity for their professions.

If I were asked what I consider the most important thing that Tuskegee has accomplished, I should say it is the work it has done with a view to setting the faces of the masses of our people away from the sunset toward the sunrise. A brief explanation will make my meaning clear. I began my work at Tuskegee at the time when the Negro had just been deprived, in a way that is now familiar, of many of his political rights. There was some voting, but few Negroes held office when I first came to Alabama. The Negro people for the most part set great store by the political privileges that had been granted them during the Reconstruction period, and they thought that when they lost these they had lost all. I remember well the sullen sense of despair which seemed to have taken possession of the people at this time. They preserved outwardly the same good nature and cheerfulness which had always characterized them, but deep down in their hearts they had begun to feel that there was no hope for them, and that there was no use for them to try.

The most important work that Tuskegee has done has been to show the masses of our people that, in agriculture, in the industries, in commerce, and in the struggle toward economic development, there are opportunities and a great future for them. In doing this, we have not sought to give the idea that political rights are not valuable or necessary, but rather to impress our people with the truth that economic efficiency was the foundation for political rights, and that in proportion as they made themselves factors in the economic development of the country political rights would naturally and necessarily come to them.

The next important work of our school has been to change the ideas of the masses of the people concerning labor with the hand. When Tuskegee Institute was first opened, practically all the colored people in this part of the South were opposed to industrial education. For many months, the hardest task the school had to face was to overcome the opposition of the people to the notion of a "working-school." At the present time, that battle has been won. So successful have Hampton and Tuskegee been in changing the views of the people on this question that a man, in any part of the country, who now opposes industrial education for the Negro is so exceptional that he is likely to be regarded as eccentric. The students at Tuskegee now count it just as much a part of their education to spend a day on the farm or in the

kitchen, in the machine-shop, or in the laundry, as they do to spend a day in studying algebra, chemistry or literature.

Something has been accomplished, also, during the past twenty-five years in interesting the Southern white men and women in a way to let them see and feel the value of educating the black man. For the future of both races, it is just as important to bring about a satisfactory understanding in regard to their mutual relations as it is to do away with the ignorant, hopeless black proletariat which came into existence in the South as one of the results of the Civil War. To me, one of the saddest incidents of our present educational effort in the South is the fact that many of the Southern white people know less about what is really being done for the Negro than do many Northern people living thousands of miles away. In some rational manner, an effort should be made—and we expect to do our part in this direction—to get hold of the thinking and more substantial class of Southern white people, in a manner that will let us have the benefit of their sympathy and cooperation in a larger degree than we have had in the past.

During the succeeding twenty-five years, it is my earnest wish that the whole work at Tuskegee may be more fully perfected and rounded out. I do not mean that we should increase our numbers to any great extent, but that we should make the training more efficient, and that the whole institution and grounds, buildings, apparatus, and teaching-force should be brought to a higher stage of perfection. It is my hope that, sometime during the next twenty-five years, we shall secure an endowment of at least five million dollars, in order that the head of the institution may give a larger part of his time and strength in working immediately for the whole people, to the end that the work of bringing the teaching of our school home to the masses may be given the widest extension possible. My experience has taught me that wherever I go to speak, I not only meet a large number of colored people, but, usually, I am able also to speak to the best white people in the community, and I find that these meetings go a long way toward bringing about better relations between the races and to promote the highest and best interests of both.

It is, perhaps, fruitless to attempt, at the present stage of progress of the Negro race, to predict or even to suggest what can be accomplished during the next twenty-five years for Negro

upbuilding and moral and material regeneration. I do not believe, however, that we are justified in taking a hopeless or discouraging view of the situation. It should be borne in mind that there are at the present time nearly 10,000,000 persons of Negro ancestry in the United States. In twenty-five years more, judging by the present rate of increase, the number will reach something like 15,000,000 or 16,000,000. This is considerably more than the total population of Belgium and Holland combined.

The position of the Negro in the United States is, in some respects, like that of the Jewish people in the different countries in which they live. They constitute, in a certain sense, a nation within a nation. But there is this difference—that there are little more than one million Jews in the United States. I believe that, if the work which schools like Hampton, Fisk and Tuskegee are doing can be continued and extended, so that the whole Negro population may ultimately have the benefit of the training they give, we may look forward with some confidence to seeing the masses of the Negro population visibly approach, not to the position of that marvellously gifted Hebrew race, but to something like the thrift, the industry, and the sturdy, thorough-going, self-respecting independence of the Hollanders and the Belgians. What that would mean to the Negro race, to the South, and to the world, is something I hardly dare contemplate. But that is, I believe, the thing that we should strive for in the next twenty-five years.

In recent years, this question has been repeatedly and insistently asked: "Suppose the Negro succeeds in making himself master here in America of the white man's civilization, what will be the effect upon the relations of the races?"

Often those who have pressed this question have answered it for themselves in the following manner. They have said: "If the Negro is allowed to remain in this country until he is able to compete with the members of the white race, in the various forms of intellectual and physical labor, one of two consequences will follow; either the weaker race will be exterminated by the stronger, or the two races will amalgamate."

I do not believe that we have reason to fear either one or the other of these consequences. It should always be borne in mind that it takes two races to amalgamate, and the absorption of one by the other cannot be accomplished without the consent of both. I do not believe that the Negro is yet willing to disappear; I be-

lieve, rather, that his unwillingness increases in proportion to his intellectual and moral advance. I think it will be found to be a fact that the process of amalgamation has been going on with much less rapidity under freedom than it did under slavery. So long as the Negro was taught that everything that was good was white and everything that was bad was black, so long as he remained a mere chattel, it was natural and inevitable that he should desire to become in everything—in style, manners, thought, and in the color of his skin—white. But now that the Negro is beginning to understand his own possibilities, to believe that he has an independent mission in the world, and to gain that sort of self-respect that comes with the consciousness of that mission, the disposition and the willingness to surrender his racial identity and to detach himself from the life and the destiny of his own people are, I am convinced, steadily decreasing.

The other question, the question of his elimination by force, is one that the Negro will have to face, just as other races have faced it. His position in that regard is not so different from that of the Jews. At any rate, it is a question he cannot escape by going to any other country. As a matter of fact, those who have studied the situation know that the Negro has less protection against the encroachments and the competition of the white race in Africa than he has here in America. The fact that he is in the majority does not help him in Africa any more than it has helped him elsewhere.

I am convinced that any one who will consider the question with patience will come to the conclusion that the only salvation for the Negro people, or for any race, is to make themselves so useful to the rest of the world, so indispensable to their neighbors, that the world will not only tolerate, but desire, their presence. To a large extent, this is already true in the South—more true, I am convinced, than it is in the North, where the Negro has much less opportunity to work than he has in the South. In short, there is nothing for the Negro to do but remain where he is and struggle on and up. The whole philosophy of the Negro question can be written in three words: patience, persistence, fortitude. The really hopeful thing about the situation is that, on the whole, the Negro has done, under the circumstances, the best he could.

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON.

# TOLSTOY AS PROPHET.

## Notes on the Psychology of Asceticism.

BY VERNON LEE.

In his religious and philosophical writings, Count Tolstoy would seem to represent the prophetic temperament in such incarnation as is likely to become the commonest, indeed perhaps the only possible, one in the near future. For, in the gradual disruption of dogmatic creeds, the man born to the prophetic quality and function tends more and more to be a heretic and an anarchist; to practise an exegesis backed by no authority; and to benefit or harass mankind, to exhibit to mankind the spectacle of prophecy, more and more obviously without any inspiration save the unquestioned one of his own individual constitution. The Prophet, being a type of humanity, represents certain impulses for good and evil existing in numbers of his fellow creatures, is in fact a specimen of a human force of the universe; and he not only displays in crudest isolation special tendencies making for life's greater fruitfulness or sterility, but also directs the scathing light of almost monomaniacal perception on matters which the average routine of existence neglects to our disadvantage. The Prophet is useful as a teacher; but still more useful as a lesson. It is in this double capacity that the following marginal notes may help to put to use the prophet, not the artist, Tolstoy.

### I.

**"To the man perverted by the false doctrines of the century, it seems," etc., etc.**

This form of words, perpetually recurring throughout Tolstoy's didactic writings, acquaints us with one of the chief draw-

backs of the prophetic mind: an incapacity so utter of conceiving any views different from his own, that they appear monstrous not merely in their results but also in their origin. "Perverse"—"False"—a kind of devil's spawn *in vacuo*. Now, the wonderful tenacity of *false* doctrines and *perverse* attitudes would suggest, to such as are not prophets, that there may be something to be said in their favor; that such *falseness* and *perverseness* may be an inevitable—nay, a necessary—stage of something else; that it is, in some fashion, in league with the ways of things. The theologians of the past could postulate Original Sin or the fundamental Abominableness of Matter; whereas one might expect that the prophets of our own day, Stirner and Nietzsche, quite as much as Tolstoy, would have forfeited this logical advantage and desisted from judging all things as if they had been intended to please just them. Not a bit: the prophetic temperament has remained unchanged; and all prophets—prophets of cynicism, quite as much as prophets of asceticism—display the same alacrity in seating themselves down *ad dexteram Domini*—or, indeed, on the throne off which the Lord has been hustled as some sort of idol. What unhesitating rapidity they display, those great nostrum-mongers, not merely in defining the world's contents and making plans for its complete overhauling, but in packing off everything which does not suit them to the bottomless pit! Mankind, in the mean while, like some half-hearted follower of Savonarola, shoves the *false* and *perverse* doctrines not into the destroying flames, but merely into the dust-heap, whence they are incontinently extracted, for exclusive use, by another prophet or another School of Prophecy. Let no one take these remarks for the raillery of scepticism: the thorough-paced sceptic of modern days (my ingenious friend H. B. Brewster, for instance) is just as much carried away by the spirit of prophecy as the dogmatists whom he scoffs at. I am speaking as a mere looker-on, vaguely conscious that, since they all exist, these various excessive views must each answer to some aspect of reality; vaguely regretting, also, that we, less specially gifted creatures, should waste so much of the little time given us for the application of truth in sorting the litter of exaggerations and the rubbish of anathema with which the great One-sided Ones have encumbered the earth.

The heap of valuable and worthless things constituted by Tolstoy's philosophical and moral writings is the better worth our

sorting that, in trying to understand this latest addition to the literature of prophetic asceticism, we shall be learning to understand, perhaps to select and profit by, some other ascetic doctrines, of so ancient an origin and such habitual repetition that we have almost ceased to look either for their psychological reason or for their practical application.

II.

"Like the penitent thief, I knew that I was unhappy, that I suffered, and that *all the human beings around me were suffering and feeling themselves unhappy* . . . and, even as the penitent thief (nailed to his cross) saw advancing the horrid darkness of death . . . so I saw the same prospect open before me."

The words I have italicized contain the main postulate of all pessimism, and of nearly all asceticism, religious as well as philosophical, Buddhist and Stoical, of Schopenhauer as much as of the "Imitation." The pessimist is unhappy: therefore every one else is; he sees no meaning in life save that of his ascetic formula: therefore there is none; he is afraid of death: therefore fear of death is in every breast. And this gratuitous classification of all mankind under one's own headings is justified by the additional generalization, that those who imagine themselves to feel or think differently are perverted by false doctrine or sunk in beastlike indifference.

III.

After this follows logically the second postulate of such as think, or rather of such as are constituted, like Tolstoy:

"Why had I not earlier put in practice this doctrine which gives me happiness? *The answer is very simple: Because I did not know the truth.*"

At first sight, it seems strange that the creator of such marvellously living beings as Natacha, Peter Besukhoff, Princess Mary, Anna Karenine, Oblonsky or Levine should not have been able to think, what he so clearly felt and showed in them, that human beings do not *seek happiness* but obey instincts, and that the greatest mass of probable happiness in front has little attractive power save when it coincides with the *vis a tergo*, the forward push of cravings, tendencies and habits. One might imagine that in Tolstoy the novelist's conception was so concrete and individual, the novelist's genius so automatic and unreasoning, as to reduce

the powers of analysis and generalization to almost childish insignificance. Be this as it may, this greatest painter of human character, able to copy with faultless precision the soul's actual workings, seems not to know the rudiments of the soul's physiology or mechanics, on which those workings depend. It never seems to enter his head that, if this "knowledge," this paramount doctrine of such direct application and infallible virtue, has remained hidden, obscured, for near nineteen hundred years, there must have been, in mankind, but a very faint need for a remedy so near at hand; nor that this inefficacy in so long a past argues but small immediate result in the present; those selfsame interests which hid or distorted this doctrine of salvation showing, by their tenacity, that it is absurd to expect them to yield and disappear of a sudden and as by miracle. But the fact is that Tolstoy, much as he would disclaim it, not only admits of miracle, but bases all his hope upon it. His own experience is of miraculous nature, simply because, to his own powers of observation, the thing which really happened, the way it happened, is necessarily hidden. Tolstoy's conversion is one of those of which all religious autobiography is full, and of which Professor William James has put together so fine a volume of specimens. At a given moment in a man's life, either after a period of religious stress or with apparent total suddenness, *something takes place in the soul:* the doubts, scruples, fears, despair, have vanished; and in their place is a new set of hopes, a new vital certainty, or (as the doctor in Ibsen's play would call it) a new "Vital Lie." What has actually happened? The souls liable to such complete change and renovation, sudden or gradual, are those least likely to be able to tell us. For the concentration of one kind of feeling, the unfamiliarity of the elements formerly latent and now dominant, the very completeness of former despair and present joy, make him who experiences such a conversion incapable of observing, and perhaps of conceiving, its real nature.

The conversion of Tolstoy is not a sudden one; but it is characterized by the *mono-ideism* of such phenomena; the intensity and exclusiveness of his long and suicidal broodings did not leave in his soul the lucid, disinterested half which can understand and intelligently record: there is but one self at work, one self floundering in nightmare and suddenly lifted to beatific relief. Tolstoy fails to notice what strikes every spectator from the first—

namely, that in his least regenerate days, his most carnal and perversely thinking days, he dealt preferably with characters unknown to previous novelists, Peter, André, Levine, men haunted already by the very thought which was to overshadow his own mind, the eternal query: "Why live, since one must die?" That such should have been his heroes shows that he knew more of asceticism than other novelists perhaps capable of creating his other characters—say, Wronsky or Nicholas Rostoff. This, evidently, never strikes Tolstoy himself. Still less, of course, does it occur to him that the importance taken in his mind by that recurring "Why?" let alone the fact of its having, in the midst of prosperity, driven him to the verge of suicide, shows that he was constitutionally destined to concentrate on this problem: or, briefly, that the value of his conversion depended on his passionate need of it; the remedy was commensurate with the evil, and both were in himself, inborn.

This Tolstoy could not see. And, failing to guess that his was a very special and rare case, he attributed his own spiritual drama to the rest of mankind. A large number of his neighbors were visibly discontented and unhappy; a larger still he chose to consider as being so: well, then, their discontent and their unhappiness were due to the same causes as his own. They might, indeed, explain it by poverty, illness, cramped activities, thwarted passions, by anything or everything they chose; that, Tolstoy assured them, was but delusion, and the real matter with them was what had been the matter with himself.

There is in all prophetic persons a sadly comic side, reminding one of those valetudinarians who press the pills or waters which have relieved their liver or their spleen on all the people of their neighborhood with damaged heart, brain or marrow—nay, with poor bruised or broken limbs. Moreover, in the spiritual example, the recalcitrance of supposed fellow sufferers, their clinging to their own diagnosis, especially their making light of their own ills, is instantly set down as a sure sign that all sensation and all judgment have been perverted by the very malady they refuse to own up to. But, worst off of any, those who, in the face of the universal, infallible and painless panacea, actually maintain that, for the present at least, they have no ailments of any kind, that they are (shameless or deluded wretches!) sound in mind and limb —as to those, well, all Tolstoy can say is that, just in proportion to

their contentment with life, they are already dead and done for; galvanized corpses, set on end to gibber and to poison others with their putrescence.

IV.

Let us continue our analysis of Tolstoy's postulates; which, at the same time, is an examination of the modes of thought characteristic of the ascetic attitude and the prophetic temperament.

**"Every human being lives in the name of some particular principle; and this principle, in whose name he lives in that given fashion, is no other thing than his religion."**

The identification holds good only when the principle in question happens to be of the sort we all mean by "religious." If we accepted Tolstoy's statement without this rider, which makes it tautological, we should be obliged, like H. B. Brewster in his "*Ame Païenne,*" to identify a man's religion, his God, with his dominant impulse or combination of impulses; and the most profane and wicked lives might thus be led—as Hoffmann imagines of the operatic Don Juan's—in the name of the *principle* of Leporello's catalogues. The *vital principle* of most men's lives has been given its right name only by Nietzsche; it is "My Inclination." But it is not of such principles as these that Tolstoy is speaking; and any other principle of life, any principle conscious, formulated and dominating all other impulses and habits, any principle which can be called a religion, exists only in a minority of cases, at least in the sense of constant intellectual reference and constant moral incentive.

V.

**"Life is an aspiration after happiness; the aspiration after happiness is life."**

This is psychologically false. In reality *life is*—that is, exclusively consists of—no more of this, than of any other very frequent item of consciousness; life being, to a large extent, absorption in this or that concern or interest to the positive exclusion of all "aspiration after happiness." Nor is there any reason why such "aspiration after happiness" should be more frequent; for, in the majority of cases, happiness itself is secured, and best secured, without any such conscious straining after it. Happiness

is secured, and with it life's furtherance for the individual and race, in that manner which Tolstoy, unable to deny its existence, condemns beforehand with the absurd epithet of "animal"; secured by the play of clashing or coordinated impulses, which, so far from being more particularly *animal,* may happen to be impulses of the highest moral or æsthetic or constructive or intellectual sort.

All pessimism, all asceticism, is founded upon the existence of what Tolstoy calls the "illusory thirst for enjoyment." Now, however numerous the cases where enjoyment proves impossible or mischievous, the continued existence of the human race shows that, ninety-nine times out of a hundred, neither the enjoyment nor the thirst for it is illusory, but, on the contrary, a genuine advantage, making subsequent enjoyment not less, but more, possible by perfecting the sensibilities. The healthy activity of the whole individual, with its inevitable hierarchy of impulses, both secures pleasure and forestalls cloying, and, by its inclusion of intellectual and sympathetic interests, its subordination of others to these, it diminishes conflict with others quite as effectually as does Tolstoy's Renunciation. And here let me say that there is surely something mean in this reciprocal renunciation, resulting in the cessation of struggle and disappointment. Such renunciation is often needful in our imperfect individual case: our eye gives us trouble, and we cast it from us. But such rough-and-ready, such wasteful, destructive methods are surely not admissible in a philosophy of life, in a *counsel of perfection!* The universal, as distinguished from the individual, rule for greater happiness is not self-diminution but assimilation, expansion, the non-ego becoming, in imagination and feelings, an integral part of the ego. Asceticism preaches voluntary impoverishment: my neighbors cease to steal because I possess nothing; I cease to covet, because they possess nothing; 'tis Epictetus's safety after the thieves had carried away his brass lamp. But the law of human life is barter: asking freely and giving fully; mutual enriching through each other's superfluity. Asceticism refuses to admit this law; for all asceticism moves in the logical circle of pain as cause and effect.

## VI.

"Men, like all other living creatures, are forced by the conditions of life to live forever at one another's expense, devouring one another literally or metaphorically. And man, in so far as gifted with reason, can-

not blink the fact that every material advantage is obtained by one creature only at the expense of some other creature."

A series of quite gratuitious biological and economical assumptions, which are made more intelligible by a statement in another place that "the workman who wears out his body and hastens his death is giving that body as food to others."

Now, in all these premises, Tolstoy omits one half of the fact—namely, that, in the majority of cases, a human being, while *giving himself,* gets, or has got, something from others. *Taking* by no means implies *stealing,* nor is *benefiting by one's fellows* the same thing as preying on them. The workman is not breaking down his health and hastening his death any faster while working for others than while working for himself, except from occasional reasons quite independent of whom the work is to benefit most. He is not breaking down his health or hastening his own death more than if he were committing excesses of other kinds for his own sole satisfaction; and, except through the accidental or incidental misarrangement of the world, he is *not breaking down his health or hastening on death at all,* but rather the reverse. The detriment to the individual is due to excess as regards himself, not in the least to profitableness to others. The increase of the world's material and spiritual wealth depends upon activity; but activity, when not excessive, is an integration, not a disintegration, of individual life. The world is carried on upon the principle of barter and compensation; and, even in such low forms of life as those where animals or savages actually prey upon each other, the one who feeds upon his victim to-day is bound to be fed upon, as an individual or a class, to-morrow: the lion ends off as the sustenance of vultures, jackals and insects. But Tolstoy, for reasons we shall presently grasp and can already guess at, chooses to consider that all profiting by the existence of others represents an unwilling or a voluntary sacrifice. When it is voluntary, he calls it love; and here again comes a gratuitous assumption. Let us look at this question of Love and of Sacrifice, for it is important and one upon which ordinary thought (though luckily not every-day practice!) is in considerable confusion. Alongside of the sentence about the workman destroying himself for the benefit of others, is another example of what Tolstoy chooses to consider as self-sacrifice: the mother

suckling her baby. He could not have come by a better refutation of his own theory; for it is plain that the mother is giving life to her child, but it is also plain that her bodily health and her happiness gain by this supposed sacrifice, which is, in reality, an organic advantage. From such an example, however, Tolstoy concludes that "love is really worthy of that name only when it is the sacrifice of self." In one sense, this is quite undeniable; but that sense is not Tolstoy's. For *love* is *preference;* and love leads to self-sacrifice, that is to say, to sacrifice of greater or smaller advantages—nay, even of health, power or life—simply because all preference of one particular thing or group of things leads to sacrifice of other things or groups of things, whether that preference be socially beneficial (which we call "unselfish") or socially detrimental (which we call "selfish"); whether it happen to be duty, ambition, hatred, vanity, lust; whether it be the love of Cordelia or the love of Francesca; though, of course, the measure of every preference (since preference implies alternative) is not the measure more especially of love, and still less is it love's chief characteristic. The characteristic, the typical, fact of love must be sought for in that from which the highest love has, by analogy, borrowed its name, and perhaps, very literally, taken its origin: the union of two creatures who gain happiness in producing a third. The analogous process takes place in the spiritual domain: we give our thought, our fancy, our will, in union with the external world or with the will, the thought or fancy of others; and in so doing create new forms, new ideas, new modes of feeling, nay, new selves.

At the bottom of the Tolstoyan conception of love (which is but the usual ascetic one) is the old, savage notion of sacrifice: of a universe so evil that all happiness must be discounted in misery—"I did but taste a little honey with the end of the rod that was in mine hand, and, lo, I must die!" The implacable gods, the atrocious Cosmos, the Ogre Fee-Faw-Fum at the bottom of every Bean Stalk, insist on increasing suffering through every apparent alleviation or apparent enjoyment. It is worth while, especially in the face of a thinker like Tolstoy, to disentangle the notion of *giving* from the notion of *giving up;* to separate the notion of renunciation, as a choice between two positive or negative *desiderata,* from the notion of renunciation, as mere refusal of good and acceptance of evil. The really fruitful

act of giving oneself, one's strength, attention, thought or feeling, is not a loss, but the fulfilling of an organic need as essential as that of material or spiritual assimilation; it is, in fact, the inevitable sequel of real assimilation. If the sacrifice of something is often implied in this, it is merely the sacrifice by alternative, the preference of one need or desire or pleasure over another. Such preference as this is a principle of order in the moral realm: the fulness of life means, *ipso facto,* the constant checking of the less important by the more important; it means moderation because it means alternative, selection, subordination and hierarchy of the impulses of which life consists. The vanity of the pursuit of pleasure, of which Tolstoy, like every moralist, makes (and rightly, perhaps) so much capital, results from the absence of such a complex hierarchy of impulse: the larger part of the pleasure-seeker is sacrificed to a momentary desire, and that omitted bulk of his nature either upsets the satisfaction aimed at, or leaves the unruly desire to languish in isolation.

But Tolstoy, like all ascetics, seeks his remedy not in moderation, not in the development of other impulses, not in fact in the enriching of the individual life, but in its impoverishment. *Moral Good* is, according to him, that condition where man pursues nothing for its own sake or his own ends, and nothing for the interest and pleasure of the pursuit; but only for the sake of another human being, or of a vague sense of duty personified as God. Tolstoy's ideal of life is, like his notion of love, a notion of diminution, of sacrifice; and it seems likely that, even as in the ritual of primeval man, the ascetic conception of sacrifice as such, of sacrifice as loss, impoverishment, mutilation, is very closely connected with the fear of death; sacrifice being, however inexplicitly, a commutation, a partial, symbolical or vicarious death, instead of a total and actual one.

## VII.

In the case of Tolstoy, there is the repeated and unqualified expression of the constant thought, the constant fear, of Death. Already, in his pseudo-autobiography, we find the following funeral oration on the old housekeeper Natalia Savichna:

**"She accomplished the best and greatest act of the life of this world: dying without regret and without fear."**

Now, this fear, whose absence thus seems a rare form of holiness, is, in a sense, a misconception, a misconception revealing the fundamental complexion of all asceticism. Let us examine it. *Life* and *Death* form together one of those false antitheses which have been pointed out by that subtle analyst, Gabriel Tarde. Life and Death are opposed in position; but not, so to speak, in the ground which they cover or the facts they respectively include. Because *what is alive* cannot also *be dead,* and *what is dead* cannot also be *alive,* we have, in our slovenly fashion, grown accustomed to think of the fact of being alive and the fact of being dead as of equal importance, intensity and extension. We overlook the real antithesis, which is between *death* and *birth,* the *two points without magnitude* between which extends life. Moreover, we have confused *death* with the process of dying, often accompanied by illness or preceded by decay, which is a portion, sometimes a considerable portion, of the processes of life. Nor is this all. The immense part played in our life by the death of others gives the notion of dying a frightful duration in our consciousness, and makes us think, by analogy, that our own death also is a wide blot or oil spot in our life. Hence death, which, being the limit of life, exists in reality outside it, becomes, so far as it is thought about and feared, a most important and terrible part of life.

Life is consciousness; and, except in consciousness, death is nothing; it becomes, in consciousness, grief or terror. But grief and terror are realities. Of course; since it is thanks to them that death, or rather the notion of death, has come to poison so much of life. Heaven forbid I should argue that either philosophy or religion can ever abolish grief or fear, abolish the agony of departing, the agony of being left behind. Loss is loss, and parting is parting, a fact, a horror, which nothing can efface. But let us not add to these the dread either of life or of death, deeply, indissolubly entangled as they become. And if philosophy represent any higher truth, and religion any higher utility, let them strive to diminish this hideous tangle, to hold our thoughts and feelings asunder; make us see things as they are, and make them, so far as our attitude toward them goes, a little more what they should be. Life, our own and that of our beloved, is good in proportion as it is safe and complete, as it is untouched by the chance, the fact, but worst of all, the *fear,* of death. And all

healthy life tends to cast forth from itself the vain and paralyzing thought of its own end.

## VIII.

We have seen that the prophetic temper is characterized by a tendency to *mono-ideism,* and that mono-ideism invariably tends to jealousy of all that it excludes. One of Tolstoy's most characteristic pieces of such mono-ideistic jealousy, is his elaborate catalogue of sinful indulgences; of what, especially, he puts under the rubric "intoxication," including therein, as venial or mortal sin, the intoxication not merely by wine, tobacco or fleshly love, but by art, literature, "gestures and sounds," and even bicycling. The exaggeration is so gross that one fails at first to conceive how it could come about in a mind as originally excellent, and a life as many-sided, as Tolstoy's. But the explanation, furnished by comparison with the raptures of earlier mystics, appears to be that the ascetic has his own form of intoxication. Here is Tolstoy's account of his state of beatitude after his conversion has been consummated:

"All that seems evil to me does so merely because I believe in myself and not in God; and as, from this life where *it is so easy to do His will, since His will is mine,* I can fall nowhere except into Him, what I possess is complete joy and good. *And all I could write would fail to express what I feel.*"

Let us consider these seemingly simple statements. It is so easy for Tolstoy to do God's will! God's will is, after all, only Tolstoy's; Tolstoy can fall only into God! Is this presumptuous certainty of righteousness, this identification of the individual impulse and the moral law, this unmixed and ineffable joy, anything save an intoxication of a more insidious, but scarcely less unwholesome, kind? Taking in the full meaning of such words as these, one wonders whether there will ever arise a new habit of spiritual cleanness, of intellectual chastity, making men question and reject emotional self-indulgence like this, which sullies the reason and sterilizes the will. One doubts it. For, from century to century, mankind may be watched yielding, even as to lower kinds of self-indulgence, to the subtle and high-flown temptation of mysticism. This temptation consists in attributing to an emotional state of our own (the state of Nietzche's Zara-

thustra, as much as the state of Kipling's poor old Lama) the name and the importance of a generalized objective fact; nay, of the greatest and most solemn of facts which man has thus generalized: the will of God, the Nature of things.

The very recurrence of such a process of spiritual intoxication implies, it may be said, a recurrent need of it. Yes; but a need which results from other needs being neglected. Between the cravings which produce science, art, laws—nay, food and progeny —and the mystical craving such as this of Tolstoy there is a fundamental difference: they are fruitful, and it is barren.

And this word "barren" suggests another of the drawbacks of asceticism. In its exclusiveness, its mono-ideism, its readiness to condemn all save itself, asceticism tends to waste much of the moral resources (so cruelly needed!) of ordinary mortals, and, on the other hand, to get its moral gifts rejected by those who require them most; its teaching is shelved as dead letter, or, at best, counsel of perfection.

Renounce the world, preaches Tolstoy; despise, cease to relish, such of the world's work, of the body's functions, as cannot be relinquished; let nothing touch you for its own sake or your own; eradicate self from your thoughts and feelings, and replace it by your neighbor, by mankind, by that impersonal personification of ideals which is Tolstoy's notion of God.

"If such be saintliness, chivalrousness, sentiment," answers the rest of mankind silently to itself, "by all means keep it on a shelf out of the way of ordinary life. Truthfulness, justice, chastity, mercy, are clearly quite unsuitable to the increase of wealth and the rearing of families; and is it not the saints and prophets, Tolstoy for instance, who tell us so?"

Now, as a matter of fact, to what save daily life can ideals, sentiment, saintliness, be profitably applied? Truthfulness, honesty, justice, chastity, mercy, are nothing but correctives of this world's ways; and it is only as such correctives that, save for the æsthetic pleasure of a divinity, they can ever be wanted. Unworldliness must be cultivated because our interests are legitimately worldly.

But holiness and heroism, precious because they are useful, have been considered as precious apart from use. Saints and heroes have been cultivated like rare and wonderful flowers, incapable of ever turning into fruit for food and seed. And, as a

result of such isolation and sterility, mankind has come to be divided—as we see it in Buddhism, in Christian monasticism and less crassly elsewhere—into the church and the world: those who accept life and sin, and those who kill the body, or all the body stands for, in order to perfect the soul. Like every other ascetic, Tolstoy, in preaching his doctrine of renunciation, is unconsciously giving in to the vicious automatism which sunders the natural man from the saint, and which discourages all application of higher feelings to ordinary existence on the score that ordinary existence can never be composed of higher feelings only. And in so far Tolstoy merely increases the modern tendency to question the efficacy of all moral teaching, to doubt the wholesomeness of sentiment and to consider ideals of conduct either as a mere symptom, an *epiphenomenon*, a fly on the axletree of progress, or (and human illogicalness reconciles both indictments) as a mischievous interference with the automatic ways of natural selection. It would, of course, be more philosophical to consider the continued recurrence of such ascetic or idealizing tendencies as a proof of their utility, despite all drawbacks, in helping on the practical existence of mankind. But ascetics have treated their especial soul-medicine or soul-food as the one panacea; and mankind (as prone to exaggeration as the prophets themselves) has developed a tendency to consider the dealers in panaceas as quacks or the victims of quacks.

## IX.

The foregoing notes have attempted to set forth some of the chief peculiarities of the ascetic view of life, and of the prophetic temperament, as we may study them united in the person of Tolstoy. We have taken stock of the pessimistic basis of asceticism, its rejection of moderation, equilibrium of function, and such moral improvements as rest upon them, in opposition to wholesale renunciation; its passion for sacrifice and its preoccupation with death; finally, its tendency to a divorce between spirituality and life. In a similar manner, we have had occasion to verify the isolated and one-sided attitude of the born prophet; his attribution of his own moods and needs to the rest of the world, and his jealousy of, nay, hostility towards, every other mode of being; his incapacity for assimilating the ideas of others, for meeting them half-way and, of course, for feeling any correc-

tion or check to his own notions; briefly, his mono-ideism, and his mixture (odd, but so explicable) of complete self-belief and utter scepticism of received opinion.

And, having set these studies so far before the reader, I can forestall his question, and shall endeavor to answer it; to account for our instinctive sympathy with the seemingly useless teachings of asceticism, as I have had to answer it for myself in the course of my reading of Tolstoy.

This usefulness, these uses, result from the same peculiarities as the faults and the drawbacks. Isolation and mono-ideism give the ascetic and the prophet an extraordinary freedom of view, wherever his own definite attitude and limited idea are not concerned. Unconscious of those sympathizing and imitative impulses which compact other individuals with their fellows; untouched by any of the temptations which make others blink and compromise; inattentive to any other man's views and, therefore, perfectly sceptical towards them; and harassed, moreover, through and through, by organic dissatisfaction and unrest, this thinker, alone with his own thoughts and feelings (his eagle and his serpent, like Nietzsche's Zarathustra) is the most ruthless of critics and destroyers. Every ascetic is, in essence, an anarchist and a nihilist, a "sayer of 'No'" to the accepted life of the world—in the words (more significant than he, perhaps, knew) of James Hinton, a "Law Breaker," since the only law he believes in is the law of his own exceptional and isolated way of being. Hence he sees, as no laughing sceptic ever can, through every exaggeration, every "vital lie" save his own. The dominant and recurrent thought of all ascetics, from Buddhism and Ecclesiastes, through Stoicism and Christian Mysticism to the smallest modern revivalist, is *vanity*—the emptiness, non-existence, of everything save their own narrow wishes, needs and habits. Now, this attitude of mind corresponds to a great deal that really exists: in the happy-go-lucky, lazy, yet hurried, processes of life, there is quite an enormous amount which is dead letter, perfunctory, wasteful and mischievous; results of imperfect evolution, like those useless organs, those imperfect adaptations, which, according to the ingenious paradox of Dr. Metchnikoff, account for all disease, all vice and suffering, but which an instinct of social safety or individual laziness goes on admiring, as the Bridgewater writers admired the "harmonious designs of Nature." On to

all such perfunctory, dead letter, all such lying things, all such imperfect adaptations and mischievous survivals, the ascetic, the prophet, the marvellous anarchist, Tolstoy, directs his ruthless clear-sightedness. We all know his chapters on luxury, on the pseudo-work of the so-called intellectual classes, on the pseudo-morality of official religion, on so many of the idle activities which give us our daily bread or our daily ration of self-satisfaction. His immense and wearisome volume of art remains as a most useful *memento vivere* or *memento mori* to all of us who talk glibly of the holiness of beauty and its social mission. "The Kreutzer Sonata" probably aroused universal hostility less by its morbid and unchaste (monkish!) kind of chastity, than by its terribly true criticism of so much corruption and enervation hidden secure in the sacred mysteries of marriage and family life. And the writings on War are but the more moving and more explicit development of the remark of Tarde's, that, if the Past had not left us engines and institutions for warfare, the reciprocal destruction of national life and wealth would certainly never have originated in times as comparatively rational as ours. These and similar attacks on various forms of our smug moral callousness or vainglorious moral barbarism, are summed up in a thought which recurs throughout Tolstoy's works, beginning with his great novels:

"All this comes about, thanks solely to that social and administrative machinery whose business it is to subdivide the responsibility for evil done, in such fashion that no one should feel to what extent these acts are contrary to his nature. . . . *It is sufficient if a man free himself for an instant from this tangled net, in order to see the things which are contrary to his nature.*"

That is exactly what Tolstoy does for us. His unsociable and sceptical temper, his constitutional fault-finding, allow him to see, and to show us, one of the chief drawbacks (for every moral machinery, every human or cosmic arrangement has its drawback) of that normal automatic living from impulse to impulse, or, if you choose, from hand to mouth, which secures the continuance and improvement of the race, and, on the whole, the tolerable happiness of the individual. The question "Why?" "To what purpose?" which becomes, in the case of some of Tolstoy's heroes and in his own, misery and paralysis when applied to the

*totality of existence itself,* is salutary when we apply it every now and then to the detail of life. For it is then no longer: "What is the use of my being alive?" but the wholly different query: "Why, being alive, being what I am and wishing in a given way, am I nevertheless acting in this other way, which is inconsistent with my general life, personality and wishes?"

Yes; there is need of such occasional scattering of our best established habits and most necessary shams and shibboleths. Nietzsche is right in asking for a constant "revaluing of all standards of value." Only—what Nietzsche did not guess, and the world does not recognize—such has been the mission not of Epicureans and Cynics (falling in, as they do, with every-day habits), but of the far more ruthless, because more mono-ideistic and more unpractical, destructiveness of the prophets of asceticism.

Moreover, apart from its constant criticism of moral routine and its indefatigable exposure of perfunctoriness and hypocrisy, apart from its negative merit in demolishing so many cherished *vital lies,* and making the individual soul stand without shelter from the lightnings and the whirlwinds of the spiritual heavens; apart from its great functions of destruction (bringing, in Christ's words, "not peace, but a sword"), all progress owes a deep debt to asceticism of every denomination. For asceticism has given success to unworldliness, and made modesty and scrupulousness illustrious. The adoration of the *saint,* the triumphant enshrining of his poor bones, has been a salutary practice; since, even if that saint's virtues were mistaken, it was the desire for virtue, for acceptableness in God's eyes, which made him glorious in the eyes of men. It has been a help to progress that sanctity could compensate for poverty and weakness—nay, that poverty and weakness should have their disgrace removed; and more particularly in times when poverty was as often the result of one's neighbor's unscrupulousness as of one's own lack of initiative; and weakness was better for others than being a ruffian.

The school which has arisen in violent antagonism to ascetic self-denial, that of Nietzsche and the "Will to Power," bred, as it is, in times of comparative liberty and safety for the individual, has overlooked the fact that, in the past, a handful of stupid roughs, or the caprice of a delirious crowned degenerate, could in ten minutes destroy the results of years and years of industry, in-

genuity, self-command, in fact, of every combination of intellectual, moral and physical efficiency. In such a past,—and it is still at our door (I write within a week of the suppression of the St. Petersburg rising)—the saint is the necessary corrective, in mankind's judgment, for the atrocious success of the violent man or the intriguer. And, so long as we continue abetting success which is obtained to the detriment of others, so long shall we require the worship of the saint, as such. Asceticism is the inevitable outcome, because it is the natural corrective, of moral callousness. And, so long as the market and the home are no better than they are, we shall require to retire now and again into a church—built, if not of stone, then of reverent thoughts—in commemoration of some just, and gentle and austere man. Nay, we shall require to feel at times the impulse to self-chastisement, self-abasement and self-mutilation, so long as our daily life remains as thoughtless, mean, grasping and bestial as it often is.

And herein lies the secret of Tolstoy, as of all ascetics and prophets: of his exaggerations, his absurdities, his—let us call them by their rightful name—ravings; and of our listening, and feeling that we are right in listening, to them.

The destructiveness of asceticism is blind and excessive; it behooves our spiritual activity and discipline to make use of this dangerous moral force, as of any of the other forces of nature, bidding it work for our benefit and not to our hurt. But, even while we remain unable to direct it to our purposes, this disruptive energy of asceticism and prophecy is one of the necessary purifiers of our stagnating souls. It is good to be asked, "To what purpose?" by a Tolstoy, although our answer may differ so widely from the one he preaches.

VERNON LEE.

# PHILADELPHIA.

BY HENRY JAMES.

## I.

To be at all critically, or as we have been fond of calling it "analytically," minded—over and beyond an inherent love of the general many-colored picture of things—is to be subject to the superstition that objects and places, coherently grouped, disposed for human use and addressed to it, must have a sense of their own, a mystic meaning proper to themselves, to give out: to give out, that is, to the participant at once so interested and so detached as to be moved to a report of the matter. That perverse person is obliged to take it for a working theory that the essence of almost any settled aspect of anything may be extracted by the chemistry of criticism, and may give us its right name, its formula, for convenient use. From the moment the critic finds himself sighing, to save trouble, in a difficult case, that the cluster of appearances can *have* no sense, from that moment he begins, and quite consciously, to go to pieces: it being the prime business and the high honor of the painter of life always to *make* a sense—and to make it most in proportion as the immediate aspects are loose or confused. The last thing decently permitted him is to recognize incoherence—to recognize it, that is, as baffling; though, of course, he may present and portray it, in all richness, *as* incoherence. That, I think, was what I had been mainly occupied for in New York; and I quitted so qualified a joy, under extreme stress of winter, with a certain confidence that I should not have moved even a little of the way southward without practical relief: relief which came in fact, ever so promptly, at Philadelphia, on my feeling, unmistakably, the change of half the furniture of consciousness. This change put on, immediately, the friendliest, the

handsomest aspect—supplied my intelligence on the spot with the clear, the salient note. I mean by this, not that the happy definition or synthesis instantly came—came with the perception that character and sense were there, only waiting to be disengaged; but that the note, as I say, was already, within an hour, the germ of these things, and that the whole flower, assuredly, wouldn't fail to bloom. I was in fact sniffing up its fragrance after I had looked out for three minutes from one of the windows of a particularly wide-fronted house and seen the large residential Square that lay before me shine in its native light. This light, remarkably tender, I thought, for that of a winter afternoon, matched with none other I had ever seen, and announced straight off fifty new circumstances—an enormous number, in America, for any prospect to promise you in contradistinction from any other. It was not simply that, beyond a doubt, the outlook was more *méridional;* a still deeper impression had begun to work, and, as I felt it more and more glimmer upon me, I caught myself about to jump, with a single leap, to my synthesis. I, of course, stayed myself in the act, for there would be too much, really, yet to come; but the perception left me, I even then felt, in possession of half the ground on which later experience would proceed. It was not too much to say, as I afterwards saw, that I had in those few illumined moments put the gist of the matter into my pocket.

Philadelphia, incontestably then, was the American city, of the large type, that didn't *bristle*—just as I was afterwards to recognize in St. Louis the nearest approach to companionship with it in this respect; and to recognize in Chicago, I may parenthetically add, the most complete divergence. It was not only, moreover, that at the ample, tranquil window there, Philadelphia *didn't* "bristle" (to that first precious freshness of view), but that it essentially couldn't and wouldn't, ever; that no kind of demonstration could be thought of, in fine, as more foreign to its genius. I don't just now go into the question of what the business of bristling, in an American city, may be estimated as consisting of; so infallibly is one aware when the thousand possible quills *are* erect, and when, haply, they are not—such a test does the restored absentee find, at least, in his pricked sensibility. A place may abound in its own sense, as the phrase is, without bristling in the least—it is liable, indeed, to bristle most, I think, when not too

securely possessed of any settled sense to abound in. An imperfect grasp of such a luxury is not the weakness of Philadelphia —just as that admirable comprehensive flatness in her which precludes the image of the porcupine figured to me from the first, precisely, as her positive source of strength. The absence of the note of the perpetual perpendicular, the New York, the Chicago note—and I allude here to the material, the constructional, exhibition of it—seemed to symbolize exactly the principle of indefinite level extension, and to offer, refreshingly, a challenge, to horizontal, to lateral, to more or less tangential, to rotary, or better still, to absolute centrifugal motion. If it was to befall me, during my brief but various acquaintance with the place, not to find myself more than two or three times hoisted or lowered by machinery, my prime illumination had been an absolute forecast of that immunity—a virtue of general premonition in it at which I have already glanced. I should in fact, I repeat, most truly, or most artfully, repaint my little picture by mixing my colors with the felt amenity of that small crisis, and by showing how this, that and the other impression to come had had, while it lasted, quite the definite prefigurement that the chapters of a book find in its table of contents. The afternoon blandness, for a fugitive from Madison Avenue in January snow, didn't mean nothing; the little marble steps and lintels and cornices and copings, all the so clear, so placed accents in the good prose text of the mildly purple houses across the Square, which seemed to wear them, as all the others did, up and down the streets, in the manner of nice white stockings, neckties, collars, cuffs, didn't mean nothing; and this was somehow an assurance that joined on to the vibration of the view produced, a few hours before, by so merely convenient a circumstance as my taking my place, at Jersey City, in the Pennsylvania train.

I had occasion, repeatedly, to find the Pennsylvania Railroad a beguiling and predisposing influence—in relation to various objectives; and indeed I quite lost myself in the singularity of this effect, which existed for me, certainly, only in that connection, touching me with a strange and most agreeable sense that the great line in question, an institution with a style and *allure* of its own, is not, even the world over, as other railroads are. It absolutely, with a little frequentation, affected me as better and higher than its office or function, and almost as supplying one

with a mode of life intrinsically superior: as if it ought really to be on its way to much grander and more charming places than any that happen to mark its course—as if, indeed, should one persistently keep one's seat, not getting out anywhere, it would in the end carry one to some such ideal city. One might, under this extravagant spell, which always began to work for me at Twenty-third Street and on the constantly adorable Ferry, have fancied the train, disvulgarized of passengers, steaming away, in disinterested empty form, to some terminus too noble to be marked in *our* poor schedules. The consciousness of this devotion would have been thus like that of living, all sublimely, up in a balloon. It was not, however—I recover myself—that if I had been put off at Philadelphia I was not, for the hour, contented; finding so immediately, as I have noted, more interest to my hand than I knew at first what to do with. There was the quick light of explanation, following on everything else I have mentioned—the light in which I had only to turn round again and see where I was, and how it was, in order to feel everything "come out" under the large friendliness, the ordered charm and perfect peace of the Club, housing me with that *whole* protection the bestowal of which on occasion is the finest grace of the hospitality of American clubs. Philadelphia, manifestly, was beyond any other American city, a *society*, and was going to show as such, as a thoroughly confirmed and settled one—which fact became the key, precisely, to its extension on one plane, and to its having no pretext for bristling. Human groups that discriminate in their own favor do, one remembers, in general, bristle; but that is only when they have not been really successful, when they have not been able to discriminate enough, when they are not, like Philadelphia, settled and confirmed and content. It would clearly be impossible not to regard the place before me as possessed of this secret of serenity to a degree elsewhere—at least among ourselves—unrivalled. The basis of the advantage, the terms of the secret, would be still to make out—which was precisely the high interest; and I was afterwards to be justified of my conviction by the multiplication of my lights.

New York, in that sense, had appeared to me, then, not a society at all, and it was rudimentary that Chicago would be one still less; neither of them, as a human group, having been able to discriminate in its own favor with anything like such success.

The proof of that would be, obviously, in one's so easily imputing to them alteration, extension, development; a change somehow unimaginable in the case of Philadelphia, which was a fixed quantity and had filled to the brim, one felt—and wasn't that really to be part of the charm ?—the measure of her possibility. Boston even was thinkable as subject to mutation; had I not in fact just seemed to myself to catch her in the almost uncanny inconsequence of change ? There had been for Boston the old epigram that she wasn't a place, but a state of mind; and that might remain, since we know how frequently states of mind alter. Philadelphia, then, wasn't a place, but a state of consanguinity, which is an absolute, final condition. She had arrived at it, with nothing in the world left to bristle for, or against; whereas New York, and above all Chicago, were only, and most precariously, on the way to it, and, indeed, having started too late, would probably never arrive. There were, for them, interferences and complications; they knew, and would yet know, other conditions, perhaps other beatitudes; only the beatitude I speak of—that of being, in the composed sense, a society—was lost to them forever. Philadelphia, without complications or interferences, enjoyed it in particular through having begun to invoke it in time. And now she had nothing more to invoke; she had everything; her *cadres* were all full; her imagination was at peace. This, exactly again, would be the reason of the bristling of the other places: the *cadres* of New York, Chicago, Boston, being as to a third of them empty, and as to another third objectionably filled—with much consequent straining, reaching, heaving, both to attain and to eject. What makes a society was thus, more than anything else, the number of organic social relations it represents; by which logic Philadelphia would represent nothing *but* organic social relations. The degrees of consanguinity were the *cadres;* every one of them was full; it was a society in which every individual was as many times over cousin, uncle, aunt, niece, and so on through the list, as poor human nature is susceptible of being. These degrees are, when one reflects, the only really organic social relations; and, when they are all there for every one, the scheme of security, in a community, has been worked out. Philadelphia, in other words, would not only be a family, she would be a "happy" one, and a probable proof that the happiness comes as a matter of course if the family but be large enough. Consan-

guinity provides the marks and features, the type and tone and ease, the common knowledge and the common consciousness, but number would be required to make these things social. Number, accordingly, for her perfection, was what Philadelphia would have—it having been clear to me still, in my charming Club and at my illuminating window, that she couldn't *not* be perfect. She would be, of all goodly villages, the very goodliest, probably, in the world; the very largest and flattest and smoothest, the most rounded and complete.

II.

The simplest account of such success as I was to have in putting my vision to the test will be, I think, to say that the place never for a moment belied to me that forecast of its animated intimacy. Yet it might be just here that a report of my experience would find itself hampered—this learning the lesson, from one vivid page of the picture-book to another, of how perfectly "intimate" Philadelphia is. Such an exhibition would be, prohibitively, the exhibition of private things, of private things only, and of a charmed contact with them, were it not for the great circumstance which, when what I have said has been fully said, remains to be taken into account. The state of infinite cousinship colors the scene, makes the predominant tone; but you get a light upon it that is worth all others from the moment you see it as, ever so savingly, historic. This perception, moreover, promptly operates; I found it stirred, as soon as I went out or began to circulate, by all immediate aspects and signs. The place "went back," or, in other words, the social equilibrium, forestalling so that of the other cities, had begun early, had had plenty of time on its side, and thus had its history behind it,—the past that looms through it, not at all luridly, but so squarely and substantially, to-day, and gives it, by a mercy, an extension other than the lateral. This, frankly, was required, it struck me, for the full comfort of one's impression—for a certain desirable and imputable richness. The backward extension, in short, is the very making of Philadelphia; one is so uncertain of the value one would attach to her being as she is if she hadn't been so by prescription and for a couple of centuries. This has established her right and her competence; the fact is the parent, so to speak, of her consistency and serenity; it has made the very law under which her parts and pieces have held so closely together. To walk her streets is to note with all

promptness that William Penn *must* have laid them out—no one else could possibly have done it so ill. It was his best—though, with our larger sense for a street, it is far from ours; we at any rate no more complain of them, nor suggest that they might have been more liberally conceived, than we so express ourselves about the form of the chairs in sitting through a morning call.

I found myself liking them, then, as I moved among them, just in proportion as they conformed, in detail, to the early pattern—the figure, for each house, of the red-faced old gentleman whose thick eyebrows and mustache have turned to white; and I found myself detesting them in any instance of a new front or a new fashion. They were narrow, with this aspect as of a double file of grizzled veterans, or they were nothing; the narrowness had been, positively, the channel or conduit of continuity, of character; it made the long pipe on which the tune of the place was played. From the moment it was in any way corrected, the special charm broke—the charm, a rare civic possession, as of some immense old ruled and neatly inked chart, not less carefully than benightedly flattened out, stretching its tough parchment under the very feet of all comings and goings. This was an image with which, as it furthermore seemed to me, everything else consorted—above all, the soothing truth that Philadelphia was, yes, beyond cavil, solely and singly Philadelphian. There was an interference absent, or one that I at least never met: that sharp note of the outlandish, in the strict sense of the word, which I had already found almost everywhere so disconcerting. I pretend here, of course, neither to estimate the numbers in which the grosser aliens may actually have settled on these bland banks of the Delaware, nor to put my finger on the principle of the shock I had felt it, and was still to feel it, in their general power to administer; for I am not now concerned so much with the impression made by one's almost everywhere meeting them as with the impression made by one's here and there failing of it. They may have been gathered, in their hordes, in some vast quarter unknown to me and of which I was to have no glimpse; but what would this have denoted, exactly, but some virtue in the air for reducing their presence, or their effect, to naught? There precisely was the difference from New York—that they themselves had been in that place half the virtue, or the vice, in the air, and that there were few of its agitations to which they had not something to say.

The logic of the case had been visible to me, for that matter, on my very first drive from the train—from that precious "Pennsylvania" station of Philadelphia which was to strike me as making a nearer approach than elsewhere to the arts of ingratiation. There was an object or two, windowed and chimneyed, in the central sky—but nothing to speak of: I then and there, in a word, took in the admirable flatness. And if it seemed so spacious, by the same token, this was because it was neither eager, nor grasping, nor pushing. It drew its breath at its ease, clearly —never sounding the charge, the awful "Step lively!" of New York. The fury of the pavement had dropped, in fine, as I was to see it drop, later on, between Chicago and St. Louis. This affected me on the spot as symbolic, and I was to have no glimpse of anything that gainsaid the symbol. It was somehow, too, the very note of the homogeneous; though this, indeed, is not, oddly enough, the head under which at St. Louis my impression was to range itself. I at all events here gave myself up to the vision—that of the vast, firm chess-board, the immeasurable spread of little squares, covered *all* over by perfect Philadelphians. It was an image, in face of some of the other features of the view, dissimilar to any by which one had ever in one's life been assaulted; and this elimination of the foreign element was what had been required to make it consummate. Nothing is more notable, through the States at large, than that hazard of what one may happen, or may not happen, to see; but the only use to be made of either accident is, clearly, to let it stand and to let it serve. This intensity and ubiquity of the local tone, that of the illimitable *town*, serves so successfully for my sense of Philadelphia that I should feel as if a little masterpiece of the creative imagination had been destroyed by the least correction. And there is, further, the point to make that if I knew, all the while, that there was something more, and different, and less beatific, under and behind the happy appearance I grasped, I knew it by no glimmer of direct perception, and should never in the world have guessed it if some sound of it had not, by a discordant voice, been, all superfluously, rather tactlessly, dropped into my ear.

It was not, however, disconcerting at the time, this presentation, as in a flash, of the other side of the medal—the other side being, in a word, as was mentioned to me, one of the most lurid pages in the annals of political corruption. The place, by this

revelation, was two distinct things—a Society, from far back, the society I had divined, the most genial and delightful one could think of, and then, parallel to this, and not within it, nor quite altogether above it, but beside it and beneath it, behind it and before it, enclosing it as in a frame of fire in which it still had the secret of keeping cool, a proportionate City, the most incredible that ever was, organized all for plunder and rapine, the gross satisfaction of official appetite—organized, in fine, for eternal iniquity and impunity. Such were the conditions, it had been hinted to me—from the moment the medal spun round; but I even understate, I think, in speaking of the knowledge as only not disconcerting. It was better than that, for it positively added the last touch of color to my framed and suspended picture. Here, strikingly, then, was an American *case*, and presumably one of the best; one of the best, that is, for some study of the wondrous problem, admiration and amazement of the nations, who yearn over it from far off: the way in which sane Society and pestilent City, in the United States, successfuly cohabit, each keeping it up with so little of fear or flutter from the other. The thing presents itself, in its prime unlikelihood, as a thorough good neighboring of the Happy Family and the Infernal Machine —the machine so rooted as to continue to defy removal, and the family still so indifferent, while it carries on the family business of buying and selling, of chattering and dancing, to the danger of being blown up. It is all puzzled out, from afar, as a matter of the exchange, and in a large degree of the observance, from side to side, of guarantees, and the interesting thing to get at, for the student of manners, will ever be just this mystery of the terms of the bargain. I must add, none the less, that, though one was, one's self, inevitably, and always and everywhere, that student, my attention happened to be, or rather was obliged to be, confined to one view of the agreement. The arrangement is obviously, between the great municipalities and the great populations, on the grand scale, and I lacked opportunity to look at it all round. I had but my glimpse of the apparently wide social acceptance of it—that is, I saw but the face of the medal that is most turned to the light of day, and could note that nowhere so much as in Philadelphia was any carking care, in the social mind, any uncomfortable consciousness, as of a skeleton at the banquet of life, so gracefully veiled.

This struck me (on my looking back, afterwards, with more knowledge,) as admirable, as heroic, in its way, and as falling in altogether with inherent habits of sociability, gayety, gallantry, with that felt presence of a "temperament" with which the original Quaker drab seems to flush—giving it, as one might say for the sake of the figure, something of the iridescence of the breast of a well-fed dove. The original Quaker drab is still there, and, ideally, for the picture, up and down the uniform streets, one should see a bland, broad-brimmed, square-toed gentleman, or a bonneted, kerchiefed, mittened lady, on every little flight of white steps; but the very note of the place has been the "worldly" overscoring, for most of the senses, of the primitive monotone, the bestitching of the drab with pink and green and silver. The mixture has been, for a social effect, admirably successful, thanks, one seems to see, to the subtle, the charming absence of pedantry in the Quaker purity. It flushes gracefully, that temperate prejudice (with its predisposition to the universal *tutoiement)* turning first but to the prettiest pink; so that we never quite know where the drab has ended and the color of the world has begun. The "disfrocked" Catholic is too strange, the paganized Puritan too angular; it is the accommodating Friend who has most the secret of a *modus vivendi.* And if it be asked, I may add, whether, in this case of social Philadelphia, the genius for life, and what I have called the "gallantry" of it above all, wouldn't have been better shown by a scorn of *any* compromise to which the nefarious City could invite it, I can only reply that, as a lover, always of romantic phenomena, and an inveterate seeker for them, I should have been deprived, by the action of that particular virtue, of the thrilled sense of a society dancing, all consciously, on the thin crust of a volcano. It is the thinness of the crust that makes, in such examples, the wild fantasy, the gay bravery, of the dance—just as I admit that a preliminary, an original, extinction of the volcano would have illustrated another kind of virtue. The crust, for the social tread, would in this case have been firm, but the spectator's imagination would have responded less freely, I think, to the appeal of the scene. If I may indeed speak my whole thought for him, he would so have had to drop again, to his regret, the treasure of a small analogy picked up on its very threshold.

How shall he confess at once boldly and shyly enough that the

situation had at the end of a very short time begun to strike him, for all its immeasurably reduced and simplified form, as a much nearer approach to the representation of an "old order," of an *ancien régime,* socially speaking, than any the field of American manners had seemed likely to regale him with? Grotesque the comparison, if pushed; yet how had he encountered the similitude if it hadn't been hanging about? From the moment he adopted it, at any rate, he found it taking on touch after touch. The essence of old orders, as history lights them, is just that innocent beatitude of consanguinity, of the multiplication of the assured felicities, to which I have already alluded. From this, in Philadelphia, didn't the rest follow?—the sense, for every one, of being in the same boat with every one else, a closed circle that would find itself happy enough if only it could remain closed enough. The boat might considerably pitch, but its occupants would either float merrily together or (almost as merrily) go down together, and meanwhile the risk, the vague danger, the jokes to be made about it, the general quickened sociability and intimacy, were the very music of the excursion. There are even yet to be observed, about the world, fragments and ghosts of old social orders, thin survivals of final cataclysms, and it was not less positive than beguiling that the common marks by which these companies are known, and which we still distinguish through their bedimmed condition, cropped up for me in the high American light, making good my odd parallel at almost every point. Yet if these signs of a slightly congested, but still practically self-sufficing, little world were all there, they were perhaps there most, to my ear, in the fact of the little world's proper intimate idiom and accent; a dialect as much its very own, even in drawing-rooms and libraries, as the Venetian is that of Venice or the Neapolitan is that of Naples—representing the common things of association, the things easily understood and felt, and charged as no other vehicle could be with the fund of local reference. There is always the difference, of course, that at Venice and at Naples, "in society" an alternative,—either that of French or of the classic, the more or less academic, Italian,—is offered to the uninitiated stranger, whereas in Philadelphia he is candidly, consistently, sometimes almost contagiously, entertained in the free vernacular. The latter may easily become, in fact, under its wealth of idiosyncrasy and if he have the favoring turn of mind, a

tempting object of linguistic study; with the bridge built for him, moreover, that, unlike the Venetian, the Neapolitan, and most other local languages, it contains, itself, colloquially, a notable element of the academic and classic. It struck me even, truly, as, with a certain hardness in it, *constituting* the society that employed it—very much as the egg is made oval by its shell; and really, if I may say all, as taking its stand a bit consciously sometimes, if not a bit defiantly, on its own proved genius. I remember the visible dismay of a gentleman, a pilgrim from afar, in a drawing-room, at the comment of a lady, a lady of one of the new generations, indeed, and mistress of the tone by which I had here and there occasion to observe that such ornaments of the new generation might be known. "Listen to the creature: he speaks English!"—it was the very opposite of the indulgence or encouragement with which, in a Venetian drawing-room (I catch my analogies as I can), the sound of French or of Italian might have been greeted. The poor "creature's" dismay was so visible, clearly, for the reason that such things have only to be said with a certain confidence to create a certain confusion—the momentary consciousness of some such misdeed, from the point of view of manners, as the speaking of Russian at Warsaw. I have said that Philadelphia didn't bristle, but the heroine of my anecdote caused the so genial city to resemble, for the minute, linguistically, an unreconciled Poland.

## III.

But why do I talk of the new generations, or at any rate of the abyss in them that may seem here and there beyond one's shallow sounding, when, all the while, at the back of my head, hovers the image in the guise of which antiquity, in Philadelphia, looks most seated and most interesting? Nowhere throughout the country, I think, unless it be perchance at Mount Vernon, does our historic past so enjoy the felicity of an "important" concrete illustration. It survives there in visible form as it nowhere else survives, and one can doubtless scarce think too largely of what its mere felicity of presence, in these conditions, has done, and continues, and will continue, to do for the place at large. It may seem witless enough, at this time of day, to arrive from Pennsylvania with "news" of the old State House, and my news, I can only recognize, began but with being news for myself—in which character it quite shamelessly pretended both to freshness and to

brilliancy. Why *shouldn't* it have been charming, the high roof under which the Declaration of Independence had been signed?—that was, of course, a question that might from the first have been asked of me, and with no better answer in wait for it than that, after all, it might just have happened, in the particular conditions, not to be; or else that, in general, one is allowed a margin, on the spot, for the direct sense of consecrated air, for that communication of its spirit which, in proportion as the spirit has been great, withholds itself, shyly and nobly, from any mere forecast. This it is, exactly, that, by good fortune, keeps up the sanctity of shrines and the lessons of history, to say nothing of the freshness of individual sensibility and the general continuity of things. There is positively nothing of Independence Hall, of its fine old Georgian amplitude and decency, its large serenity and symmetry of pink and drab, and its actual emphasis of detachment from the vulgar brush of things, that is *not* charming; and there is nothing, the city through, that doesn't receive a mild side light of a reflected interest from its neighborhood.

This element of the reflected interest, and more particularly of the reflected distinction, is for the most part, on the American scene, the missed interest—despite the ingenuities of wealth and industry and "energy" that strain so touchingly often, and even to grimace and contortion, somehow to supply it. One finds one's self, when it *has* happened to intervene, weighing its action to the last grain of gold. One even puts to one's self fantastic cases—such as the question, for instance, of what might, what might *not,* have happened if poor dear reckless New York had been so distinguished or so blest—with the bad conscience she is too intelligent not to have, her power to be now and then ashamed of her "form," lodged, after all, somewhere in her interminable boots. One has, of course, to brush away there the prompt conviction that the blessing—that of the possession of an historical monument of the first order—would long since have been replaced by the higher advantage of a row of sky-scrapers yielding rents; yet the imagination, none the less, dallies with the fond vision of some respect somehow instilled, some deference somehow suggested, some revelation of the possibilities of a public *tenue* somehow effected. Fascinating in fact to speculate a little as to what a New York held in respect by something or other, some power not of the purse, might have become. It is bad, ever, for

lusty youth, especially with a command of means, to grow up without knowing at least one "nice family"—if the family be not priggish; and this is the danger that the young Philadelphia, with its eyes on the superior connection I am speaking of, was enabled to escape. The charming old pink and drab heritage of the great time was to be the superior connection, playing, for the education of the place, the part of the nice family. Socially, morally, even æsthetically, the place was to be thus more or less inevitably built round it; but for which good fortune who knows if even Philadelphia too might have not been vulgar? One meets throughout the land enough instances of the opposite luck—the situation of immense and "successful" communities that have lacked, originally, anything "first rate," as they might themselves put it, to be built round; anything better, that is, than some profitable hole in the earth, some confluence of rivers or command of lakes or railroads: and one sees how, though this deficiency may not have made itself felt at first, it has inexorably loomed larger and larger, the drawback of it growing all the while with the growth of the place. Our sense of such predicaments, for the gatherings of men, comes back, I think, and with an intensity of interest, to our sense of the way the human imagination absolutely declines everywhere to go to sleep without some apology, at least, for a supper. The collective consciousness, in however empty an air, gasps for a relation, as intimate as possible, to something superior, something as central as possible, from which it may more or less have proceeded and round which its life may revolve—and its dim desire is always, I think, to do it justice, that this object or presence shall have had as much as possible an heroic or romantic association. But the difficulty is that in these later times, among such aggregations, the heroic and romantic elements, even under the earliest rude stress, have been all too tragically obscure, have belonged to smothered, unwritten, almost unconscious private history: so that the central something, the social *point de repère,* has had to be extemporized rather pitifully after the fact, and made to consist of the biggest hotel or the biggest common school, the biggest factory, the biggest newspaper-office, or, for climax of desperation, the house of the biggest billionaire. These are the values resorted to in default of higher, for with *some* colored rag or other the general imagination, snatching its chance, must dress its doll.

As a real, a moral value, to the general mind, at all events, and not as a trumped-up one, I saw the lucky legacy of the past, at Philadelphia, operate; though I admit that these are at best, for the mooning observer, matters of appreciation, mysteries of his own sensibility. Such an observer has early to perceive, and to conclude on it once for all, that there will be little for him in the American scene unless he be ready, anywhere, everywhere, to read "into" it as much as he reads out. It is at its best for him when most open to that friendly penetration, and not at its best, I think, when practically most closed to it. And yet how can I pretend to be able to say, under this discrimination, what was better and what was worse in Independence Hall?—to say how far the charming facts struck me as going of themselves, or where the imagination (perhaps on this sole patch of ground, by exception, a meddler "not wanted anyhow") took them up to carry them further. I am reduced, doubtless, to the comparative sophism of making my better sense here consist but of my sense of the fine interior of the building. One sees them immediately as "good," delightfully good, on architectural and scenic lines, these large, high, wainscoted chambers, as good as any could thinkably have been at the time; embracing what was to be done in them with such a noble congruity, as they were luckily no mere tent pitched for the purpose (which in all the conditions they well-nigh might have been), that the historic imagination, reascending the centuries, almost catches them in the act of directly suggesting the celebrated *coup*. One fancies, under the high spring of the ceiling and before the great embrasured window-sashes of the principal room, some clever man of the period, after a long look round, taking the hint. "*What* an admirable place for a Declaration of something! What could one here—what *couldn't* one really declare?" And then after a moment: "I say, why not our Independence?—capital thing always to declare, and before any one gets in with anything tactless. You'll see that the fortune of the place will be made." It really takes some such frivolous fancy as that to represent with proper extravagance the reflection irresistibly rising there and that it yet would seem pedantic to express with solemnity: the sense, namely, of our beautiful escape in not having had to "declare" in any way meanly, of our good fortune in having found half the occasion made to our hand.

High occasions consist of many things, and it was extraordinary luck for our great date that not one of these, even as to surface and appearance, should have been wanting. There might easily have been traps laid for us by some of the inferior places, but I am convinced (and more completely than of anything else in the whole connection) that the genius of historic decency would have kept us enslaved rather than have seen us committed to one of those. In that light, for the intelligent pilgrim, the Philadelphia monument becomes, under his tread, under the touch of his hand and the echo of his voice, the very prize, the sacred thing itself, contended for and gained; so that its quality, in fine, is irresistible, and its dignity not to be uttered. I was so conscious, for myself, I confess, of the intensity of this perception that I dip deep into the whole remembrance without touching bottom; by which I mean that I grope, reminiscentially, in the full basis of the general experience of the spot without bringing up a detail. Distinct to me only the way its character, so clear yet so ample, everywhere hangs together and keeps itself up; distinct to me only the large sense, in halls and spreading staircase and long-drawn upper gallery, of one of those rare precincts of the past against which the present has kept beating in vain. The present comes in and stamps about and very stertorously breathes, but its sounds are as naught the next moment; it is as if one felt there that the grandparent, reserved, irresponsive now, and having spoken his word, in his finest manner, once for all, must have long ago had enough of the exuberance of the young grandson's modernity. But, of course, the great impression is that of the persistent actuality of the so auspicious room in which the Signers saw their tossing ship into port. The lapse of time, here, extraordinarily, has sprung no leak in the effect; it remains so robust that everything lives again, the interval drops out and we mingle in the business: the old ghosts, to our inward sensibility, still make the benches creak, as they free their full coat-skirts for sitting down, still make the temperature rise, the pens scratch, the papers flutter, the dust float in the large sun-shafts; we place them as they sit, watch them as they move, hear them as they speak, pity them as they ponder, know them, in fine, from the arch of their eyebrows to the shuffle of their shoes.

I am not sure indeed that, for mere archaic insolence, the little old Hall of the Guild of Carpenters, my vision of which

jostles my memory of the State House, does not carry it even with a higher hand—in spite of a bedizzenment of restoration, within, which leads us to rejoice that the retouchings of the greater monument expose themselves comparatively so little. The situation of this elegant structure—of dimensions and form that scarce differ, as I recall them, from those of delicate little Holden Chapel, of the so floridly overlaid gable, most articulate single word, in College Yard, of the small builded sense of old Harvard —comes nearer to representing an odd town-nook than any other corner of American life that I remember; American life having been organized, *ab ovo,* with an hostility to the town-nook which has left no scrap of provision for eyes needing on occasion a refuge from the general glare. The general glare seemed to me, at the end of something like a passage, in the shade of something like a court, and in the presence of something like a relic, to have mercifully intermitted, on that fine Philadelphia morning; I won't answer for the exact correspondence of the conditions with my figure of them, since the shade I speak of may have been but the shade of "tall" buildings, the vulgarest of new accidents. Yet I let my impression stand, if only as a note of the relief certain always to lurk, at any turn of the American scene, in the appearance of any individual thing within or behind, or at the end, or in the depths of, any other individual thing. It makes for the sense of complexity, relieves the eternal impression of things all in a row and of a single thickness, an impression which the usual unprecedented length of the American alignment (always its source of pride) does by itself little to mitigate. Nothing in the array is "behind" anything else—an odd result, I admit, of the fact that so many things affirm themselves as preponderantly before. Little Carpenters' Hall *was,* delightfully, somewhere behind; so much behind, as I perhaps thus fantastically see it, that I dare say I should not be able to find my way to it again if I were to try. Nothing, for that matter, would induce me to revisit in fact, I feel, the object I so fondly evoke. It might have been, for this beautiful posteriority, somewhere in the City of London.

IV.

I can but continue to lose myself, for these connections, in my *whole* sense of the intermission, as I have called it, of the glare. The mellower light prevailed, somehow, *all* that fine Philadelphia

morning, as well as on two or three other occasions—and I cannot, after all, pretend I don't now see why. It was because one's experience of the place had become immediately an intimate thing—intimate with that intimacy that I had tasted, from the first, in the local air; so that, inevitably, thus, there was no keeping of distinct accounts for public and private items. An ancient church or two, of aspect as Anglican still as you please, and taking, for another case, from the indifferent bustle round it, quite the look of Wren's mere steepled survivals in the backwaters of London churchyards; Franklin's grave itself, in its own backwater of muffled undulations, close to the indifferent bustle; Franklin's admirable portrait, *a fortiori* in the council-room of an ancient, opulent Trust, a conservative Company, vague and awful to my shy sense, that was housed after the fashion of some exclusive, madeira-drinking old gentleman with obsequious heirs; these and other matters, wholly thrilling at the time, float back to me as on the current of talk and as in the flood, so to speak, of hospitality. If Philadelphia had, in opposition to so many other matters, struck me as coherent, there would be surely no point of one's contact at which this might so have come home as in those mysterious chambers and before the most interesting of the many far-scattered portraits of Franklin—the sight of it acting as some sudden glimpse of the fine old incised seal, kept in its glass cabinet, that had originally stamped all over, for identification, the comparatively soft local wax. One thinks of Franklin's reputation, of his authority—and however much they may have been locally contested at the time—as marking the material about him much as his name might have marked his underclothing or his pocketbooks. Small wonder one had the impression of a Society, with such a figure as that to start conversation. He seemed to preside over it all while one lingered there, as if he had been seated, at the mahogany, relentingly enough, beside his glass of madeira; seemed to be "in" it even more freely than by the so interesting fact of his still having, in Philadelphia, in New York, in Boston, through his daughter, so numerous a posterity. The sense of life, life the most positive, most human and most miscellaneous, expressed in his aged, crumpled, canny face, where the smile wittily profits, for fineness, by the comparative collapse of the mouth, represents a suggestion which succeeding generations may well have found it all they

could do to work out. It is impossible, in the place, after seeing that portrait, not to feel him still with them, with the genial generations—even though to-day, in the larger, more mixed cup, the force of his example may have suffered some dilution.

It was a savor of which, at any rate, for one's own draught, one could but make the most; and I went so far, on this occasion, as fairly to taste it there in the very quality of my company—in that of the distinguished guidance and protection I was enjoying: which could only make me ask myself in what finer modern form one would have wished to see Franklin's humanity and sagacity, his variety and ingenuity, his wealth of ideas and his tireless application of them, embodied. There was verily nothing to do, after this, but to play over the general picture that light of his assumption of the general ease of things—of things at any rate thereabouts; so that I now see each reminiscence, whatever the time or the place, happily governed and colored by it. Times and places, in such an experience, range themselves, after a space, like valued objects in one of the assorted rooms of a "collection." Keep them a little, tenderly handled, wrapped up, stowed away, and they come forth, into the room swept and garnished, susceptible of almost any pleasing arrangement. The only thing is that you shall scarce know, at a given moment, amid your abundance, which of them to take up first; there being always in them, moreover, at best, the drawback of value from mere association, that keepsake element of objects in a reliquary. Is not this, however, the drawback for exhibition of almost any item of American experience that may not pretend to deal with the mere monstrosities?—the immensities of size and space, of trade and traffic, of organization political, educational, economic. From the moment one's record is not, in fine, a loud statistical shout, it falls into the order of those shy things that speak, at the most (when one is one's self incapable even of the merest statistical whisper), but of the personal adventure—in other words, but of one's luck and of one's sensibility. There are incidents, there are passages, that flush, in this fashion, to the backward eye, under the torch. But what solemn statement is one to make of the "importance," for example, of such a matter as the Academy soirée (as they say in London) of the Philadelphia winter, the festive commemoration of some long span of life achieved by the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts? We may

have been thrilled, positively, by the occasion, by the interesting encounters and discoveries, artistic and personal, to which it ministered; we may have moved from one charmed recognition to another, noting Sargents and Whistlers by the dozen, and old forgotten French friends, foreign friends in general, older and younger, noting young native upstarts, creatures of yesterday and to-morrow, who invite, with all success, a stand and a stare; but no after-sense of such vibrations, however lively, presumes to take itself as communicable.

One would regret, on the other hand, failing to sound some echo of a message everywhere in the United States so audible; that of the clamorous signs of a hungry social growth, the very pulses, making all their noise, of the engine that works night and day for a theory of civilization. There are moments at which it may well seem that, putting the sense of the spectacle even at its lowest, there is no such amusement as this anywhere supplied: the air through which everything shows is so transparent, with steps and stages and processes as distinct in it as the appearance, from a street corner, of a crowd rushing, on an alarm, to a fire. The gregarious crowd "tells," in the street, and the indications I speak of tell, like chalk-marks, on the demonstrative American blackboard—an impression perhaps never so much brought home to me as by a wondrous Sunday morning at the edge of a vast vacant Philadelphia street, a street not of Penn's creation and vacant of everything, but an immeasurable *bourgeois* blankness. I had turned from that scene into a friendly house that was given over, from top to toe, to a dazzling collection of pictures, amid which I felt myself catch in the very act one of the great ingurgitations of the hungry machine, and recognize as well how perfect were all the conditions for making it a case. What could have testified less, on the face of it, than the candor of the street's insignificance?—a pair of huge parted lips protesting almost to pathos their innocence of anything to say: which was exactly, none the less, where appetite had broken out and was feeding itself to satiety. Large and liberal the hospitality, remarkably rich the store of acquisition, in the light of which the whole energy of the collector showed, the knowledge, the acuteness, the audacity, the incessant watch for opportunity. These abrupt and multiplied encounters, intensities, ever so various, of individual curiosity, sound the æsthetic note sometimes with un-

precedented shrillness, and then again with the most muffled discretion. Was the note muffled or shrill, meanwhile, as I listened to it—under a fascination I fully recognized—during an hour spent in the clustered Palæstra of the University of Pennsylvania? where the winter afternoon seemed to throw itself artfully back, across the centuries, the climates, the seasons, the very faiths and codes, into the air of old Greece and the age of gymnastic glory: artfully, I rather insist, because I scarce know what fine emphasis of modernism hung about it too. I put that question, however, only to deny myself the present luxury of answering it; so thickly do the visitor's University impressions, over the land, tend to gather, and so markedly they suggest their being reported of together. I note my palæstral hour, therefore, but because it fell, through what it seemed to show me, straight into what I had conceived of the Philadelphia scheme, the happy family given up, though quite on "family" lines, to all the immediate beguilements, and activities, the art in particular of cultivating, with such gayety as might be, a brave civic blindness.

I became conscious of but one excrescence on this large smooth surface; it is true, indeed, that the excrescence was huge and affected me as demanding in some way to be dealt with. The Pennsylvania Penitentiary rears its ancient grimness, its gray towers and defensive moats (masses, at least, that uncertain memory so figures for me) in an outlying quarter which struck me as borrowing from them a vague likeness to some more or less blighted minor city of Italy or France, black Angers or dead Ferrara—yet seated on its basis of renown and wrapped in its legend of having, as the first flourishing example of the strictly cellular system, the complete sequestration of the individual prisoner, thought wonderful in its day, moved Charles Dickens to the passionate protest recorded in his "American Notes." Of such substance was the story of these battlements; yet it was unmistakable that, when one had crossed the drawbridge and passed under the portcullis, the air seemed thick enough with the breath of the generations. A prison has, at the worst, the massive majesty, the sinister peace, of a prison; but this huge house of sorrow affected me as, uncannily, of the City itself, the City of all the cynicisms and impunities against which my friends had, from far back, kept plating, as with the old silver of their side-

boards, the armor of their social consciousness. It made the whole place, with some of its oddly antique aspects and its oddly modern freedoms, look doubly cut off from the world of light and ease. The suggestions here were vast, however; too many of them swarm, and my imagination must defend itself as it can. What one was most concerned to note was the complete turn of the wheel of fortune in respect to the measure of mere incarceration suffered, from which the worst of the rigor had visibly been drawn. Parts of the place suggested a sunny Club at a languid hour, with members vaguely lounging and chatting, with open doors and comparatively cheerful vistas, and plenty of rocking-chairs and magazines. The only thing was that, under this analogy, one found one's self speculating much on the implied requisites for membership. It was impossible not to wonder, from face to face, what these would have been, and not to ask what one would have taken them to be, if the appearance of a Club had been a little more complete. I almost blush, I fear, for the crude comfort of my prompt conclusion. One would have taken them to consist, without exception, of full-blown basenesses; one couldn't, from member to member, from type to type, from one pair of eyes to another, take them for anything less. Where was the victim of circumstances, where the creature merely misled or betrayed? He fitted no type, he suffered in no face, he yearned in no history, and one felt, the more one took in his absence, that the numerous substitutes for him were good enough for each other.

The great interest was in this sight of the number and variety of ways of looking morally mean; and perhaps also in the question of how much the effect came from its being proved upon them, of how little it might have come if they had still been out in the world. Considered as criminals, the moral meanness, here, was their explication. Considered as morally mean, therefore, would possible criminality, out in the world, have been in the same degree their sole sense? Was the fact of prison *all* the mere fact of opportunity, and the fact of freedom all the mere fact of the absence of it? One inclined to believe that the simplification was at any rate so great for one's feeling; the cases presented became thus, consistently, cases of the vocation, and from the moment this was clear the place took on, in its way, almost the harmony of a convent. I talked for a long time with a charming reprieved murderer, whom I half expected, at any moment,

to see ring for coffee and cigars; he explained with all urbanity, and with perfect lucidity, the real sense of the appearances against him, but I none the less felt sure that his merit was largely in the refinement wrought in him by so many years of easy club life. He was as natural a subject for commutation as for conviction, and had had to have the latter in order to have the former —in the enjoyment, and indeed in the subtle criticism, of which, *as* simple commutation, he was at his best. They were there, all those of his companions I was able to note, unmistakably at their best. One could, as I say, sufficiently rest in it, and to do that kept, in a manner, the excrescence, as I have called it, on the general scene, within bounds. I was moreover, luckily, to see the general scene definitely cleared again, cleared of everything save its own social character and its practical philosophy—and at no moment with these features so brightly presented as during a few days' rage of winter round an old country house. The house was virtually distant from town, and the conditions could but strike any visitor who stood as much as possible with his back to the fire, where the logs were piled high, as made to press on all the reserves and traditions of the general temperament, those of gallantry, hilarity, social disposability, crowned with the grace of the sporting instinct. What was it confusedly, almost romantically, like, what "old order" commemorated in fiction and anecdote? I had groped for this, as I have shown, before, but I found myself at it again. Wasn't it, for freedom of movement, for jingle of sleigh-bells, for breasting of the elements, for cross-country drives in the small hours, for *crânerie* of fine young men and high wintry color of muffled nymphs, wasn't it, brogue and all, like some audible echo of close-packing, chancing Irish society of the classic time, seen and heard through a roaring blizzard? That, at least, with his back to the fire, was where the restless analyst was landed.

HENRY JAMES.

# CANADA'S TARIFF MOOD TOWARDS THE UNITED STATES.

BY EDWARD PORRITT.

FROM the beginning of September, 1905, until the second week in February, three members of the Laurier Cabinet at Ottawa—Mr. H. S. Fielding, Minister of Finance, Mr. W. Paterson, Minister of Customs, and Mr. L. P. Brodeur, Minister of Inland Revenue—were organized as a Commission to ascertain public feeling in Canada with regard to the new tariff which is to be enacted in the 1906 session of the Dominion Parliament. These Ministers, with some assistance from other members of the Laurier Cabinet, will frame the schedules of the new tariff. It will then be presented to the House of Commons by Mr. Fielding; and, as the Liberal Government has an overwhelming majority in the House, the bill will become law practically in the shape determined by Messrs. Fielding, Brodeur and Paterson.

Neither in this country nor in Canada was there ever before anything quite like the public hearings which have preceded this Canadian tariff of 1906. In the old days at Ottawa—in the days when Sir John Macdonald and the Tories were in power, from 1879 to 1896—tariff schedule details were settled largely at what were known as the "Red Parlor Conferences" at Toronto. There the manufacturers had their interviews with the Tory Premier; and Canadians generally knew little about the tariff, or the reasons for changes in the tariff, until the bill was submitted to the House of Commons. Even then they had to be satisfied with such reasons for changes as were put forward by the Tory Minister of Finance in his Budget speech.

The Liberals came into power in 1896, after having been continuously in Opposition at Ottawa from 1879. They were pledged to Tariff Reform. As a matter of fact they had gone into the

General Election of 1896 on the Ottawa Liberal Programme of 1894, which committed the Liberal party to a tariff for revenue only. They did not act on the Ottawa Programme in 1897 when the tariff was revised. Many of the schedules of the old Tory tariff were so rearranged as to give Canadian manufacturers increased protection against the United States; and the only absolutely new departure in the tariff of 1897 was the British Preference—the system under which imports from Great Britain and from the British Colonies pay only two-thirds of the duties imposed by the general tariff.

But the revision of the tariff in 1897 was preceded by a noteworthy and commendable innovation. Then, as in the case of the revision which is now in progress, three members of the Laurier Cabinet were organized as a Commission of inquiry, and held public hearings in Toronto, Montreal and several other large cities. After the revision of 1897 it was complained that, while this innovation was good, public hearings had not been held in a sufficiently large number of towns and cities to enable the Commissioners to ascertain with anything approximating certainty the general state of feeling in the Dominion on the fiscal policy. It was chiefly the farmers who made this complaint. They insisted that, while due care had been had to the convenience of the manufacturers who derived advantages from the tariff, no opportunities had been afforded to the farmers, on whom fell the burden of the protective system.

Due note was taken of the complaints that followed the tariff revision of 1896-97; and in 1905-6 the Tariff Commission so organized its work, and went so widely afield, that opportunity was afforded to every man in Canada—farmer, importer or manufacturer—to make his representations either as to changes in duties, or as to the fiscal policy of the Dominion in general.

Representative institutions and democratic government were surely never seen at work under better or more wholesome conditions than in connection with these hearings of the Tariff Commission. The Commission went to the people. It began on the Pacific Coast in the early days of September, 1905, and worked its way across the continent from Vancouver and Victoria to St. John, Charlottetown, Sydney, and Halifax, where its hearings came to an end on the 30th of January. The Commission had to zigzag across the continent; often to double back in its

journeys. The Ministers spent most of their nights on a railway car, equipped to serve both as a home and an office; and in fulfilment of their policy of giving everybody interested an opportunity of a hearing, they travelled fourteen thousand miles, and held sessions in between fifty and sixty towns.

All the sessions were open to the public, and due notice that they were open, and that everybody was entitled to a hearing, was given in advance—sometimes by poster, sometimes by advertisement in the local press—in every town and city that the Commission visited. Reporters and newspaper correspondents were in attendance at every session. Any man who cared to send in his name to the Secretary of the Commission, that it might be entered on the schedule of petitioners, was given a hearing. An American appearing before the Commission had only—like a Canadian—to produce his typewritten statement or petition; read it to the Commissioners; and then submit, just like the Canadian witnesses, to a pretty searching examination and cross-examination from the Commissioners' side of the table.

Early in the long tour there were witnesses who would have liked to talk with the Commissioners in private; and other witnesses who desired to submit data in confidence. But, when a witness was disposed to lower his voice, and talk only for the ear of the Commissioners, he was promptly told by Mr. Fielding, the President of the Commission, to speak up, so that the newspaper correspondents might hear; and, except as regards such matters as actual workshop costs, which were only very occasionally offered, the Commissioners refused to accept any confidential data. These open-door methods added enormously to the work of the Commission; as manufacturers who were assailed at one town turned up at another with statements in rebuttal.

High-protectionist manufacturers urging more protection against the United States and Great Britain; farmer deputations anxious to bring the Liberal party in Canada back to its policy of Opposition days of a "tariff for revenue only"; academic free-traders; advocates of single tax; and supporters and opponents of Chamberlain's propaganda for inter-Imperial trade based on a return to the protective system in Britain—all availed themselves of the sessions of the Commission; and in some cities the pressure of work was so great that the sessions were prolonged until midnight.

Members of the Hansard Corps at Ottawa accompanied the Commission all through its tour. A *verbatim* shorthand note was taken of all the petitions, and of the discussions which followed the petitions. Five typewritten copies of the transcript of these notes are now in existence. Printed in any one of the New York morning newspapers the transcript would need two thousand columns for its reproduction. Granted that much is said at all tariff hearings that is not so, it is none the less true that these notes are of enormous permanent value. They have been described as a Domesday Book for Canada; and they certainly are replete with first-hand information as to the industrial and social conditions of the Dominion in the opening years of the twentieth century—of the century which Sir Wilfrid Laurier has publicly predicted is to belong to Canada.

Before dealing with the significance of the Tariff Revision of 1805-6 as it concerns the United States, Canada and Great Britain, a few words are necessary as to why the tariff question was reopened. Canada is obviously prospering under the tariff of 1897, notwithstanding the preference which it gives to Great Britain. Canada's prosperity is the central fact in the Domesday Book to which I have referred. There is, however, in the Dominion an organization with widely extended ramifications known as the Canadian Manufacturers' Association. This association has never liked the British preference; and ever since the Dingley Act came into force it has been agitating for a Canadian tariff patterned in every schedule and in every detail on the Dingley model. "Dingley rates all through the tariff, and retaliation against the United States at every possible point," was the slogan of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association from about 1900 to 1904. The Association got the Tory politicians at Ottawa on its side; and scores of newspapers all over Canada—some avowedly Tory and some not—danced to its piping.

The movement grew in strength—or, rather, it was so dexterously worked that it appeared to grow; and the result was that, at the Dominion General Election in 1904, the Laurier Government gave a pledge that the tariff should be revised in the Parliamentary session of 1906. By this time—that is, at the end of the tariff hearings by the Commission—the Manufacturers' Association doubtless wishes that it had let well alone; for the tariff hearings have developed among the farmers in every Province

of Canada a strong movement against any additional protection to Canadian manufacturers, and an equally strong sentiment in favor of the British preference that was established in 1897.

Farmers all over Canada—in the Province of Quebec, as well as in the Provinces where the farming population is of English and Scotch origin—were enthusiastic in support of the British preference, and that for three well-defined reasons. First, they regarded it as a valuable sentimental tie to the Old Country; second, it affords them some relief from high duties in the tariff intended to protect Canadian manufacturers; and, third, by developing a larger westward trade between British ports and the ports of Montreal, Quebec, Halifax and St. John, it tends to cheapen ocean transport charges on farm products which are exported from Canada to Great Britain.

The strength of the popular movement in favor of the preference was one of the disagreeable surprises in the tariff hearings for the Canadian Manufacturers' Association; and another *contre-temps* for the Association came when the Commission happened to hold a week's session in Toronto just at the time that the Provincial Crown Prosecutor there discovered that in Ontario there were seventy combines in restraint of trade, and instituted proceedings against many of them in the criminal courts.

This was really a tragic mishap for the Canadian Manufacturers' Association; for, at every hearing before the Tariff Commission up to that time, manufacturing witnesses who appeared to ask for more protection, alike against the United States and Great Britain, had invariably given the Commission the assurance that there was sufficiently keen competition within the domestic industry to prevent prices from being advanced, if the higher duties they asked were conceded. "All we want," these witnesses had repeatedly told the Commission, "is to secure the trade that now goes to the United States or to Great Britain." "We have no intention," they usually added, "of raising prices"; while, as to combines, they had heard that these existed in the United States, but there were surely none in Canada!

Many of these witnesses may have been speaking sincerely; but, as the result of the Toronto exposures, and of the petitions which were submitted to the Commission in that city, it is almost certain that in the tariff of 1906 there will be a clause constituting a new bureau in the Customs Department at Ottawa.

Its chief will be a lawyer; and it will be his statutory duty to conduct, at the public expense, prosecutions of combines, under the clause in the existing tariff, which makes it possible by Order-in-Council—that is practically by resolution of the Dominion Cabinet—to withdraw the protection that any industry enjoys under the tariff, when it has been proved in the courts that a combine exists, that competition is at an end, and that prices are being forced up and maintained at the tariff limit. As the clause now stands, it rests with John Doe or any other man willing to incur the expense to prove in the courts that a combine has brought itself within the reach of the anti-combine clause; and the expense and the risks are so great that, although the anti-combine clause has been part of the Dominion tariff since 1898, the paper trade is the only interest against which an Order-in-Council withdrawing favors has ever gone into operation.

Before the strong movement against higher duties had developed on the part of the farmers, and before the exposures of the combines at Toronto and Hamilton, the Manufacturers' Association had been told most definitely by the Commission that no heed would be given to the demands for Dingley rates, and that the Commission would not favor a policy of retaliation against the United States. The members of the Manufacturers' Association came before the commission in sections. Sometimes they appeared as the representatives of particular trades or industries. At other places they appeared as the representatives of the Provincial organizations of the Association. This was the case at the city of Quebec; and again at St. John. No matter in what capacity the members appeared, they almost invariably asked for higher duties against imports both from the United States and from Great Britain; and usually retaliation against the United States was part of their request. This was especially so at St. John, New Brunswick, where the feeling against the Dingley Act was more bitter than at any other city in which the Commission held its sessions. Dingley rates and retaliation were so strongly pressed at St. John that there Mr. Fielding felt called upon to explain why the Commission would give no sanction to either plea. It was a short and epigrammatic explanation, as Mr. Fielding's pronouncements usually were. He told the New Brunswick section of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association that to adopt Dingley rates would simplify matters enormously for

the Commission, and make the revision of the Canadian tariff an easy matter; but that the result of such a policy would inevitably be that the Canadian tariff would be framed, not at Ottawa, but at Washington.

The Canadian Manufacturers' Association assailed the British preference with almost as much vigor and persistence as it did the Dingley Act—only to be told, however, from the Commissioners' side of the table, that the preference was to stand; that it was to be greatly extended; and that, as the Government realized the enormous value which the sentimental preference for Canadian produce in Great Britain had been to the Dominion export trade, it was one of the objects of the Commission to ascertain how, by changes in the Canadian tariff, a return could be made to Great Britain for this preference for Canadian produce.

It is in connection with this extension of the British preference that the Canadian Tariff Revision of 1906 has most significance for the ports and railways and the manufacturers of the United States. Remarks like those I have quoted, dropped from time to time from the Commissioners at these tariff hearings, make it clear that in the new tariff the British preference is to be so rearranged as to make it obviously to the advantage of two distinct sets of Canadian business and industrial interests to buy in Great Britain rather than in the United States or Germany. Importers handling manufactured goods which are not made in Canada, and which are not likely to be made there for some time to come, are to be encouraged by low duties—duties which are likely to be on a basis of a tariff for revenue only—to obtain them in Great Britain; and Canadian manufacturers engaged in secondary industries are to be similarly encouraged to import their raw material, which is often the finished product of other manufacturers, from England or Scotland rather than, as now, from the United States.

Changes in the free list, as well as in the dutiable schedules, will be necessary to these ends; and, although for a little while these changes will dislocate many Canadian industries, and throw certain lines of industry out of their accustomed channels, I feel that I am hazarding very little when I predict that these changes in the free list and in the schedules will be made in the tariff of 1906. The Ottawa Government is obviously bent on throwing as much as practicable of the import trade of the Dominion into

British hands. It has always known that the preference of 1897 has made the Laurier Government immensely popular in England; that it has made the year 1897 one of good import in the history of the British Empire; and that, as a result of the bold departure then made, Canada has ever since been the most popular, and by far the best advertised of all the British oversea possessions.

The Ottawa Government also now knows that the preference is extremely popular with all but the manufacturing interests in Canada; that the farming population, which has profited most by the British sentimental preference for Canadian agricultural products, is overwhelmingly in favor of the Canadian preference for Great Britain. In 1897, when Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Mr. Fielding made what might not inaptly be described as "a leap in the dark," and surprised equally Canada and Great Britain by a preferential tariff for Great Britain, the Government could only conjecture that the people of Canada would commend the new departure. They did commend it at two General Elections —in 1900 and 1904—by returning the Liberals to power with largely increased majorities in the Dominion House of Commons; and, moreover, the hearings before the Tariff Commission have since then proved manifestly and abundantly that the British preference is immensely popular all over rural Canada. With the support of rural Canada behind it, and urging it forward as a Government was never before urged forward in any line of policy, the Laurier Government in the new tariff will do all that is practicable to bring Canada and Great Britain into still closer trade relationship. It will do this altogether independently of the recent fate of Mr. Chamberlain's propaganda; because the preference of 1897 has been of even greater value to Canada than to Great Britain, and because this preference has greatly strengthened the sentimental ties between the Dominion and the Old Country; and has strengthened them, it should be noted, without throwing the least strain on the people of Great Britain, or causing any of the dangerous friction that must inevitably and immediately have resulted had any serious attempt been made to establish closer inter-Imperial trade relations, on the lines which the British electorate has so recently repudiated.

There will be some agreeable surprises for Great Britain in the preferential clauses of the new tariff; and, consequently, a new and keen interest will be awakened in Great Britain in the

extended trade opportunities which are soon to be offered in Canada. These clauses may have also some surprises for American ports and American railways—surprises which will be disturbing to some of these American interests. All will depend on the attitude which the Tariff Commission and the Laurier Government finally adopt towards a movement, which, when the Commission was on tour, developed its greatest strength at Montreal, Quebec, St. John and Halifax.

In recent years, since the preference stimulated trade with Great Britain, British imports of the value of from twenty-two to twenty-five millions annually have reached Canada *viâ* Portland, Boston, New York, and other American Atlantic ports. These imports are mostly consigned to Toronto and distributing centres west of Toronto; and they follow routes which were well established long before there was any idea of preferential treatment for Great Britain. Halifax and St. John have looked with increasingly envious eyes on the shipping and transport business which this Western Canadian trade now throws to the American Atlantic ports; and just as soon as the preference was enacted, these ports began to move for such an amendment to the preference clauses as would deny the reduction in duties to all British imports which are not landed at Canadian ports. The agitation is older than that of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association for Dingley rates and retaliation. Nine out of ten of all the Boards of Trade in Canada have been induced to support the movement on the part of the Canadian ports; and, when the Tariff Commission was in the Maritime Provinces, in the early weeks of January last, no petition was pressed upon it with more zeal than the petitions in favor of amending the preferential tariff clauses in such a way as to divert the increased trade with Great Britain, due to the preference, from American ports, and so direct it that it shall mean largely increased business for Canadian steamship lines, ports and railways.

At St. John and at Halifax, as at Quebec earlier in the tour, this change in the preference tariff was pressed upon the Commission. At St. John the pressure was almost vehement; and the impatience of the partisans of the New Brunswick port for some favorable expression of opinion from the Commission was so marked that, to relieve the constraint and clear the way for the next business, Mr. Fielding intimated that, as a Maritime Prov-

ince man—he was formerly editor of the "Halifax Chronicle," and later on Premier of Nova Scotia before he joined the Laurier Government as Minister of Finance in 1896—the movement had his warmest sympathy. He cautiously added, however, that there were other sides to the question that had not come before the Commission.

This was taken to mean that, if the amendment were made, and trade diverted from American ports by a statute of the Dominion Parliament, the bonding privilege now long enjoyed by both Canadian and American railways might be endangered by action at Washington; and, to offset this apprehended danger, the statement was made by the eager supporters of the amendment that it was only necessary to turn to the figures to realize that the bonding privilege is of much greater value to American than to Canadian railways. The Commissioners were more non-committal on this disturbing issue than on almost any other question which came before them. What policy the Laurier Government will finally decide upon will not be known until Mr. Fielding submits the new tariff to the House of Commons. If there are no changes in the direction urged, and if, as is practically certain, the new tariff is so framed as to add to the volume of British imports, there will be much heart-burning and keen disappointment along the Canadian Atlantic seaboard, from St. Andrew and St. Stephen on the St. Croix River to Quebec and Montreal on the St. Lawrence.

While there are to be no Dingley rates and no retaliation against the United States, and while the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, as a whole, is to gain little by the revision, there are some aggressive American industrial interests which are likely to find themselves hurt by the new tariff. What Canada can do for or against the United States Steel Corporation is, after all, a small matter for such a gigantic concern. But the Steel Corporation's attitude towards the billet, steel rod, wire and nail industries in Canada has brought it into much ill odor. Canadians resent the threats of the Steel Corporation, as exposed before the Commission at St. John, to wipe out the nail industry there; and they also resent the terms on which it, or an allied concern, parcels out the wire business of the Dominion; and as just now the Canadian steel industry—the manufacture of rails and wire rods—is showing more vitality than at any previous

time in the industrial history of Canada, changes in the tariff which will stimulate these lines of industry, and dislodge the Steel Corporation from its hold on Canadian business, will meet with popular approval.

The change will be all the more popular if, as is probable, the dislodgment of the United States Steel Corporation is effected by clauses in the tariff which will throw part of the business hitherto controlled by the Steel Corporation to plants located in the north of England or in Scotland. Such a diversion of trade will be popular in Canada for another reason. It will add to the volume of westward freights from Great Britain; and the preference clauses are to be framed with this end in view, as well as to divert trade from the United States to Great Britain.

Other American interests likely to be adversely affected, not by retaliatory legislation, but by the adjustment of the Canadian tariff to Canada's needs, or to a trade policy favorable to the British Empire, are the paper industry; the publication of magazines; the American shoe trade; and the American corporations which lease machinery for service in shoe-factories.

American paper-mills are in danger from the agitation in the Province of Quebec for heavy export duties on pulp wood. The paper-manufacturers at Three Rivers originated this plea; and it also received much support elsewhere—notably at New Castle, New Brunswick,—on the ground that Canada should keep its supplies of raw material, and that if American paper-manufacturers need Canadian pulp wood they should transfer their manufacturing plants to Canada.

The danger to American popular magazines comes partly from Canadian publishers, but chiefly from Canadian manufacturers. Five or six million copies of American magazines are now sold annually in Canada. They are all loaded down with American advertising; and the case against them is that this advertising transfers an increasingly large amount of Canadian money to the United States every year; and that, as it is useless for a Canadian manufacturer to advertise in the United States, because he can make no sales with the Dingley Tariff against him, this American advertising should be excluded. The magazines cannot be excluded altogether; but the Tariff Commission received with significant commendation at Toronto a suggestion made by representatives of the Canadian Press Association, an organiza-

tion of newspaper and magazine publishers, that an Australian expedient should be adopted, by which heavy duties are levied on foreign magazines which carry more than ten or fifteen per cent. of advertising.

Another argument advanced before the Commission against American magazines will tell against them when the printed-matter schedules of the tariff are being finally revised. It is objected that these magazines, as well as the matter which is sent over the border from stereotyping houses and literary syndicate bureaus in various American cities, are not Empire-building in tone or character. There is a feeling also that Canada is too dependent on the United States for reading-matter; so that, if heavy duties are imposed on American magazines in the new tariff, provision will be made for encouraging English magazines which carry Empire-building reading-matter; and no English magazine will be permitted to encounter trouble at the Canadian custom-house because of the amount of British advertising that it carries.

The machinery corporations in this country which lease machinery to Canadian manufacturers are in danger for much the same reason as the United States Steel Corporation. They are regarded as aggressive and arbitrary. Most of the complaints made to the Tariff Commission under this head concerned the leasing of machinery for shoe-factories. Copies of leases of these machines were submitted to the Commission at the city of Quebec; and the attention of the Commission was specially directed to the clauses which compel lessees to buy all the wire and findings for use on the machines from the corporations leasing the machines at prices arbitrarily fixed by the corporation. These shoe-machinery corporations may expect to be hit in two ways. Higher duties—duties which will be almost prohibitive—may be imposed on the product of these machines made in American factories, now sold in large quantities in Canada; and there may be amendments to the Canadian patent laws which will have the effect of relieving Canadian hirers of these American machines from the onerous obligations into which they have now to contract themselves. Great Britain long ago amended its patent laws so as to make it impossible for the owners of patents to dictate arbitrary terms for the use of patented machinery; and Canada is likely to turn to the British statute-book to find a means of relief from

conditions such as those of which the Canadian shoe-manufacturers so grievously complained to the Tariff Commission.

Three other features of the 1905-6 tariff hearings are of much significance for Canada, and not without present interest for the United States. The protective policy of Canada is to be permanent. The Commissioners made this clear at Chatham, Ontario, when a farmers' deputation recalled the Liberal pledges of a "Tariff for Revenue Only"—the pledges of the years when the Liberals were in Opposition—and pressed for the reason why these pledges had not been implemented when the Liberals were returned to power at Ottawa in 1896. The Commission, through Mr. Paterson, the Minister of Customs, gave the reason. It was that the Government, when it came into power, could not face the responsibility of the demoralization in finance, business and industry, which must have ensued had they abandoned the protective system built up by the Tories between 1879 and 1896.

The tariff inquiry has also established the fact that reciprocity with the United States is a dead issue in Canada. Where responsibility for this lies need not be here discussed; but it may be stated that the Dingley Act killed the movement for reciprocity in Canada, and that, with the preference for Great Britain in 1897, and the sentimental preference which Great Britain has since then so markedly extended to Canada, the reciprocity movement is dead beyond all possibility of early resurrection. The Maritime Provinces were for years the stronghold of the reciprocity movement, as these Provinces had enjoyed many advantages under the old Elgin-Marcy Treaty. But, when the Tariff Commission was in the cities of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, reciprocity was not even mentioned; and, as I have stated, retaliation against the United States was more outspokenly and vigorously advocated in the Maritime Provinces than in any other part of the Dominion covered by the Tariff Commission tour.

The third fact demonstrated by the tariff hearings is that Canadian manufacturers and high protectionists generally have now well-nigh abandoned the "infant industries plea." There are not more than half a dozen infant industry appeals on the voluminous records of the Commission, if the pleas for bounties for ship-building are expected. The new plea of the Canadian manufacturers, all along the line, was that they should be given more protection in the tariff to enable them to specialize as

American manufacturers do, and also enable them, like American manufacturers, to reach out for an export business.

Great Britain had two distinct interests in the Tariff Revision —the future of the preference, and the attitude of Canada towards Mr. Chamberlain's propaganda. As I have shown, the preference is safe, and more than safe. As regards Mr. Chamberlain's scheme for the taxation of foodstuffs in Great Britain, in order that Great Britain might establish statutory as distinct from sentimental preferences for Canadian products, the records of the Commission will prove that it is as dead as the question of reciprocity with the United States. Canada is the king-pin in Mr. Chamberlain's scheme. Yet there were only three commendations of it; while the manufacturers hammered at it at every session of the Commission. They did not attack Mr. Chamberlain's scheme as such; but they hammered unmercifully at the British preference. Some of them spoke of London and Liverpool as "foreign" ports; and of Englishmen who came to Canada in search of orders for British factories as "foreigners."

In thus attacking the preference the Canadian manufacturers consciously or unconsciously struck heavily and disastrously at Mr. Chamberlain's idea of inter-Imperial trade; and no one who travelled with the Commission, and day after day sat out its sessions, as was my great privilege, nor any one who will undertake the tremendous task of reading through the transcript of the notes of the Commission, can come to any other conclusion than that the tariff hearings have demonstrated that Mr. Chamberlain's scheme is an impossibility.

It is fortunate for the Government at Ottawa that this has been demonstrated, and still more fortunate for Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his colleagues that the British electorate has so overwhelmingly repudiated Mr. Chamberlain's fiscal ideas; for, had Mr. Chamberlain been placed at the head of a Protectionist Government at Westminster, the Cabinet at Ottawa would have soon been in a more embarrassing position than any colonial government since the era of the Stamp Act and the American Revolution. Mr. Chamberlain's scheme must be based on concessions by Canada which no Canadian Government can possibly make as long as the system of protection to Canadian industries, established by Macdonald and the Tories, survives.

EDWARD PORRITT.

# RECENT SPECULATIONS UPON IMMORTALITY.

BY LOUISE COLLIER WILLCOX.

WHENEVER the flood of life is at the full, then, too, the sense of death is most copious. It is not the sluggish nor the half-alert who, in all the inevitable round of hourly changes, feels the looming shadow of the ultimate passing as it approaches. Rather is it he who in every nerve is alive who feels most keenly the trickling by of the hours, and who strives to hold at bay the great Invader, lingering like a child upon the shore eager to cast one last pebble before the sun goes down.

The Elizabethan and the Victorian eras, both periods of resplendent vitality, have been notably preoccupied with the sense of death. If they of the earlier time sowed broadcast more magnificent and enlightening phrases, we of the later may at least claim to have been more impartial, more eager, if by any means it might be accomplished, to come at some glimmering of exact truth. The contemplative descriptions of the Elizabethan period have become treatises, in which, from all the known data of the world, men have endeavored to plummet the ocean of the unknown. The method only is different. The poets then were as eager as the scientists are now to fathom the meaning of the strange contradiction of life. The pity and terror of death, its mystery and its liberation, haunted them. Nowhere more strikingly set down is the whole awe of it than in Ferdinand's short speech over the body of his dead sister, killed by his own rapacious cruelty:

> "Cover her face; mine eyes dazzle; she died young."

The solitude, the breaking off with all sweet customs of life, with "youth, strength, pleasure, people, time, nay reason"; its gruesomeness, "so full of fearful shadows"; its dis-

gust, "to lie in cold obstruction and to rot," this sensibly warm motion to become "a kneaded clod," "to be imprisoned in the viewless winds, and blown with restless violence about the pendent world,"—all these aspects of our evanescence haunted the imagination even as now, and at times the sense of it touched those buoyant people with a world-weariness fit to belong to the nineteenth century.

> "'Tis less than to be born, a lasting sleep;
> A quiet resting from all jealousy."

> "It is but giving over of a game
> That must be lost."

There were then, as well, those who took the scientific path and examined closely, like Sir Thomas Browne, into the minutiæ of death, modes of burial, the uses of the ashes of dead bodies, the significance and derivation of the rites performed, the contradiction of the human state where the flowing present and the imperfect image of the past are man's only possession and the future an impenetrable veil, and who found in the end that nothing was immortal but immortality, that elaborate burial was but a futile antic, that the strongest monuments crumble, and that a man has nothing to lean upon but his own faith. Drummond of Hawthornden, too, in his "Cypress Grove," strolled in meditative leisure over the whole ground; he argued the existence of the soul from those incomprehensible powers in this life that forecast disasters, see apparitions and give signs, feel secret foreknowledge and presagings. He offers it as solace that, as we do not despair in the evils of life seeing that Providence overcomes them, neither should we despair in the last and greatest of evils, death. Birth, he tells us, is a mysterious change, no less than death; all things have their season and then perish; human honors and delights are empty; desire is futile and self-deceptive; and, finally, he points out how intolerable a creature a man would be, were he not mortal, were it not for the continual renewing of the species on the earth, and for the dignity and tragedy with which his necessary passing invests each man. He, too, ends the whole matter on the note of faith:

> "This world is as a cabinet to God, in which the small things (however to us hid and secret) are nothing less keeped than the great. For as He was wise and powerful to create, so doth His knowledge com-

**prehend His own creation. . . . Not any atom of the scattered dust of mankind, tho' daily flowing under new forms, is to Him unknown; and His knowledge doth distinguish and discern what once His power shall awake and raise up. . . . That time doth approach in which the dead shall live and the living be changed, and of all actions the guerdon is at hand."**

It is interesting to note that but little progress has been made since then. The centuries have passed, and practically little more is to be said to-day upon man's problematic future. Nearly every form of modern speculation has been forecast. Greater stress is laid in our days upon knowing the self and definitely making up one's mind as to what it is that is to be perpetuated. Only a well-knit personality, and one of definite outline, is perceptible against the shifting scenery of this world. The journey to ourselves is far to make and difficult. As in Atalanta's race, the ground is strewn with golden apples, and an irresistible desire to stoop and possess the fruits of the earth conquers us. It is all too easy to lose sight of that dazzling darkness toward which we journey. Plunging our whole being into life, consumed by the sense of generation, death, regeneration, we become of the very stuff of mortality and mutability; we miss our chance to sound the depths of consciousness, to find the point of stability and maintain the victor's attitude in the face of the everlasting flux. Life, once despoiled of its decorative garments, wavers between two points, the effort of philosophy to know and the effort of religion to feel. By one or the other of these, a man must hold himself still in a whirling universe, must learn to realize himself and possess his soul. Michael Angelo, self-centred as few men have ever been, complained at the last that on numbering over his days he could not find one which had belonged to himself. Subtract from life the time given to things bodily, sleep, food, exercise and the accumulation of money, and the time given to things casual, intercourse, public duties and pleasures, external observances and vain dissipation of energy, and the portion of life left for that solitary journey to ourselves is indeed scant. Chateaubriand once said: "Happiness is to be ignorant of self, and to arrive at death without ever having felt one's self live." But this is an exact contradiction of the truth. If it were true, the achievement of a violet would be greater than the achievement of Socrates. But the truth is, happiness is ful-

ness of being, and consists in that knowledge of self which feels its own stability, its resistance to the mutability about it.

Modern literature has strained after many ways of extending and intensifying personality. Barrés, the aggressive French individualist, so representative of his class, has recommended the means of pride and of domination, totally overlooking the fact that by relations only is this life enriched. Life for him is an opportunity for pillage and booty. He vivifies all nature, adorns the memory by strange sights and sounds, courting the quickening power of unaccustomed experiences and hours,—the evening when all the flowers take on color, when contours stand out, everything lives anew and glows into speech. He seems to endow nature with spirit and an articulate organism; history he uses to extend the personality across the ages, and to incite himself to keener humility and higher pride than may belong to the single individual. Beauty, beauty ever flowing, vanishing away as we look, is to him an incitement to grasp with deeper and keener sensibility the moment of life. It is the same tendency that leads Pater to warn us, in the Conclusion to the "Renaissance," to force every instant to yield up its guerdon of quickened sensibilities and multiplied consciousness, to care for the quality of the moment as it flies; it is the same warning iterated and reiterated throughout Goethe, and which makes inevitably for the high experience of the true humanist.

This is the attitude toward life with which Mr. Santayana* is most closely allied. In his "Reason in Religion," he gives us that incisive and clean-cut representation of life which is the fruit of the penetrating power of the critical intelligence devoid of the smelting and fusing power of a spiritual experience. Mr. Santayana's plea is that the categories of reason should be applied to every department of life, and that mortality thus lifted to its highest powers would make the here and the now its own sufficient and completed reward. He is concerned to show that there is not, and never has been, any other revelation than that of the slow development of human reason. The Christian Epic, dried out and rationalized by him, loses its glow and inspiration, and it is obvious that thus presented it would cease to be a great moving power.

* "The Life of Reason—Vol. III—Reason in Religion," by George Santayana. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905.

That religion teaches and has always taught by symbols and not by facts Mr. Santayana truly enough emphasizes, and that literal interpretation can belong only to the elementary intelligence. But where Mr. Santayana is hardly emphatic enough is in not laying stress upon the fact that who delves beneath the symbol for significance comes ultimately at a truth unfailingly vital to man in all ages. It is true enough that the average heaven presented by the old promises is no longer alluring. The heaven of the Old Testament, the city inside four walls, with its streets of gold, jewel-set portals, and its unrelieved Jewish glitter and hardness, means very little now. Modern religion can offer us no descriptive heaven which would be accepted by the sophisticated consciousness. The gold and silver and gems of the Old Testament would be comfortable only to the Jews; and the well-watered gardens where Mohammed lounges drinking sherbets and transfixed by the glances of lovely maidens " all innocence and fire," with which Mr. Santayana mirthfully expresses himself as satisfied, leave the present writer utterly untouched. The very presence of Mohammed and the gazellelike maidens, who somehow suggest a troop of giggling and unripe schoolgirls, would make it uninhabitable. As for Nirvana, that has the virtue of being vague, but it is too empty to be a real incitement to effort. The meeting again of friends in an infinity of love and bliss, which is the heaven treasured by many affectionate hearts, fails too and has its own element of crudity. In the first place, human beings are precious to us by virtue of their limitations and our own. They are dear because they share our burdens, or because in an indifferent and unlistening world they understand the secret tortures of our suffering, or because they accept our care and affection, and feel our existence as an alleviation of their own ills, and thus furnish us with an added reason for being. They are, too, the dearer for the very fact of their evanescence. All love foresees loss and suffering. All love clings closer because we foretaste and tremble at the dawning division. In a world where there was no suffering, no prospect of change or loss or alienation, it would seem the emotions would be greatly diminished, or, at any rate, so unself-conscious as hardly to be reckoned among the joys of existence. So that there is little to fall back upon and cling to outside of the golden and mystic utterance of Christ: " In my Father's house are many mansions. If it were not so "

—if, indeed, death and despair were the final word upon human life—"I would have told you." And it comes closely linked with the command to overcome the world and its tribulations, to establish the soul's poise upon a definite trust in the unrevealed, eternal issues; for, being of a generation as yet unable to accept and put into practice what we have of earthly truth, we cannot expect heavenly revelations. Doubtless there is much in Herbert Spencer's suggestion that there is probably a "mode of being as much transcending intelligence and will as these transcend mere mechanical motion."

One point made by Mr. Santayana, and one too rarely noted, is the tendency of dogmatic religion to become, by reason perhaps of its very concreteness, a mere détour from, and return to, the path of worldliness. Upon this rock the Roman church shattered, and upon this again the Protestant sects are breaking and becoming mainly philanthropic organizations, infinitely helpful to democracy and to the forging of the links of human brotherhood, but losing more and more the element of devotional worship, and the power of bringing the soul into communion with its Creator. Philosophy and mysticism, being abstract and meditative, seem to hold these clues, and the churches which admit them will have the strongest hold over mankind.

In his treatment of mysticism as a function of the elementary consciousness or as a momentary disintegration of the trained consciousness, Mr. Santayana has fallen short. The mystic sense, like the truly religious sense, is an inner experience and one not to be disproved by the outsider and the uninitiate. Mr. Santayana's *dicta* upon this head have only the value of the vision of a blind man, or of a dissertation upon love by a professor who has been so absorbed in pedagogics that he has never had time or impulse to feel, and has only carefully classified and labelled the phenomena of the great passion.

But, when all is said, Mr. Santayana has given us a valuable contribution to modern analyses of religious motives, not so much because he has built up any very satisfying theory, as because with keen and concise logic, and that austere classicism which marks both his expression and his mode of thought, he has laid bare unworthy and unbalanced theories. His constructive work is entirely confined to showing that, the categories of reason applied to life, and the daily course guided by a high and trained in-

telligence (a gift, alas! not to be had for the asking, though Mr. Santayana seems to overlook this obvious fact), life here and now may, indeed will, be its own reward.

Dr. Saleeby,* though a Spencerian and an evolutionist, and as distant as possible in method from Mr. Santayana, yet arrives at practically the same conclusions. As to the ultimate nature of things man knows nothing and can know nothing; strict scientists do not even yet see their way toward any such generalizations concerning phenomenal mind as they have framed concerning phenomenal matter; but it is open to them to believe, as Dr. Saleeby affirms he *does* believe, that the unknowable reality of which consciousness is the fleeting manifestation is also eternal and changeless, however inexpressible and unthinkable such reality may be. In the end, he sums up, whatever theory serves as a basis for fine action justifies itself.

The scientific spirit of the nineteenth century has led man to climb up the ladder of his own imagination, to seize upon his cloudy dreamland and to dissect it. Having made an eternity of bliss, he has begun to analyze it and to question whether, even if it were possible to prove it, it would be desirable. A form of consciousness unattached to an organism is hard to conceive; a form of consciousness worthy of unbroken and unending continuity is unthinkable, and only by metaphysical shifts can the mind face the idea. Dr. Saleeby can give us no further solace from his evolutionary doctrine than that change is inevitable, and that whatever is fittest to environment will survive. That the survival of the fittest need not necessarily mean survival of the best and highest is obvious. "The conditions may be such that mercy, justice and genius cannot survive under them, while brutality, fraud and convention can." This alone lies in the keeping of man. Maeterlinck to the contrary, we cannot foresee an era when man shall steer his planet at will through the spheres, but in the realm of spiritual destiny and of social environment each will tells, however little. The drift of the tide is indifferent to man's welfare, and only by definite and deliberate effort shall we create an environment in which the noblest hearts shall not be shattered and mutilated.

So that if, on the one hand, prolonged and elaborated speculation seems futile, a myopic indifference to the future, on the

* Saleeby, "Evolution, The Master-key." Harper & Brothers, 1906.

other, means the lowering of standards and the deterioration of environment for future generations. Indeed, it is by means of what seems at times futile reflection that we come at any sense of proportionate values.

So we run up against one of the endless paradoxes of life—that, as the value of the moment depends upon the sense of eternity, so eternity itself seems to be compact of the quality of the fleeting moments.

The real beauty of the scientific standpoint—its refusal to juggle with facts and its demand that the soul, instead of yearning into the dim inane, shall give the highest quality to the moment as it passes—comes out in Professor Münsterberg's* graceful monologue, "The Eternal Life." Extension in time, he points out, is after all no more to be desired than extension in space; and the quality of the soul of a man would be no finer if he stretched up to the moon and across to the ends of the earth. Personality is not *in* time nor *of* it. Itself is creator of both time and space and places objects therein, but itself remains free. To question how long the soul endures, Professor Münsterberg thinks, is like questioning whether the will is round or square, and how many pounds it weighs. Eternity is not duration, but it is the quality of the instant. There is a curious experience known to most men at some period in their lives, when they feel this without being able to give actual account of it—moments when the street before us, for example, with its weighty brick houses, suddenly seems no more than a wavering and indistinct cloudland, utterly lacking in stability and concreteness, or what we call "reality," and when nothing seems actual and lasting but the moral values we have set upon life. In some such sense, it would be quite possible that he who utterly and hopelessly condemns himself should be indeed cast into everlasting darkness, and the quality of that moment of despair be stamped upon its face once and forever.

One point that Professor Münsterberg seems to overlook, in enumerating the reasons men have for desiring immortality, is the longing of most souls to come into completer relations with perfection. They have yearned for God because they have yearned for a fuller being, because they want to know a justice and a charity they themselves could never compass. It is the feeling

* Hugo Münsterberg, "The Eternal Life." Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1905.

that makes Browning insist so strenuously upon the fulfilment of an after-life:

> "On earth the broken arc, in heaven the perfect round;"

the feeling so hauntingly present that, cope with life as we will and to the very best of our powers, it yet remains maimed and fragmentary; and the verdict of the staunchest optimist of the Victorian era is true for most men of developed consciousness:

> "Howsoever came my fate,
> Sorrow did and joy did nowise—life well weighed—preponderate."

The impossibility of conceiving of indefinite duration for so limited a creature as man Professor Münsterberg points out. If he is to live forever, then he must live as something utterly different from his present limited personality.

Just this very fact of the thwarting limitations of this life, of its imperfections and half-development, is the greatest proof of future fulfilment to writers like Mr. Crothers,* who, in his "The Endless Life," again reiterates that the only continuance conceivable to man is spiritual development, wholly divorced from monotonous and endless repetition. To the critically trained mind, historical evidence is too weak to lean upon. The attempts of psychical research to assure us of the lingering about of our dead, their undignified attempts to establish their identity by locating gold-headed canes and repeating trite secrets, are both disheartening and disillusioning. If this were the form of future existence, "dust to dust" and an end of all would be infinitely more consoling. Once again the weight of evidence is simply that, as man becomes more and more alert to the divine issues of the present life, more and more can he afford to throw himself trustfully upon the things which do not yet appear.

As for Dr. Osler's† contribution to the subject, it has only the value of one more testimony that the whole question of immortality lies outside the domain of science, and that the scientific method is likely ever to stand paralyzed by the magnificent assumptions of faith. Dr. Osler's argument that man cares very little about immortality, as evidenced by his own notes taken at

* Samuel McChord Crothers, "The Endless Life." Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1905.

† William Osler, M.D., "Science and Immortality." Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1905.

five hundred different death-beds, is neither weighty nor illuminating. In a large number of deaths resulting from age, weakness, or prolonged sickness, there is apt to come before the end a noticeable mood of detachment, and with it a great secretiveness or self-sufficiency. A curious and delicate observer may note this mood over and over again—a certain drawing into itself of the soul's interests and an inability and unwillingness to give out its preoccupations. These would probably have been the cases labelled by Dr. Osler "indifferent and unconscious." To say, too, as Dr. Osler does, that men are not interested in immortality, because they do not buttonhole their neighbors and talk about it in the street, is puerile and inadequate. We do not buttonhole our neighbors to talk about the recent death of our only son, or our most exultant and absorbing love-affair, but that is no proof that we do not care. Indeed, it seems to be a part of the law of the ultimate isolation of the soul that its deepest interests are held concealed and protected from other men. Again, Dr. Osler uses these terms: "If we believed in the immortality of the soul, and that the status of souls in all eternity depended on their belief at the moment when they are called to their account;" but these are two utterly separate convictions, in no wise necessarily linked together, and, as a matter of fact, rarely enough so in life. In the end, Dr. Osler admits the twofold nature of man, grants the heart its own claim, and ends with an allusion to the suspended judgment of the greatest of idealists.

Ostwald's "Individuality and Immortality"* attempts to offer no other immortality than the racial instinct, the desire to complete our lives in our children and our children's children, or in our self-sacrificing works for the good of humanity. That such a motive can appeal only to the highly developed consciousness is very evident. We could hardly console Johnnie for his own cut finger by saying: "Don't cry; see, Elizabeth's finger is perfectly sound and well!" and when the creature is going through the slow torture which wins a higher consciousness from him, nothing, absolutely nothing, consoles, but the definite conviction that that fuller and richer consciousness is to be born, and that all works toward one "far-off divine event."

* "Individuality and Immortality," by Wilhelm Ostwald, Professor of Physical Chemistry at the University of Leipzig, Temporary Professor of Harvard College. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1906.

One point of interest in all this speculation, and one that actually rises to the mind as we consider our desire for personal continuation, is the fact that in this life all higher forms of happiness are connected with a distinct sense of the loss of personality. That virtue consists largely in the "heart at leisure from itself," that the most fortunate endowment of genius is the impersonal intellect and a free and wide-roving curiosity, goes without saying. But, also, the rapture and the ecstasy of love are simply the joyous laying aside of one's own life for another's. The bliss of motherhood expresses the same craving of human nature for self-surrender; and, finally, and in its highest form, the experience of all the saints and martyrs, all the soldiers in great causes, all the free lances fighting for an ideal, is an experience of the laying aside of the personal will and yielding to the desire to obey an outer and a self-relieving command.

A work of great speculative interest is Edward Carpenter's "Art of Creation."* His method and his matter do not belong strictly to the scientific field; but his unhesitating assertions of the powers of the self are in a high degree suggestive and exhilarating. It seems fairly true that man is only beginning to realize his power over nature and its agencies, and the developments of the last century point toward the fact that he may do much to extend his creative and controlling powers. "The brain and self-consciousness," says Carpenter, "are mere midwives attending the great birth of the soul. The brain must cease its terrified and insatiate quest, and man must learn to glide below it into the quiet feeling of his own identity with the self of all things." Thus his consciousness deepens to that of universal life, where there are no divided interests, rivalries and recriminations cease, and their place is taken by a profound and intense realization of the unity and common life of all races and creatures. Then the individual is no longer "under the domination of the body and its heredity; but, rising out of the tomb, becomes lord and master of the body's powers and identified with the immortal self of the world." This is the ultimate deliverance from self which brings to birth complete joy in the here and now.

* "The Art of Creation; Essays on the Self and its Powers," by Edward Carpenter. New York, The Macmillan Co.; London, George Allen. 1905.

"Only after long experience does the sense of our true identity come to us. And, as the civilized man who has learned what reflection is, can now see his face almost where he will—in pools and rivers and polished surfaces . . . so our true identity once having been learned, our relation to our body having been completed, we shall find the magic of one particular body is no longer necessary, since out of the great ocean of nature we can pick up our own reflection (or make to ourselves a body of some kind) practically anywhere."

Modern speculation seems to emphasize one point quite unanimously, namely: that such immortality as there is to be gained is not come at easily; that, whether in the body or out of the body, many deaths must be died and the self must give up the self more times than one. Indeed, scientists and metaphysicians alike admit that:

"He who flagged not in the earthly strife,
From strength to strength advancing, only he,
His soul well knit and all his battles won,
Mounts, and that hardly, to eternal life."

LOUISE COLLIER WILLCOX.

# MARKETS AND MISERY.

BY UPTON SINCLAIR, AUTHOR OF "THE JUNGLE."

THE disinterested lover of his country who looks round him at the present day finds many things which seem to him disturbing. We are a proverbially optimistic people, and are accustomed to do a good deal of trusting to the Lord in our emergencies; yet there can hardly be an intelligent man to-day who is not conscious of deep disquietude in his soul. We have witnessed the concentration of the industrial powers of the country in the hands of a few men, who have apparently gotten beyond all control of government and law. We have witnessed stroke after stroke of "high finance," which we have perceived to differ little from open robbery, and which we have yet been powerless to prevent. We have witnessed a series of appalling revelations of insurance "graft." We have for years been aware of the corruption which prevails in every department of our Government; and of late we have read the disclosures of Mr. Lincoln Steffens, and his announcement that the corruption is simply another form of economic domination—that this universal bribery is merely another device whereby the "money-power" rules. "A revolution has happened," he tells us, adding that we have no longer "a government of the people, by the people, for the people," but "a government of the people, by the rascals, for the rich." Following closely upon these disclosures, we saw the outbreak of a labor war in Colorado; and we understood that it was directly traceable to the fact that the will of the people of a State, declared at the polls by a vote of two to one, was thwarted by open and flagrant bribery. We saw following upon it deeds of violence upon both sides, ending with the complete overthrow of American institutions in one of the United States, and the setting up of a despotism of "business men." We see the "open shop" move-

ment gathering headway, and we know that the result of this must inevitably be the lowering of wages; and at the same time we see the cost of living rising year by year, and so we know that it is inevitable that the popular discontent should grow.

We have grown so used to the failure of all efforts at reform, that we generally take the failure for granted in advance; but still we continue to struggle. Mr. Steffens and Miss Tarbell appeal to the public conscience, and Mr. Lawson and Mr. Russell appeal to the public wrath; Mr. Mitchell organizes the labor-unions, Mr. Post tries to smash them, and Mr. Hearst tries to drive them into politics; Mr. Watson wants the Government to dissolve the trusts, Mr. Bryan wants it to buy them up, Mr. Cleveland wants it to reform the tariff—and so on through a various assortment of remedies.

One who examined these various plans would find, however, one point of agreement among them all. Their authors recognize that before these evils came upon us we had free competition in our industries; and that their coming upon us is coincident with the abolishing of competition and the establishing of various forms of monopoly. Therefore, what we have to do is reestablish free competition, the good old American system of a fair field and no favor, and then all will be well once more. Some of us, who are in business, are more especially interested in accomplishing this with the labor-unions; others of us who are in the unions are more interested in accomplishing it with the trusts; a few of us, sitting aloft upon high episcopal, editorial, and academic thrones, are disinterestedly interested in achieving it with both. But because we perceive that it is a matter of life and death, and because failure is unthinkable, we dare not admit that we are failing, and we resolutely shut our eyes to the fact of our failure and go on blindly repeating our ancient formula. To acknowledge that industrial competition is dead, and will stay dead, would be to acknowledge that the evils of the time were without a remedy; and the people would not stand that.

I am acquainted with only one man among all our orthodox advisers who does not let the people stand between him and the truth, who has not only the eyes to see the facts, but the courage to speak them out—Mr. Brooks Adams. "Masses accumulate in the United States," explains Mr. Adams, in his "New Empire," "because administration by masses is cheaper than administration

by detail. Masses take the form of corporations, and the men who rise to the control of these corporations rise because they are fittest. The process is natural selection. The life of the community lies in these masses. Derange them, and there would immediately follow an equivalent loss of energy." This is no trifling matter either, as Mr. Adams goes on to explain; for we are battling for our very lives with other nations, and the slightest mistake may cost us the victory, may "propel the seat of empire" to some other land. Our greatest danger, in Mr. Adams's view, is just our sentimental regard for the "people" and what the people wish—a regard which leads us to shrink from the truth about our industrial necessities. "The alternative is plain," he declares. "We may cherish ideals and risk substantial benefits to realize them," and that means national ruin. What we have to do is to "regard our Government dispassionately, as we should any other matter of business." Instead of viewing with horror the prospect of our political institutions being overthrown by the trusts, we should face this result, recognizing it as both inevitable and desirable. Our masses of capital "are there because the conditions of our civilization are such as to make it cheaper that they should be there; and if our political institutions are ill-adapted to their propagation and development, then political institutions must be readjusted." We may be unwilling to learn this lesson, but it will be taught us all the same. "With conservative populations, *slaughter* is nature's remedy," says Mr. Adams. "History teems with examples of civilizations which have been destroyed through an unreasoning inertia. . . . The fall of the empire of Haroun-al-Rashid exemplifies an universal law." Mr. Adams goes on to set forth that "the greatest prize of modern times is Northern China"; and because, since his book was written, we have lost the chance which we had to seize it, in his judgment we must be already on the way to our ruin.

There is a certain relentlessness about Mr. Adams which fills the reader with rebellion, and makes him think. The average imperialist carefully avoids doing this; he veils his doctrines with moral phrases, with the decent pretence of "destiny" at the very least. But Mr. Adams dances a very war-dance upon the thing called "moral sense"—never before was it made to seem such an impertinent superfluity. Whatever may have been the case with others, it had happened to the writer of this paper to read

Roosevelt and Kipling and the Kaiser and all of the other prophets of Imperialism, and to have only vague suspicions and discomforts; it was not until he came upon "The New Empire" that he was forced at last to fight his way out of the nightmare jungle of the devil's gospel of *Competition.*

Have you, the reader, never had one smallest doubt? Does it not, for instance, seem strange to you now, when you think of it, that this mighty people cannot stay quietly at home, and live their own life and mind their own affairs? How does it happen that our existence as a nation depends upon expansion? Is it that our population is growing so fast? But here is our Imperialist President lamenting that our population is not growing fast enough! And so we have to fight to find room for our children; and we have to have more children, in order that we may be able to fight! We deplore race-suicide, and we give as our reason that it prevents race-murder!

Picture to yourself half a dozen men on an island. If the island be fertile, they can get along without any foreign trade, can they not? And then why cannot a *nation* do it? According to Mulhall, in 1894 two millions of our agricultural laborers were raising food for foreign countries. And all our imports are luxuries, save a few things such as tea and coffee and some medicines! And still our existence as a nation depends upon foreign trade—trade with Filipinos and Chinamen, with Hottentots and Esquimaux! Why?

Can you, the reader, tell me? We manufacture more than we can use, you say. Unless we can sell the balance to the Chinamen, some of our factories must close down, and then some of our people would starve. But why, I ask, cannot our own starving people have the things that go abroad—some of all that food that goes abroad, for instance? Why is it that the Chinamen come first, and our own people afterwards? Until we have made some things for the Chinamen, you explain, we have no money to buy anything ourselves. And so always the Chinamen first! It seems such a strange, upside-down arrangement—does it not seem so to you? For, look you, the people of England are in the same fix, and the people of Germany are in the same fix—the people of all the competing nations are in the same fix! They actually have to go to war to kill each other, in order to get a chance to sell something to the Chinamen, so that they can get

money to buy some things for themselves! They were actually doing that in Manchuria for eighteen months! More amazing yet, they had to go and murder some of the Chinamen, in order to compel the rest to buy something, so that they could get money to buy something for themselves!

How long can it be possible for a human being, with a spark of either conscience or brains in him, to gaze at such a state of affairs and not *know* that there is something wrong about it? And how long could he gaze before the truth of it would flash over him—that the reason for it is that some private party owns all the machinery and materials of production, and will not give the people anything, until they have first made something that can be sold! That all the world lies at the mercy of those who own the materials and machinery, and who leave men to starve when they cannot make profits! And that this is why we Americans cannot stay at home and be happy, but are forced to go trading with Filipinos and Chinamen, Hottentots and Esquimaux, and competing for "empire" with our brothers in England and Germany and Japan!

If the reader be an average American, these thoughts will be new to him. He has been brought up on a diet of diluted Malthusianism. He understands that life has always been a struggle for existence and always will be; that there is not food enough to go round, and that therefore, every now and then, the surplus population has to be cut down by famine and war. I said "diluted" Malthusianism, because, while he swears allegiance to the doctrine, he doesn't like to think about it, and when it comes to the practical test he shows that he does not really believe it. Whenever famine comes, he subscribes to a grain-fund, and does his best to defeat nature; when war comes, he gets up a Red Cross Society for the same purpose. And yet he still continues to swear by this wiping out of the nations, and any discussion about abolishing poverty he waves aside as Utopian.

The writer may fail in his purpose with this paper, but he will not have written in vain if he can lead a few men to see the pitiful folly of that half-baked theory which ranks men with the wild beasts of the jungle, and ignores the existence of both science and morality. He can do that, assuredly, with any one whom he can induce to read one little book—Prince Kropotkin's "Fields, Factories and Workshops."

The book was published eight years ago, but apparently it has not yet had time to affect the cogitations of the orthodox economists. You still read, as you have been used to reading since the days of Adam Smith, that the possibilities of the soil are strictly limited, and that population always stays just within the starvation limit. Nearly all the fertile land in this country, for instance, is now in use, and so we shall soon reach the limit here. The forty million people of Great Britain have long since passed it, and they would starve to death were it not for our surplus. And there are portions of the world where population is even more dense, as in Belgium. All this you have known from your school-days, and you think you know it perfectly, and beyond dispute; and so how astonished you will be to be told that it is simply one of the most stupid and stupefying delusions that ever were believed and propagated among men: that the limits of the productive possibilities of the soil have not only not been attained, but are, so far as science can now see, absolutely unattainable; that not only could England support with ease her own population on her own soil, and not only could Belgium do it, but any most crowded portion of the world could do it, and do it once again, and yet once again, and do it with two or three hours of work a day by a small portion of its population! That England could now support, not merely her thirty-three million inhabitants, but seventy-five and perhaps a hundred million! And that the United States could now support a billion and a quarter of people, or just about the entire population of this planet! And that this could be done year after year, and entirely without any possibility of the exhaustion of the soil! And all this not any theory of a closet speculator or a Utopian dreamer, but by methods that are used year after year by thousands and tens of thousands of men who are making fortunes by it in all portions of the world—in the market-gardens of Paris and London, of Belgium, Holland and the island of Jersey, the truck-farms of Florida and Minnesota, and of Norfolk, Virginia!

Prince Kropotkin writes:

> "While science devotes its chief attention to industrial pursuits, a limited number of lovers of nature and a legion of workers, whose very names will remain unknown to posterity, have created of late a quite new agriculture, as superior to modern farming as modern farming is superior to the old three-fields system of our ancestors. They smile

when we boast about the rotation system, having permitted us to take from the field one crop every year, or four crops every three years, because their ambition is to have six and nine crops from the very same plot of land every twelve months. They do not understand our talk about good and bad soils, because they make the soil themselves, and make it in such quantities as to be compelled yearly to sell some of it; otherwise, it would raise up the levels of their gardens by half an inch every year. They aim at cropping, not five or six tons of grass to the acre, as we do, but from fifty to one hundred tons of various vegetables on the same space; not twenty-five dollars' worth of hay, but five hundred dollars' worth of vegetables, of the plainest description, cabbages and carrots. That is where agriculture is going now."

The writer tells about all these things in detail. Here is the *culture maraîchere* of Paris—a M. Ponce, with a tiny orchard of two and seven-tenths acres, for which he pays $500 rent a year, and from which he takes produce that could not be named short of several pages of figures: 20,000 pounds of carrots, 20,000 of onions and radishes, 6,000 heads of cabbage, 3,000 of cauliflower, 5,000 baskets of tomatoes, 5,000 dozen choice fruit, 154,000 heads of "salad"—in all, 250,000 pounds of vegetables. Says the author:

"The Paris gardener not only defies the soil—he would grow the same crops on an asphalt pavement—he defies climate. His walls, which are built to reflect light and to protect the wall-trees from the northern winds, his wall-tree shades and glass protectors, his *pépinières*, have made a rich Southern garden out of the suburbs of Paris."

The consequence of this is that the population of the districts of that city, three millions and a half of people, could, if it were necessary, be maintained in their own territory, provided with food both animal and vegetable, from a piece of ground less than sixty miles on a side! And at the same time, by the same methods, they are raising 30 tons of potatoes on an acre in Minnesota, and 350 bushels of corn in Iowa, and 600 bushels of onions in Florida. And with machinery, on the prairie wheat-farms, they raise crops at a cost which makes twelve hours and a half of work *of all kinds* enough to supply a man with the flour part of his food for a year! And while all this has been going on for a decade, while encyclopedias have been written about it, our political economists continue to discuss wages and labor, rent and interest, exchange and consumption, from the standpoint of the

dreary, century-old formula that there must always be an insufficient supply of food in the world!

Such is the state of affairs with agriculture; and now how is it with everything else? In the Thirteenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor (1898), Carroll D. Wright has figured the relative costs of doing various pieces of work by hand and by modern machinery. Here are a few of the cases he gives:

"*Making of 10 plows:* By hand, 2 workmen, performing 11 distinct operations, working a total of 1,180 hours, and paid $54.46. By machine, 52 workmen, 97 operations, 37½ hours, $7.90.

"*Making of 500 lbs. of butter:* By hand, 3 men, 7 operations, 125 hours, $10.66. By machine, 7 men, 8 operations, 12½ hours, $1.78.

"*Making 500 yds. twilled cottonade:* By hand, 3 men, 19 operations, 7,534 hours, $135.61. By machine, 252 men, 43 operations, 84 hours, $6.81.

"*Making of 100 pairs of cheap boots:* By hand, 2 workmen, 83 operations, 1,436 hours, $408.50. By machine, 113 workmen, 122 operations, 154 hours, $35.40."

Thus we see human labor has been cut to the extent of from 80 to 95 per cent. From other sources I have gathered a few facts about the latest machinery. In Pennsylvania, some sheep were shorn and the wool turned into clothing in 6 hours, 4 minutes. A steer was killed, its hide tanned, turned into leather and made into shoes in 24 hours. The ten million bottles used by the Standard Oil Company every year are now blown by machinery. An electric riveting-machine puts rivets in steel-frame buildings at the rate of two per minute. Two hundred and sixty needles per minute, ten million match-sticks per day, five hundred garments cut per day—each by a machine tended by one little boy. The newest weaving-looms run through the dinner-hour and an hour and a half after the factory closes, making cloth with no one to tend them at all. The new basket-machine invented by Mergenthaler, the inventor of the linotype, is now in operation everywhere, "making fruit-baskets, berry-baskets and grape-baskets of a strength and quality never approached by hand labor. Fancy a single machine that will turn out completed berry-baskets at the rate of 12,000 per day of nine hours' work! This is at the rate of 1,300 per hour, or over twenty baskets a minute! One girl, operating this machine, does the work of twelve skilled hand operators!"

Since all these wonders are the commonplace facts of modern industry, it is not surprising that here and there men should begin to think about them; here is the naïve question recently asked by the editor of a Montreal newspaper which I happened on:

"With the best of machinery at the present day, one man can produce woollens for 300 people. One man can produce boots and shoes for 1,000 people. One man can produce bread for 200 people. Yet thousands cannot get woollens, boots and shoes, or bread. *There must be some reason for this state of affairs!*"

There is a reason, a perfectly plain and simple reason, which all over the world the working-people, whom it concerns, are coming to understand. The reason is that all the woollen manufactories, the boot and shoe and bread manufactories, and all the sources of the raw materials of these, and all the means of handling and distributing them when they are manufactured, belong to a few private individuals instead of to the community as a whole. And so, instead of the cotton-spinner, the shoe-operative and the bread-maker having free access to them, to work each as long as he pleases, produce as much as he cares to, and exchange his products for as much of the products of other workers as he needs, each one of these workers can only get at the machines by the consent of another man, and then does not get what he produces, but only a small fraction of it, and does not get that except when the owner of the balance can find some one with money enough to buy that balance at a profit to him!

Prof. Hertzka, the Austrian economist, in his "Laws of Social Evolution," has elaborately investigated the one real question of political economy to-day, the actual labor and time necessary for the creation, under modern conditions, of the necessaries of life for a people. Here are the results for the Austrian people, of 22,000,000:

"It takes 26,250,000 acres of agricultural land, and 7,500,000 of pasturage, for all agricultural products. Then I allowed a house to be built for every family, consisting of five rooms. I found that all industries, agriculture, architecture, building, flour, sugar, coal, iron, machine-building, clothing, and chemical production, need 615,000 laborers employed 11 hours per day, 300 days a year, to satisfy every imaginable want for 22,000,000 inhabitants.

"These 615,000 laborers are only 12.3 per cent. of the population able to do work, excluding women and all persons under 16 or over 50 years of age: all these latter to be considered as not able.

"Should the 5,000,000 able men be engaged in work, instead of 615,000, they need only to work 36.9 days every year to produce everything needed for the support of the population of Austria. But should the 5,000,000 work all the year, say 300 days—which they would probably have to do to keep the supply fresh in every department—each one would only work 1 hour and 22½ minutes per day.

"But to engage to produce all the *luxuries*, in addition, would take, in round figures, 1,000,000 workers, classed and assorted as above, or only 20 per cent. of all those able, excluding every woman, or every person under 16 or over 50, as before. The 5,000,000 able, strong male members could produce everything imaginable for the whole nation of 22,000,000 in 2 hours and 12 minutes per day, working 300 days a year."

But then you say: If this be true, if two hours' work will produce everything, how can everybody go on working twelve hours forever? They can't; and that is just why I am writing this paper. They can do it only until they have filled the needs, first of themselves, then of all the Filipinos and Chinamen, Hottentots and Esquimaux, who have money to buy anything—and then until they have filled all the factories, warehouses and stores of the country to overflowing. Then they cannot do one single thing more; then they are out of work. They can go on so long as their masters can find a market in which to sell their product at a profit; then they have to stop. And then suddenly (*instantly*, God help them!) they have to take their choice between two alternatives—between an industrial democracy, and a political empire. Either they will hear Prince Kropotkin, or they will hear Mr. Brooks Adams. Either they will take the instruments and means of production and produce for use and not for profit; or else they will forge themselves into an engine of war to be wielded by a military despot. In that case, they will fling themselves upon China and Japan, and seize Northern China, "the greatest prize of modern times." They will enter upon a career of empire, and by the wholesale slaughter of war they will keep down population, while at the same time by the wholesale destruction of war they keep down the surplus of products. So there will be more work for the workers for a time, and more profits for the masters for a time; until what wealth there is in Northern China has also been concentrated and possessed, when once more there will begin distress. By that time, however, we shall have an hereditary aristocracy strongly intrenched, and a proletariat degraded beyond recall; so that our riots will end in

mere slaughter and waste, and we shall never again see freedom. We shall run then the whole course of the Roman Empire—of frenzied profligacy among the wealthy, and beastly ferocity among the populace: until at last we fall into imbecility, and are overwhelmed by some new, clean race which the strong heart of nature has poured out.

Before many years, now, this question must become the question of the hour. The cotton-factories of Massachusetts and Canada are shut down half the time, and those who work in them are told that there is too much cotton—that they and their children must go in rags because they have spun so much cloth. And, of course, some of the railroad hands who moved the cotton are also out, and the miners who furnished the coal for the factories; two years ago a similar trouble in other industries had turned some two or three million wage-earners into the streets to starve, when the Russo-Japanese war gave a brief respite to our capitalists. In England this condition of unemployment has been chronic for a decade, and the reader who has a strong stomach may get Mr. Jack London's "People of the Abyss," and read what are the consequences of such a state of affairs. Here is a paragraph chosen at random—a scene in a London Park:

"We went up the narrow gravelled walk. On the benches on either side was arrayed a mass of miserable and diseased humanity, the sight of which would have impelled Doré to more diabolical flights of fancy than he ever succeeded in achieving. It was a welter of filth and rags, of all manner of loathsome skin-diseases, open sores, bruises, grossness, indecency, leering monstrosities and bestial faces. A chill, raw wind was blowing, and these creatures huddled there in their rags, sleeping for the most part, or trying to sleep. Here were a dozen women, ranging in age from twenty years to seventy. Next a babe, possibly nine months old, lying asleep, flat on the hard bench, with neither pillow nor covering, nor with any one looking after it. Next, half a dozen men sleeping bolt-upright, and leaning against one another in their sleep. In one place a family group, a child asleep in its sleeping mother's arms, and the husband (or male mate) clumsily mending a dilapidated shoe. On another bench, a woman trimming the frayed strips of her rags with a knife, and another woman with thread and needle, sewing up rents. Adjoining, a man holding a sleeping woman in his arms. Farther on, a man, his clothing caked with gutter-mud, asleep with his head in the lap of a woman, not more than 25 years old, and also asleep.

"'Those women there,' said our guide, 'will sell themselves for thru'pence, or tu'pence, or a loaf of stale bread.' He said it with a cheerful sneer."

And then turn back to the preface:

"It must not be forgotten that the time of which I write was considered 'good times' in England. The starvation and lack of shelter I encountered constitute a chronic condition of misery which is never wiped out, even in the periods of greatest prosperity. Following the summer in question came a hard winter. To such an extent did the suffering and positive starvation increase that society was unable to cope with it. Great numbers of the unemployed formed into processions, as many as a dozen at a time, and daily marched through the streets of London crying for bread. Mr. Justin McCarthy, writing in the month of January, 1903, to the New York 'Independent,' briefly epitomizes the situation as follows: 'The workhouses have no space left in which to pack the starving crowds who are craving every night at their doors for food and shelter. All the charitable institutions have exhausted their means in trying to raise supplies of food for the famishing residents of the garrets and cellars of London lanes and alleys.'"

And all over the world it is just the same; the race for markets is becoming fiercer and fiercer, and the markets are growing scarcer and scarcer. The greatest prize of modern times has been seized; and so the Fall River operatives who supplied the Manchus with cotton shirts are out of work; and the cotton-mills of Georgia and Alabama are filling up with children six or eight years old who work for nine cents a day; and even these will soon be displaced, because in the cotton-mills of India the wretched victims of the dying monster of Competition can be made to work both day and night, eating and sleeping by their machines, and perishing within two or three years.

The only question, of course, is as to how long it can go on. All over the world, the workers of society are finding out about it, and are teaching their companions about it; and so we see, looming like a mighty storm-cloud, in every civilized nation, the Socialist movement. Ridicule and obloquy, blandishments and menaces, persecution, exile and imprisonment, have all proved powerless to stop it; devoted and heroic men and women give their labor and their lives to teaching it—writing, speaking, exhorting, toiling day and night to open the eyes of the masses to the truth. And in every nation the movement goes ahead and forms a political party; and, when that is done, it begins to cast a vote, and every year that vote is larger than it was the year before. In Germany, it was 30,000 in 1867, 487,000 in 1877, 763,000 in 1887, 1,787,000 in 1893, 2,125,000 in 1898 and 3,008,-

000 in 1903. In Austria, it was 90,000 in 1895 and nearly a million in 1900. In Belgium, it was 334,000 in 1894 and 534,000 in 1898. In Switzerland, it was 14,000 in 1890 and 100,000 in 1901. In France, it has members in the cabinet, and in Italy and Australia it holds the balance of power and turns out ministries. In Japan, it has started its first newspaper, and in Argentina it has elected its first deputy. In the United States, it now has 2,200 locals and 30,000 subscribing members. It has several monthly magazines and about thirty-five daily and weekly papers, one of which ("The Appeal to Reason," of Girard, Kansas), has a circulation of a quarter of a million, and at date of writing is preparing the largest edition ever printed by any paper in the world—the so-called "Trust Edition," of over three million copies. In 1888, the Socialist vote in America was 2,000; in 1892, it was 21,000; in 1898, it was 91,000; in 1900, it was 131,000; in 1902, it was 285,000 and in 1904 it was 436,000. In 1906 it will be between 700,000 and 800,000, unless the writer is very much mistaken; unless he is still more mistaken, Socialism will, from that time, be the only living political issue in America. His study of the economic situation underlying this political phenomenon has led him to believe that the industrial revolution that is coming must take place in America within the next ten years; and his object in writing this paper is to urge upon patriotic and intelligent Americans, of all classes, that it is time for them to open their eyes to the facts. The question to be considered—the only question—is whether they wish that coming revolution to be one of ballots or of bullets; mainly, he believes, this now depends upon what proportion of the ruling class, the present industrial aristocracy, can be made to take an intelligent view of Socialism, and to perceive that its final triumph is as inevitable as the breaking out of a chicken from its egg.

UPTON SINCLAIR.

# SUSAN B. ANTHONY: THE WOMAN AND HER WORK.

BY IDA HUSTED HARPER.

THE world in its progress reached a period about the middle of the last century when it needed just such a reformer as Susan B. Anthony. The time had come for the regeneration of that half of humanity neglected in the struggle for existence through which the race had evolved from savagery to civilization. In this struggle, woman, handicapped by motherhood, domestic requirements and physical limitations, had not been able to keep pace with man, and, as the natural result, had become wholly subject to his laws, customs and commands. When the claims of material necessities began to grow less strenuous, there came an opportunity for the more spiritual forces to gain recognition, and thus dawned the era of a free womanhood.

A few prophets among women had been crying in the wilderness for a number of years when Elizabeth Cady Stanton sounded her trumpet-call for a gathering of the believers in 1848. Its echoes reached to the East and the West, and slumbering forces were roused to action. The spirit of unrest continued to spread; women began to wonder and ask questions; the time was ripe for a revolution, and the one to direct it was at hand, for, just as the century turned into its second half, came Susan B. Anthony. No one who makes a careful study of the great movement for the emancipation of women can fail to recognize in Miss Anthony its supreme leader. Her powers of speaking and writing were surpassed, perhaps, by the splendid abilities of Mrs. Stanton; but, as a planner, an organizer, a manager, a politician in the best sense of the word, Miss Anthony was unequalled. The qualities of these are even more essential in the campaign

work necessary to a cause which enters the domain of politics than are those of the orator or the writer. But there were other traits possessed by Miss Anthony which made her leadership pre-eminent. She had a keen discernment of special gifts in other women which could be utilized and a faculty for bringing and keeping them in the work. Almost beyond any other, she had the power to create a following which would remain unwaveringly loyal and devoted in the face of repeated disappointments and defeats. She was endowed, as few others have been, with an unflinching courage, determination and spirit of personal sacrifice, which were needed more in her especial work than in any other ever undertaken by woman. But the strongest reason why Susan B. Anthony will be ever acknowledged the general-in-chief of this long contest for the freedom of woman is that she is the only one who gave to it her whole life, consecrating to its service every hour of her time and every power of her being. Other women did what they could; came into the work for a while and dropped out; had the divided interests of family and the social relations; turned their attention to reforms which promised speedier rewards; surrendered to the forces of persecution which assailed them. With Miss Anthony, the cause of woman took the place of husband, children, society; it was her work and her recreation; her politics and her religion. "I know only woman and her disfranchised," was her creed.

In a comprehensive article entitled "Woman's Half-Century of Evolution,"* written soon after the death of Mrs. Stanton, Miss Anthony set forth in detail the conditions existing at the time they began their work together, and the gradual steps in progress to the close of the century. She gave the Declaration of Independence and the resolutions adopted at that first Woman's Rights convention in 1848, and showed that all the demands then made, so radical that they were denounced and ridiculed from one end of the country to the other, have now been granted practically in full, except the one for the suffrage; and that this has been recognized to such an extent as to place its ultimate success beyond question. The object of the present article is to study the character of Miss Anthony herself and her part in the revolution which has taken place in the status of woman.

Miss Anthony came from English stock and many generations

* North American Review, December, 1902.

of New England ancestors, the first of them settling in Rhode Island in 1634. Her grandparents and parents were born in Massachusetts, those on the paternal side belonging to the Society of Friends from the time it came into existence. The maternal grandparents were Baptists, but the grandfather, Daniel Read, became a convert to the Universalist faith. His wife, it is said, "wore the skin off her knees" praying that God would make him see the error of his ways, but he never did, and to the end of his life he found his chief enjoyment in setting forth the merits of free salvation. He served with honor through the entire Revolutionary War, was in the expedition against Quebec, at the capture of Ticonderoga, the battle of Bennington and the fatal fight at Stone Arabia. After the war he became a member of the Massachusetts Legislature. Both grandfathers had excellent farms and comfortable homes near Adams, Massachusetts, acquired a competency, educated their children and represented the best type of the sturdy New-Englanders of early times.

At Adams, in the Berkshire Hills, overlooked by "Old Greylock," that glorified mountain peak, was born Susan B. Anthony, the second of eight children, February 15th, 1820. Her father was a prosperous cotton-manufacturer, and in 1826 he removed to Battenville, Washington County, New York, to form a partnership with Judge John McLean and conduct his business on a larger scale. He was a liberal and public-spirited man, progressive far beyond his times. He belonged to the so-called "Hicksite" Friends, but, although their religious beliefs were broad enough to suit him, he was several times "disciplined" for disregarding their strict usages; first, for marrying outside the faith; then for wearing an overcoat with a cape and a colored handkerchief around his neck; and, finally, he was "disowned" because he allowed the young people to dance in his house. He felt this very keenly but would not give up his own ideas of right and wrong, and continued to attend the Friends' meetings. He loved this form of religion, as did his wife and daughter, and Miss Anthony always attributed very largely to its influence her strong belief in the equality of the sexes, her hatred of slavery in any form, her tendency toward public speaking and the final adoption of her career. Her father believed in the education of women and their economic independence; and in giving her the one he prepared her for the other.

In 1837-8, the commercial panic practically destroyed the cotton-manufactures, and in 1845 the Anthony family removed to Rochester, New York, which was henceforth their home. Although Miss Anthony was born in Massachusetts, she lived in New York from the time she was six years old, and she identified herself fully with the interests of that State, loved it, was proud of it, shed lustre upon it; and yet never was she permitted the smallest part in its laws or its government.

Miss Anthony was a successful teacher until she was in her thirtieth year; but in the summer of 1849, she returned home with an intense desire for a wider field of work. To most women the prospect would have been hopeless, for there was literally no vocation except teaching for an educated woman. But she was a Quaker, her aunt had been a noted "preacher," something in her soul was striving for expression, and she had been taught that a woman's right to speak was exactly the same as a man's. As temperance work was then the only outlet for women's activities in public life, she took it up with great zeal. Outraged by the way men treated women in the conventions, she enlisted Mrs. Stanton's cooperation, and they formed a State Women's Temperance Society in which men had no part. It held several successful conventions, but by 1852 Miss Anthony had become thoroughly convinced that the conditions of women must be radically changed before they could do effective work in great reforms, and that their paramount duty was to secure their own rights, legal, educational, civil, industrial and political. She attended for the first time, in September of that year, a Woman's Rights Convention, met the able women connected with it, heard their arguments for the franchise, and came away fully satisfied that the underlying right, the one which would secure to women every other, was the right of suffrage. Her Biography says:

"A sense of the terrible helplessness of being utterly without representation came upon her with crushing force. The first, great cause of the injustice which pressed upon women from every point was clearly revealed to her, and she understood, as never before, that any class which is compelled to be legislated for by another class must always be at a disadvantage."

In this opinion Miss Anthony never wavered. By 1854 all other work was laid aside, and from that time to the end of her long life she devoted herself, body, mind and soul, to the one

task of securing the rights of women. Well might the little band of reformers stand appalled at the situation which confronted them. The masses of women were almost wholly uneducated. Not only were the colleges closed against them, but not even a high school was open. Outside of teaching (for a beggarly pittance) they could earn a living only at menial occupations. The first fight to be made was to secure for them the right to speak in public, to ask for the redress of their own wrongs. Everywhere the English common law prevailed, which had been adopted by the colonies and never changed. The wife had no legal existence, or, as Blackstone expressed it, "the very being, or existence, of the woman is suspended during marriage." She could not own property, buy or sell, sue or be sued, make a contract, testify in court or control her own wages. The father could apprentice young children without the mother's consent and dispose of them by will at his death. There was but one cause for divorce, and the husband, though the guilty party, could retain the property and the children.

Miss Anthony and her associates clearly saw that, if women had power to elect lawmakers, these laws could be speedily swept from the books; but, since the right of the franchise is the one it has been impossible to obtain, half a century has been required to replace them with juster statutes, and the work is yet far from finished, as a part or all of these laws are still in force in various States. But that conditions have immeasurably improved is everywhere evident. Women have as good and as many opportunities for education as men have. Their right to speak in public is gladly recognized, and through their great organizations they wield a vast influence. All avenues of employment, except political, are open to them, not always on equal terms with men, but for millions of them economic independence is assured. In many States the laws are nearly fair, and in all but two or three they have been much improved. Miss Anthony lived to see all this as, in a measure, the direct result of her own labors. There are many reasons why the franchise has not been gained, but two of them are amply sufficient: (1) The right of suffrage is the only one intrenched in the Constitution and requires the consent of a majority of all the men in a State to grant it; (2) Men understand that the ballot is the source of their power, and they are determined not to share it.

It would be impossible in this brief space to go into the details of Miss Anthony's more than fifty years of hard, continuous work, they fill two volumes of a thousand pages. A few events, however, stand out with such striking prominence as to call for especial attention. Miss Anthony was instrumental in creating not only the first State, but also the first National, organization of women—the National Woman Suffrage Association, formed in New York in 1869. It has been for thirty-seven years the vital force in the movement for securing the franchise, and through its State auxiliaries in obtaining many improvements in conditions for women and children. Miss Anthony was ever its mainstay, never missed but two annual conventions, always held official position and was president after Mrs. Stanton's retirement in 1892 until her own eightieth birthday in 1900, when she became honorary president. The Association supports the States in their suffrage campaigns, furnishes money and workers, keeps organizers constantly in the field, maintains a press bureau, from its headquarters sends out tons of literature every year, and, with its board of able women, gives great power and stability to the movement. Miss Anthony loved it as her child, guided its footsteps, watched its growth, rejoiced in its achievements, and made the last journey of her life to attend its convention at Baltimore in February.

Miss Anthony's one deviation from her work for woman suffrage was her effort to render every possible assistance in the struggle for the abolition of slavery. Her home was a meeting-place for the "Garrisonians," and, if not a station on the "underground railroad," certainly in close touch with some that were. Here she met in intimate acquaintance Garrison himself, Phillips, Pillsbury, Douglass, the Fosters and others who were stirring the conscience of the country by their fiery eloquence, and they found in her an ardent sympathizer. Recognizing her unusual ability, the American Anti-Slavery Society engaged her in 1856 as organizer, speaker and manager, and from then until the breaking out of the Civil War she divided her time between the work of freeing the slaves and that of securing freedom for women. In 1863, at the urgent request of many prominent men, she went to New York and, with the cooperation of Mrs. Stanton and many other patriotic women, organized the Women's National Loyal League. For fifteen months they labored without

ceasing to secure petitions for the abolishment of slavery by Congressional action. Miss Anthony superintended this great work, took the entire financial responsibility and secured the necessary funds. The 400,000 names obtained by women, Charles Sumner and Henry Wilson many times declared, were the bulwark of the authority by which Congress submitted the Thirteenth Amendment that forever abolished slavery.

The Amendment was declared ratified in December, 1865, but, even before this glorious result of their work was accomplished, the women learned to their amazement and indignation that Congress was about to submit another amendment for the purpose of enfranchising these newly freed negro men which was to be carefully worded for the express purpose of excluding all women! Miss Anthony, ever on the watch-tower, was the first to sound the alarm. She hastened to Mrs. Stanton in New York, and the two instantly set to work to arouse the friends of woman suffrage to this new and most formidable danger. The National Constitution was silent on the question of the franchise, and the women therefore had only to reckon with the State constitutions, but it was now proposed to add a suffrage amendment to the former document which should include the word "male," and thus deliberately put up against women the insurmountable barrier of the Federal Constitution! Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton called public meetings, they made speeches, they circulated petitions, they wrote hundreds of letters protesting against this outrage, but to their intense surprise and anguish they were met with coldness and opposition. Garrison, Phillips, Curtis, Tilton, Higginson, Douglass, Gerrit Smith, Thaddeus Stevens—all the eminent men who had aided them so faithfully in the past—turned against them now. Even the women, with but few exceptions, yielded to the frantic appeals that they would not imperil the chance of the negro men by intruding their own claims. That the enfranchisement of these would intrench the Republican party in a position of apparently permanent power was carefully kept in the background. "Would you have us lose all we have gained by the war?" was the argument used to the women. "This is the negro's hour. When he is secured in his rights, then your turn will come."

Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton never yielded one inch of their position. They had no faith in the promises; they knew that this

amendment would add another million to the millions who already had political sovereignty over women, and that their enemies henceforth would have only to barricade themselves behind the National Constitution. They were willing negro men should be enfranchised, but not at the expense of all women. Deserted and denounced by their former friends and fellow workers, they never ceased their protests against this terrible injustice until the Fourteenth Amendment was finally declared adopted in 1868; and they lived to see their predictions verified to the letter.

Up to this time, those who were working for woman suffrage had considered no plan except to obtain it through a change of constitution in each State. They now had learned that the National Constitution itself could be so amended as to enfranchise an entire class of citizens, and henceforth that part of them who had followed the standard of Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton, and who soon returned to it, directed their efforts wholly to obtaining the suffrage by this method. "The Revolution," that fearless, radical and independent paper, established in New York in 1868, with Mrs. Stanton as editor and Miss Anthony as business manager, advocated this procedure with great earnestness. The National Association, formed in 1869, as noted above, adopted this plan of action exclusively, held all its conventions in Washington, and had its ablest speakers appear before Congressional Committees to urge the submission of an amendment to enfranchise women. The Fifteenth Amendment, which almost immediately followed the Fourteenth, confirmed the opinion that this was the most practicable way. Miss Anthony herself was unalterably convinced of it, and she addressed Committees of every Congress from 1869 to 1906, with logical argument and impassioned pleading that they would do as much for all women as they had done for negro men. Limited space prevents the reproduction in full of any of these matchless addresses, but a quotation from one, made in March, 1884, will illustrate their power and pathos:

"This is the fifteenth year we have appeared before Congress in person, and the nineteenth by petitions, asking national protection for women in the exercise of their right to vote. In the winter of 1865 and 1866 we sent your honorable body a ten-thousand prayer, asking you not to put 'male' in the second section of the proposed Fourteenth Amendment; and again we appealed to you by thousands of petitions that you would add 'sex' after 'race or color' in the Fifteenth, but all to no avail. Then by an eighty-thousand petition in 1871 we demanded the

enactment of a declaratory law that women had the right to vote under the first section of the Fourteenth Amendment. This, too, was denied us, not only by Congress, but by the Supreme Court, which held that the framers of the amendment had only 'colored men' in their thought, therefore none others could come within its purview. From 1876 to the present we have from year to year poured into Congress hundreds of thousands of petitions asking you to take the initiative step for another amendment which shall specifically prohibit the disfranchisement of women.

"But, you say, why do you not go to your several States to secure this right? I answer, because we have neither the women nor the money to make the canvasses of the thirty-eight States, school-district by school-district, to educate each individual man out of the old belief that woman was created to be his subject. Four State legislatures submitted the question of striking 'male' from their constitutions—Kansas, Michigan, Colorado and Nebraska—and we made the best canvass of each which was possible for a disfranchised class outside of all political help. Negro suffrage was again and again overwhelmingly voted down in various States; and you know, gentlemen, that if the negro had never had the ballot until the majority of white men, particularly the foreign born, had voted 'yes,' he would have gone without it until the crack of doom. It was because of this prejudice of the unthinking majority that Congress submitted the question of the negro's enfranchisement to the legislatures of the several States, to be adjudicated by the educated, broadened representatives of the people. We now appeal to you to lift the decision of *our* question from the vote of the populace to that of the legislatures, that thereby you may be as considerate and just to the women of this nation as you were to the freedmen.

"Every new privilege granted to woman has been by the legislatures. The liberal laws for married women, the right of the wife to own and control her inherited property and separate earnings, the right of women to vote at school-elections in a dozen States, full suffrage in two Territories, all have been gained through the legislatures. Had any one of these beneficent propositions been submitted to the vote of the rank and file do you believe a majority would have placed their sanction upon it? I do not; and I beg you, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, that you will at once recommend to the House the submission of the proposition now before you, and thus place the decision of this great constitutional question of the right of one-half the people of this Republic to a voice in the Government, with the legislatures of the several States. You need not fear that our enfranchisement will come too suddenly or too soon by this method. After the proposition shall have passed Congress by the requisite two-thirds vote, it may require five, ten or twenty years to secure its ratification by the necessary three-fourths of the State legislatures; but, *once submitted by Congress, it always will stand until ratified by the States.*

"It takes all too many of us women from our homes and from the works of charity and education in our respective localities, even to come

to Washington, session after session, until Congress shall have submitted the proposition, and then to go from legislature to legislature, urging its adoption. But when you insist that we shall beg at the feet of each individual voter of every one of the States, native and foreign, black and white, learned and ignorant, you doom us to incalculable hardships and sacrifices, and to most exasperating insults and humiliations. I pray you to save us from the fate of waiting and working for our freedom until we shall have educated the ignorant masses of men to consent to give their wives and sisters equality of rights with themselves. You surely will not compel us to await the enlightenment of all the freedmen of this nation and the newly-made voters from the monarchical governments of the Old World!

"Liberty for one's self is a natural instinct possessed alike by all men, but to be willing to accord liberty to another is the result of education, of self-discipline, of the practice of the golden rule. Therefore, we ask that the question of equality of rights to women shall be decided by the picked men of the nation in Congress, and the picked men of the several States in their respective legislatures."

Sometimes these Committees reported favorably, sometimes unfavorably, but generally they did not report at all. Eleven favorable reports have been made—five from Senate, six from House, Committees. It is a noteworthy fact that from 1879 to 1891, when Miss Anthony was enabled to spend the Congressional season in Washington, nine of these favorable reports were made. Committees of the first three Congresses after she ceased remaining in that city for the winter, reported adversely—in 1892-4-6,—and since that time there has been no report of any kind. Could there be a better illustration of the powerful influence she was able to exert?

Many members of Congress and constitutional lawyers held that women really were entitled to vote under Section I of Amendment XIV, which declares that "no State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States." Acting under legal advice, Miss Anthony determined to test her rights, and, in November, 1872, with but slight objection from the election-inspector she registered and voted the full ticket. She was arrested, and, although she testified that she voted conscientiously, under legal advice, believing it to be her right, she was charged with committing a *crime,* her writ of *habeas corpus* denied and her bail fixed at $1,000. Her trial was set for the May term of court in Rochester, and in March she started out to canvass Monroe County, not to argue

her case, but to see that the people were educated upon the constitutional points involved. Being informed that the District Attorney threatened to move her trial into another county because she would prejudice the jury, she notified him that then she would see that that county also was thoroughly canvassed, and asked him if she were prejudicing a jury by reading and explaining the Constitution of the United States. She spoke in twenty-nine post-office districts and then he did change the case to Canandaigua, when she immediately began speaking in Ontario County. As the time was so short, she called to her assistance that able debater, Mrs. Matilda Joslyn Gage, who spoke in sixteen places on "The United States on trial, not Susan B. Anthony." Miss Anthony spoke in twenty-one places on the question, "Is it a crime for a citizen of the United States to vote?" Her Constitutional Argument delivered during this canvass was a masterpiece of clear, strong, logical reasoning, which never has been excelled in the Senate or before the Supreme Court of the United States. If all that ever has been said on the subject of the suffrage for woman should be blotted out and this alone remain, it would establish forever woman's just, moral, equitable and fundamental right to the ballot.

The trial of Miss Anthony opened on June 17th, 1873, Ward Hunt, Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court being on the bench, and United States District Attorney Richard Crowley prosecuting. She was ably represented by her counsel, Judge Henry R. Selden and the Hon. John Van Voorhis, of Rochester. The Court refused to permit Miss Anthony to testify as to the intention or belief under which she voted, holding that she was not competent as a witness in her own behalf. After listening to the arguments of counsel on both sides, Justice Hunt, not having left the bench in the mean time, delivered a *written* opinion, and at its close *directed the jury to bring in a verdict of "guilty!"* Miss Anthony's counsel insisted that the Court had no power to make such a direction in a criminal case and demanded that the jury be permitted to bring in its own verdict. The Justice made no reply, except to order the clerk to register the verdict. Mr. Selden demanded that the jury be polled. Justice Hunt refused, and discharged the jury without even asking if they agreed upon a verdict. Afterwards several of them declared that they would have brought in a verdict of "not guilty."

The next day Justice Hunt denied the motion for a new trial, and then occurred that remarkable scene, when the wronged womanhood of all the ages seemed to speak through Miss Anthony, standing there at the bar where Justice herself had been brutally violated. When at last she was silenced, the Justice assessed a fine of $100 and costs, and she answered: "I will never pay a dollar of your unjust penalty. All I possess is a debt of $10,000 incurred by publishing my paper, 'The Revolution,' the sole object of which was to educate all women to do exactly as I have done—rebel against your man-made, unjust, unconstitutional forms of law, which tax, fine, imprison and hang women, while denying them the right of representation in the Government. I will work with might and main to pay every dollar of that honest debt, but not a penny shall go to this unjust claim, and I will continue to urge on all women that "resistance to tyranny is obedience to God."*

Miss Anthony never did pay this fine, which always stood against her, and the only reason it was not collected by law was that she had no property which could be levied on. She never asked President Grant to remit this fine, as has been so often stated, but she did ask for the pardon of the inspectors, who were found guilty, and this was granted by the President. She carried her own case to the Congress of the United States because she had been denied the right of trial by jury guaranteed by the National Constitution, but Committees from Senate and House declined to take action, and the case stands to-day as one of the greatest of judicial outrages.

A notable accomplishment in this life of illustrious deeds, one which will stand for all time, is seen in the four large volumes, "History of Woman Suffrage." They should have a more comprehensive title, for they include the invaluable records of the wonderful progress of women along all lines during the past century. In their actual writing Miss Anthony called other women to her assistance, but to her alone is due their inception, the collecting of material, the persistence which constantly pushed this work through a period of over ten years, the raising of money, the drudgery of publishing, and finally the placing of these books in all the large libraries of this country and Europe. To this last

* Full reports of this trial are contained in the "Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony" and the "History of Woman Suffrage," Vol. II.

The woman + her work.
last page - North Amer. Review



task the later years of her life were almost wholly given. Except for her foresight, her energy and her perseverance, the history of the evolution of woman would be forever buried in obscurity, for it exists only in these volumes. The present and future generations must also feel indebted to Miss Anthony for having preserved in her Biography the story of her own life, which is so closely interwoven with the warp and woof of the destiny of all women henceforth to the end of time.

Another memorial of Miss Anthony's marvellous executive power may be seen in the International Council of Women, whose membership of millions extends around the globe. It was while in Europe in 1883 that she and Mrs. Stanton took the first steps toward bringing the women of different nations together in organization. With the cooperation of other capable women, Miss Anthony spent several years in perfecting the plans that finally culminated in the forming of the International Council at Washington in 1888, which now has its national auxiliaries in over twenty countries. At its Congresses in London in 1899 and in Berlin in 1904, women of literally the whole world joined in a magnificent ovation to their acknowledged leader, Susan B. Anthony.

On the evening of February 15th, the eighty-sixth birthday of Miss Anthony was celebrated in Washington, the city which had welcomed her so many times during the past forty years. Letters of congratulation were read from the President of the United States, from Senators, Representatives, many distinguished men and women. Those she loved were gathered around her, and all about was the earnest, sympathetic audience which had ever been her inspiration. Robed in her soft, black gown, relieved as always with delicate lace, her silver hair parted over her noble brow, she sat there just as she had so many times before—and yet there was a difference. The great reformer, the orator, the planner of campaigns, seemed to have faded into the background and left instead only the beautiful, beloved woman, with an expression so spiritual that to every heart came the thrill of sorrowful thought, This is the last! One month from that night the snow was falling on her new-made grave.

IDA HUSTED HARPER.

# WORLD-POLITICS.

LONDON: ST. PETERSBURG: VIENNA: WASHINGTON.

*March, 1906.*

In my last communication, I remarked that the advent of fifty-one Labor men into the British Parliament, twenty-nine of whom are pledged to act independently of both Liberals and Conservatives, is a really memorable development, first, because it foreshadows the growth of the Continental group system in English politics—there being now in the House of Commons four distinct parties; secondly, because it is a token that the working-classes are becoming conscious of their political power, are throwing off the domination of caste and social influences, and are determined for the future to be represented in the national legislature by men of their own class who will vote with an exclusive regard to the interests of that class; and, thirdly, because their irruption must profoundly affect the social and political evolution of the country. Under these three heads most, if not all, of the possibilities of the new Labor party are, I believe, fairly comprised. That is to say, Englishmen are asking themselves how far it is likely to influence the workings of the two-party system, and even whether that system is not already at an end. They are also speculating on the direction in which it will affect the future of Liberalism. If the Continent of Europe is any guide on such a point, the answer is not hard to find. Everywhere on the Continent, Liberalism of the old type, the Liberalism that devoted itself to pulling down and levelling, seems to have exhausted its mandate and to have been superseded by a militant and constructive Socialism. It is looking far ahead to assume that such must necessarily be the course of events in England. So long as the House of Lords exists, English Liberalism of the kind one associates with the names of Russell and Gladstone has still its work to do. But I see little reason to

think that, in the work of social reform, of building up, the Liberalism of England is any more likely to succeed than the Liberalism of the Continent; and the possibility that it will put itself at the head of the Labor movement seems to me to have less likelihood than the possibility that it will be chained to its chariot wheels. Again, Englishmen are deeply concerned in trying to forecast the social significance of the Labor party—a subject that deserves an article to itself. They are conscious, or most of them at any rate are conscious, that the failings of their country lie rather in the social than in the political sphere, and that flunkeyism, and all that is implied in it, represents an evil more pervasive and more debilitating than any number of political anomalies or inequalities. If the Labor party helps to eradicate flunkeyism and so infect the English working-classes with something of the American spirit of buoyancy and self-respect, it will have laid the foundations of a real *risorgimento*. And, finally, Englishmen are canvassing the attitude of the Labor men towards the immediate questions and political combinations of the hour, and are wondering how far they will succeed in pushing the Government along the road they desire to see it tread.

There are one or two points connected with the Labor party on which there seem to be misapprehensions among Americans. In the first place, England as a whole is very far from being alarmed by its advent. The country realizes that a change is taking place; it does not admit for one moment that that change amounts to what on the Continent is called "the Revolution"; it is not seriously disturbed—why should it be?—by the fact that the working-classes, who for over twenty years have enjoyed seven-tenths of the voting power of the country, should now be using that power for their own ends; and it relies as confidently as ever upon the sound sense and conservatism of the nation to restrain any little extravagancies that the new movement, in its first moments of exaltation, may be guilty of. The old and tried institutions of the land never seemed to rest on a surer basis, and there is more than a little force in the contention that the rise of a Labor party is less an attack upon the existing system than a token that the existing system is preparing to adapt itself to new conditions. No one in England imagines that, because fifty-one working-men have been elected to the House of Commons, the deluge has begun. It is recognized that many

special circumstances, such as are not likely to be found in conjunction again, combined to secure their election. One was the Taff Vale judgment (on which I shall have a word to say later on), and the injudicious and somewhat contemptuous refusal of the late Government to reverse it. That refusal practically flung down the gage to every trade-unionist in the country, and no diagnosis of the Labor successes can be held complete which does not recognize that they were won, not by Socialism, but by trade-unionism. Again, the Chinese labor question, the fiscal issue, and the alarming decline in the manners and efficiency of the House of Commons, told heavily in favor of a party that was not only new, but could claim a peculiar right of appeal to working-class sentiment. So favoring a combination of circumstances will scarcely occur again. Moreover, it is a law of politics that changes are rarely followed by greater changes, but rather by a reaction towards the old order. The Labor party will be just as much subject to the swing of the pendulum as any other party. It has also to be remembered that the Labor candidates were elected by the votes of organized labor, and that behind the ranks of organized labor stand the far larger ranks of unorganized labor, whose members are in no way disposed to take their orders either from trade-unionism or from Socialism, and who, indeed, are widely removed from both. Bearing all this in mind, England while deeply interested in, is by no means terrified by, the Labor party. The expectation is that it will increase, but not at a rate that need cause a rational man any alarm, and not along lines that will threaten any of the foundations of the State. I need scarcely say that the Labor men themselves take a far more optimistic view of their future than this, and fully expect in the course of the next ten or fifteen years to be the controlling power in the land. What I have said must be taken as representing average detached opinion.

There is another misconception as to the Labor party and the men who compose it that seems to prevail very largely in America. They are spoken of as though they belonged to the agitating kind of demagogues. On the contrary, they are men of an extremely practical, businesslike and unrhetorical turn. It would probably be impossible to pick out fifty-one members of the House of Commons whose combined experience in administrative work, and whose knowledge of the realities of the people's life,

would equal those of the fifty-one Labor members. With the exception of three or four, all of them have earned their living by manual work for weekly wages. They have risen in the confidence of their fellow workers, not through any gift of eloquence, but by reason of their native shrewdness and capacity for organization, and because their judgment, honesty and turn for affairs have been thoroughly tested in the management of trade-unions and benevolent societies. A great many of them have already served for years on the local councils of their neighborhood. All of them go to the legislature for the unique purpose of legislating. All of them "mean business," and enter upon their new duties in a spirit of grim, hard-headed earnestness. Into the somewhat languid and over-elegant atmosphere of English politics they will import a wholesome example of laborious efficiency. Politics to them is not a sport, nor a spring-board from which to leap into social or professional fame. It is a business. They are the salaried representatives of a class—a class accustomed to "getting its money's worth," and anything but tolerant towards those who fail to obtain results. No doubt, the Labor men will use language and introduce a standard of behavior of which the House of Commons has hitherto had little experience. But to represent them as noisy agitators is to misapprehend them entirely.

I have spoken so far of the Labor party as one. In reality, it is composed of three groups who may not on all questions be found in harmony. The most important of these groups is the section controlled by the Labor Representation Committee. The L. R. C. includes trade-unions, trades-councils, Socialist societies and cooperative associations. It has only been in existence some six years, but its membership already amounts to nearly a million. Its object is "to secure, by united action, the election to Parliament of candidates promoted, in the first instance, by an affiliated society or societies in the constituency, who undertake to form or join a distinct group in Parliament, with its own whips and its own policy on labor questions, to abstain strictly from identifying themselves with, or promoting the interests of, any section of the Liberal or Conservative party, and not to oppose any other candidate recognized by this Committee." All candidates who subscribe to these pledges are paid twenty-five per cent. of their election expenses and two hundred pounds a year during the term

of their service in Parliament. Of the fifty-one Labor members in the House, twenty-nine were elected under the auspices of the Labor Representation Committee, and form accordingly a separate group under the leadership of Mr. Keir Hardie. Of the remaining twenty-two Labor members, sixteen are miners' representatives, who stand apart from Mr. Keir Hardie and his friends, are somewhat coldly regarded by the Socialists who compose the inner and guiding section of the Labor Representation Committee, and look upon themselves rather as the advance wing of the Liberal party than as an independent Labor section. In addition, there are a few members who, while Labor men in fact and in sympathies, answer to no more precise definition, being for the most part the representatives of special trades and occupations, such as cotton, railroads, printing and so on. It is, however, worth noting that of the total of fifty-one members, all but ten are trade-unionists; and it is on that fact that observers base the prediction that ultimately all the Labor members will be united into a compact and distinct party under a single leadership. If such unity is achieved, it can only be on a foundation of compromise. Trade-unionists in England, speaking generally, are not Socialists, and the miners' representatives in particular have little or no sympathy with what Mr. Keir Hardie has described as the supreme object of his policy—the creation, namely, of a cooperative commonwealth founded upon the socialization of land and capital, and the "nationalization of all the means of production, distribution and exchange." Labor, therefore, in England is at present more of a generic term than a specific party label. It covers many real divergences of policy and instinctive outlook. Their reality may be best appreciated by the fact that Mr. Keir Hardie recently wrote two long articles on the Labor movement in some English reviews without once mentioning the name of Mr. John Burns.

There are, however, certain measures on which it is likely that all sections of the Labor party will be at one. The payment of members, I may add, is not one of them, in spite of the fact that it was endorsed on March 7th by an overwhelming majority in the House of Commons. The reason is obvious. The trade-unions and the Labor Representation Committee have found that they can support their own representatives in the House by imposing upon all their members the ridiculously small tax of

two cents a head. The State payment of Members of Parliament, therefore, so far from benefiting them would be of positive disservice by opening the doors of Parliament to a facile crowd of lawyers, journalists and carpetbaggers. The chief matter that concerns the Labor party is the legal position of trade-unions. The Taff Vale case decided that, if a trade-union broke the law, it could be restrained by injunction and mulcted in damages. Thus the payments which trade-unionists have made to "benefit" funds can be debited with the damages which a court of law may inflict for acts committed in a strike by trade-union officials in contravention of the law. To regulate what they hold to be this grave injustice and to save their benefit funds are the first objects of the Labor group. Again, the law is in a state of chaos on the subject of "picketing." John Jones may advise people not to work for the Great Western Railway. If the officials of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants do the same thing, they break the law. One person cannot "conspire." A number of persons can. Recent decisions have declared that trade-unions, as corporations, are not only legally capable of doing wrong, but far more capable than private individuals. Moreover, the definition of what constitutes "picketing" has recently grown harsher and more exacting. These are both grievances that the trade-unions are determined to redress. Again, they are interested in extending the scope of the Workmen's Compensation Act and in securing State contributions to workmen's insurance funds. Most of them, too, are anxious to have the principle recognized that it is the duty of the State to find and provide work for the unemployed. Practically all of them favor a purely secular system of education, and are agreed in desiring the enforcement of trade-union wages in public contracts, in improving the conditions of Government employment and in advocating the compulsory sale of land and its division into small allotments. The present Government, however, is not a Radical, still less is it a Socialist, Government. Its leaders are the representatives of the conservative middle classes, where they are not the representatives of the aristocracy. They are friendly to the Labor party, but will not hesitate to withstand its extreme demands; and, if we in England are really on the eve of the long-expected conflict between Labor and Capital, the first token of it may be looked for in a quarrel between Labor and Liberalism.

ST. PETERSBURG, *March, 1906.*

CONTRARY to common belief, the Autocracy has but reeled, not fallen. Since last February, thanks to the robust loyalty of the army, it has temporarily recovered its equilibrium, and now threatens, not only to minimize the promises which it made to the nation last October, but even to take back some of the concessions granted. True, as yet no irrevocable step backwards has been taken, no fatal word has been spoken by Nicholas II. On the contrary, in the only speech which he deliberately uttered to the deputations that went to Tsarskoye Selo to beseech him to resume absolute power, he showed a praiseworthy resolve to keep his promise and govern the Empire constitutionally. "*Quod scripsi scripsi*" he virtually said; and, displaying the courage of Pilate, he refused to recede from the position once taken up. But now, swayed by influences which are many and intimate, he is said to be washing his hands of Liberalism in every shape and form. At first it was urged that the title "Autocrat," meaning only an independent monarch, might and should be retained, could not indeed be dropped without offending the monarch who had borne it. Then it was pointed out that, as the Tsar had nowhere expressly said that he restricted his powers, they were as absolute now as ever; and, lastly, it was argued that there is one thing which even a Russian Tsar cannot do—he cannot renounce absolutism. And now the political pendulum is swinging towards despotism again.

The symptoms of this change—as yet one sees only symptoms—are numerous and very significant: needless arrests, uncalled-for restrictions, the employment of repression as a preventive of evil that might never have come, and, last but not least, the attitude of the Tsar himself. That the Government should put down the armed rising by ungentle measures was natural, for it was engaged in a struggle to the death, and the troops were embittered by acts of treachery and revolting cruelty. But when the fight was almost over, and the insurgents worsted, it was a foolish policy and an unfavorable symptom to allow men to be executed after a very flimsy inquiry and a very hurried trial. Strength is patient. Again, in districts quite distant from the civil war, many innocent individuals were seized and put in prison on mere suspicion, and set free a week or fortnight later without apology or explanation. It is understood that Count Witté, who

is the official head of the Government, was strongly and violently opposed to all these ill-advised measures, but that, on appealing to the Emperor, he was assured by the monarch that repression was peremptorily necessary, that it was carefully restricted to those who had done something to merit it, and was fairly adjusted to the varying degrees of guilt. That was the view adopted by the Tsar. Behind the Tsar stood M. Durnovo. Now, Durnovo, the acting Home Secretary, is an official whose name connotes a whole political programme, and whose acts appear to be inspired by a taste for systematic coercion as a *régime*. He is a noteworthy man. Dismissed from office by Alexander III, who used very strong and damaging language respecting him, he was demurred to by Nicholas II when Count Witté submitted his name as a candidate for office in a "business cabinet." "That man Durnovo!" the Emperor exclaimed when the Premier mentioned him. "No, no! My father cashiered him for certain backslidings, and I have no confidence in him." "Well, but we have nobody else, Your Majesty, who knows the machinery of home Government so well as he, and that is unhappily the most important branch of the administration at present. Besides, we want him only for a short time, and it is not necessary that he be made minister. The title of 'acting-minister' will be quite enough." "Very well, be it as you say," was the reply, and Durnovo's star thereupon began to rise.

All that happened less than six months ago. To-day, Durnovo is the Tsar's man. His will, entwined in that of the Tsar, is law. He is the real ruler of Russia. He it is who presses the button which kills suspected people, which burns huts and hovels, imprisons the innocent together with the guilty, and is fanning the embers of civil war. But the most grotesque aspect of the matter is that, whereas Durnovo breaks, it is Witté who pays with his name and reputation. He is the nominal head of the Government, but in truth he is the scapegoat of the Autocracy. All the credit he had gained by the Portsmouth Peace Treaty, by the introduction of the gold standard into Russia, by the creation of a native industry, by the repeal of religious persecutions, and by the manifesto of October, is being sacrificed at the shrine of the Autocracy; and for a whole generation Witté will remain under a cloud. His bitterest enemy is the very official who, without his intercession, would never have been admitted to high office.

If the most cruel action of Durnovo was the sanguinary repression of the insurrectionary movement after it had ceased to be dangerous, the most harmful, perhaps one might add fatal, effect of his baleful influence was the friendly attitude of the Tsar towards a deputation which was sent by a reactionary political party. The fundamental principle of that party is that, without the Autocracy, without a monarch having unbounded power, Russia is doomed to destruction, and that there is one step which even an autocrat has no right to take: the limitation of his own powers. That party was received and welcomed by Nicholas II, although its avowed aim and object is to thwart the scheme put forward by Nicholas himself in his October manifesto. Now, a monarch, one would think, ought to be the head of all legal parties and the protector of none. It seems particularly odd that the Tsar should single out for special distinction and favor the one association which condemns the liberty he granted to his people, and strives to hinder its embodiment in institutions. His people regard it as symptomatic. But a sensational touch was given to the incident when the members of the delegation, emboldened by His Majesty's friendly advances, actually presented to him and to the baby Tsarevitch the badges of their reactionary party! How can the Russian people any longer put faith in the Emperor's intentions to fulfil the solemn promises made last October for himself and his son, if he has accepted the badge of a party which condemns all concessions to the nation as disastrous?

And now, therefore, the whole question, which for a time seemed settled, has cropped up again: Will the Court treat the stipulations of the October manifesto as it treated the engagements taken towards Finland, and, ignoring them, endeavor to introduce the *status quo ante?* Is the hope, which many still entertain, that Russia will now enter the ranks of adult nations, and develop a constitution answering to her own needs, chimerical? Many thinking people here in the country itself maintain that all such hopes are vain, and for that reason they openly or secretly favor a return to revolutionary methods. They are even ready to attack the State, to undermine its finances, and thwart its foreign policy, for the sake of obtaining the measure of reform which they deem indispensable. They would burn down the house in order to roast the pig. And that section of the population is one element of the present situation.

The clergy is another factor; but, unhappily, one cannot say much for the political attitude or the intellectual resources of the Church Militant in Russia. There is, doubtless, a leaven of good and holy men among them, but it is too insignificant, too powerless, to raise the general level of the order. And when the blind lead the blind, a like dismal fate overtakes the leaders and the led. Unfortunately, some of the liberally disposed ecclesiastics whose politics are modern, and whose intelligence is developed, are ruled out of court by their ethical idiosyncrasies. In their case the spirit may be willing, but the flesh is very weak. The Muscovite prelates, on the other hand, men of decided dogmatic views, fanatical resolve and theologico-political intolerance, will listen to no talk of a change in the framework of the State.

Curiously characteristic of clergy and people—of the people who quench their religious thirst at the almost exhausted source of Russian theology—is a horrible drama which one of the journals of St. Petersburg narrates in gruesome detail. A priest lives in Cronstadt, named Father John, whom thousands of Russians regard or, until last October, regarded as a saint able to read men's thoughts, pierce the veil of futurity and work miracles at will. Other thousands, on the contrary, look down upon him as a charlatan, a mischief-maker, a false prophet. His most ardent followers—one of whom proclaimed herself the Virgin-Mother of God—are sectarians of the most fanatical sort. In the village of Upper Yelshanka, the Joannites, as they are termed, hold that Father John is an incarnation of the God of Sabaoth, and in order to worship him fittingly they recently sacrificed a woman in his honor, a woman aged forty-one, the mother of a family of five! That, they affirmed, was a sacrifice worthy of the Almighty, and all the more acceptable because the victim herself was willing and even eager to die for her faith. So well pleased were these misguided people with their ghastly act of worship, that they were making ready to sacrifice two other women, when the police, informed by the common-sense villagers, interfered and hindered the slaughter. Such are among the most intelligent of the masses for whom universal suffrage is clamorously claimed by the radical few.

Of all the Liberal factions in the country, the best organized and most popular, because most democratic, is the so-called Constitutional Democratic Party, composed of representatives of

the Zemstvos, of journalists, lawyers and members of non-Russian nationalities who expect political salvation from universal suffrage, and demand a number of other reforms for which most European peoples are still patiently waiting. This numerous body held a congress recently to determine its attitude toward the Duma. The result is very interesting and quite characteristic. The first question put was: "Shall we take part in the elections?" To which the almost unanimous answer was, "Yes." "Shall we enter the Duma?" was the second query proposed, and the reply was also in the affirmative, only two voices dissenting. Then came the crucial issue: "Are we to work in the Duma as in a normal institution?" To which every vote recorded gave a negative answer. The Duma, therefore, will not be regarded as a normal body in the State, to be treated as an embryonic parliament, the custodian of the people's rights, the champion of its claims, but simply as an assembly which is here to-day and gone to-morrow. It is a mere stop-gap. That attitude may prove fatal to the Duma itself, and destructive of all reasonable hopes based upon its labors. In other words, the Liberals, who threw away a magnificent opportunity of establishing constitutional government last October, are now about to fritter away another chance, which may not soon return.

To the left of the Constitutional Democratic Party stand the Social Democrats and Social Revolutionists, whose faith is in firearms, rifles, field-guns and dynamite bombs, and whose organization is admirably compact. These men, or many of them, are quite ready to die for their convictions at a moment's notice; but, in order to increase their number by those colleagues who prefer to live, they demand the abolition of capital punishment throughout the Empire. Being single-minded, sharp-sighted and firmly resolved, they wield a degree of influence out of all proportion to their number. It was those men who organized the railway, postal and telegraph strikes, and for a time appeared to be within an ace of success.

The insurrection having fizzled out, the parties of violence resolved to inaugurate a reign of terror. "We will take a leaf," they said, "from the book of our Polish friends who are wiping out all the prominent fighters on the side of the Autocracy, and we will spare none, not even police officers of low rank, whom mediocrity has hitherto saved." They kept their word, as usual.

Murder followed murder with rapidity, and the ease with which the assassins made good their escape intensified the dismay of the Government. In the course of one week, the Governor-General of Moscow, the acting Minister of the Interior and Count Witté himself were requested by the police not to leave their dwellings. But it is hardly to be believed that the party which, by killing Alexander II, put off the dawn of Russian liberty for more than a quarter of a century, will repeat the blunder it then committed.

A strange document, closely typewritten on three foolscap pages and purporting to have been issued by the "Pan-Russian League of Fighters for Freedom," was recently forwarded to me, together with a written request to make the contents known in America and Europe. It is a very forcible statement of the case against the Russian Autocracy, its champions and friends, the clergy, the nobles, the landowners, capitalists and the *bourgeois* generally, and an answer to the question, "What is to be done?" Here are the words of the answer:

"With force alone can we cope with their force. They have declared war on the nation, and it behooves us therefore to look upon them much as we should regard foreign foes; it is our duty to wage a merciless and a bloody war against them. But how can that war be carried on prudently and to the best purpose? In war, all means are good in order to conquer and annihilate the enemy. First and foremost, however, it is important to husband our force, and not to expend it in vain. . . . It is necessary to awaken the consciousness and the conscience of the peasantry and of the other respectable sections of the community. Every kind of agrarian league should be founded, workingmen's Committees and Councils summoned to discuss affairs. People of the same way of thinking should be brought together, and provided with arms; fighting companies ought to be organized, and measures adopted to paralyze the activity of landowners, factory proprietors, merchants and the State Treasury. Among these measures is the cessation of labor, the organization of strikes, the refusal at all costs to pay rates or taxes.

"Wherever possible, the Government should be deprived of its ill-gotten money, and for this purpose local treasuries, banks, alcohol-shops, and other places in which State funds are deposited, should be rifled: the land must be wrested from the squires, whose country-seats must be burned to cinders, while they themselves should be driven from their accursed nests."

The revolutionary programme, if indeed it be genuine and not forged by some member of the police, then goes on to describe the *modus operandi*. The chosen victims are the commanders of

the army and the police. There is a whole army of heroic men, the programme continues, ready to forfeit their lives in the cause of the nation, but unable to cope with the Imperial armies in the field.

"For this reason at the present moment the most practical, the most profitable, means of combat is the creation of independent little fighting groups and secret societies, and also the action of individual champions concentrating all their efforts on the destruction of every rank and condition of members, servants and agents of the Government, beginning at the very highest rung of the ladder and ending with the lowest, once it is shown that they have cooperated with the Government in its war with the people. As enemies of the nation we have to consider all those who, to any extent, actively oppose the movement in favor of freedom. They must all be treated as enemies are treated in war-time: wheresoever found they should be destroyed, together with their property and their kindred.

"From this point of view, it is helpful to kill not only ministers, courtiers of all ranks, Generals, Governors, commanders of troops, gendarmes, police-detectives and spies . . . but also priests who speak or act against popular liberties, landowners who appeal to the authorities for protection against the people, heads of industrial firms who shut up their factories or call in the soldiers and the police."

If this be the revolutionists' way of promoting the cause of freedom and enlightenment in Russia, the ill-starred people of that country may well exclaim: "Save me from my friends!"

All reasonable Russia would consequently be arrayed against them, were it not for the mischievous effect produced by the reactionaries who hanker after the old despotism, which would leave to them the exercise of absolute power and to the Tsar the responsibility for its abuse.

---

VIENNA, *March, 1906.*

AT this delicate juncture of European affairs, Austria-Hungary is again, and with good reason, attracting universal attention. People wonder what will be the upshot of the violent recrudescence of domestic difficulties with which this indispensable element of international tranquillity finds itself confronted. Those who clearly realize the vital importance of the part played by this great and ancient monarchy in the equilibrium of the Powers, and in the peace and prosperity of Europe, ask themselves anxiously whether it will once more weather the storm that lowers so menacingly upon its political horizon.

Fortunately, dark as the outlook unquestionably is, an impartial survey of the situation tends to show that it is, on the whole, less desperate than people have been disposed to imagine. One decidedly reassuring feature is that Europe is more than ever alive to the fact that the integrity of the Hapsburg dominions is essential to its own self-preservation and its protection from an intolerable Prussian hegemony. This cardinal fact has latterly been strongly impressed upon it by the restlessness and mischief-making of the Kaiser and his Government, which have excited the apprehensions of almost all the neighboring states.

If Austria-Hungary be saved from foreign interference, German as well as Russian, her peoples are quite capable of working out their own salvation. Indeed, so far as the Austrian half of the Dual Monarchy is concerned, they have made a great step in advance in the introduction by the Government, on February 23rd, of the Bill substituting universal suffrage for the former system of class representation, which was a gratuitous additional source of dissension in a country made up of so many nationalities and languages. The good sense of the German element in Austria has enabled it to eliminate the worst of the poison of the imported Pan-Germanic agitation that did so much mischief a few years ago,—a result to which Germany's "dumping" methods in her ally's territory have largely contributed, as have also her not unsuccessful efforts to oust Austrian industry from its own special preserves, the Balkan States. The Hungarians, on the other hand, have quite recovered from their old deference to the political wisdom of Berlin, bitter experience having proved that their confidence in the lavish flatteries of William II, and in the professions of his Government, did not save them from Pan-Germanic agitation among their own fellow subjects of German nationality in Transylvania, nor from the sacrifice of their economic interests in the hard bargain forced upon them in defiance of their Parliamentary majority—the commercial treaty with the German Empire. Everything considered, it is evident that the Austrian half of the Dual Monarchy has fairly entered upon the path of progress, and that its present troubles, serious though they may appear, are but the growing-pains and juvenile ailments of a young and vigorous representative system.

One of the unavowed causes of the popularity somewhat suddenly acquired by the Opposition parties in Hungary, which have

now become the Coalition majority, cannot be publicly discussed in this country. It was the desire of the Magyar element, who are devoted to their Liberal institutions, to take precautions in advance against the reactionary tendencies of the heir-apparent, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, and they feared that the Government party, which had been in power so long, had become too subject to Court influence to insist upon the modifications of the existing system which they considered indispensable. The Hungarians know the school in which their future sovereign was taught, and the manner in which his father, the late Archduke Karl Ludwig, was accustomed to speak of his specific for overcoming the resistance of a Parliamentary majority to the royal will—namely, the vigorous employment of loyal Austrian troops. It was this knowledge that made them desire more effective control over their own part of the common army.

The cavalier fashion in which the Emperor-King treated the leaders of the Hungarian Coalition majority, whom he summoned to Vienna merely to receive his ultimatum, in the form of a refusal to consider their claim that the employment of the German language should be abandoned in the Hungarian regiments of the army, is believed to have been prompted by his meddling ally the German Emperor. It is suspected that the resumption of absolutist methods has been encouraged from the same quarter, though prompted nearer home. The experience and prudence of the old Sovereign, who is in his seventy-sixth year, justifies the hope, however, that he will scarcely allow himself to be tempted too far into an open conflict with the Hungarian people, thus running the risk of being again obliged to resort to that brutal military repression to which he found himself committed on ascending the throne in 1848 as a boy of eighteen. Besides, he has frequently shown that he is docile to experience and capable of abandoning a policy when it proves unworkable. He will need fresh resources for the new artillery, and he cannot well afford to forego the cooperation of the Hungarian Parliament in raising them. Nor can he be blind to the significance of the warning recently given by the Austrian Chamber of Peers as to the necessity of a constitutional *régime* in Hungary for the effective working of the "Delegations," which may be described as a joint committee of the Austrian and Hungarian Legislatures.

The present Hungarian Ministry, drawn from the Parliament-

ary minority, has proposed, with the previous sanction of the Crown, to grant universal suffrage. This is evidently with the object of mobilizing the masses, and particularly the non-Magyar element, against the Coalition majority which refused to take office unless their programme were accepted by the Sovereign. The prospect thus opened up to the unenfranchised population will profoundly modify the conditions of the struggle at the General Elections, which, according to the Constitution, must be held in May. But the Coalition leaders and their organs in the press have already begun to pay court, not only to the masses, who have long been prepared by an active Socialist propaganda, but to the non-Magyar element. It is not impossible that they may succeed in outbidding their opponents, who are handicapped by the circumstance that they are working in concert with the Austrian advisers of the Crown, and against the national sentiment of their own race. The result of these elections will inevitably have a great effect upon the Emperor-King, as well as upon the new Parliament. By showing both exactly how they stand towards the country, they will clear the ground for a compromise that might have been secured before now if Berlin had been wise enough to avoid interfering in a family difference. Indeed, a compromise might possibly have been concluded ere this, had the Emperor-King consented to part with his Foreign Minister, Count Goluchowski, who is the *bête noire* of the Hungarian majority and has indeed few friends in Austria.

Although the coming elections in Hungary will, doubtless, strengthen the hands of the majority, whose policy thus far has been somewhat unfortunate owing to the lack of harmony between its leaders, the latter are sure to think twice before letting their difference with the Sovereign drift to extremes, thus running the risk of having to fight out the quarrel with the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, an obstinate and headstrong Prince who is understood to have very different views on government from those of his future Hungarian subjects.

Great as are the difficulties to be overcome, there is reason to anticipate that, (1) as a consequence of the scheme of Universal Suffrage now before the Austrian Reichsrath, a working compromise between the nationalities of this half of the Dual Monarchy will eventually be secured under the conciliatory influence of a genuinely representative system; and (2) that the inevitable re-

vision—predicted in my presence in 1898 by that far-seeing Magyar statesman, the late Desider Szilagyi—of the terms of the existing *Ausgleich*, or terminable compact regulating the economic and monetary relations between the Austrian and Hungarian halves of the Dual Monarchy, will be made. This *Ausgleich* constituting the two countries into a common customs territory, after the manner of the states of the German Empire, expires next year, and must be renewed on terms acceptable to both, while leaving each more liberty than it has had in economic affairs. If this double task be fulfilled (and both peoples recognize it as essential, not only to their welfare, but to their very existence), it is practically certain that their common interests and the outside pressure to which they are subjected will once more exercise their full unifying influence upon this extraordinary mosaic of nationalities. The Dual Monarchy will then be in a better position than ever before to fulfil its beneficent mission of protecting and promoting the development of the Balkan States, and of acting as a bulwark against the Pan-Germanic ambition which aims at the disintegration of the Hapsburg dominions, the extension of the German Confederation to the Adriatic, and a hegemony over the rest of Southeastern Europe and Asiatic Turkey.

Up to that comparatively recent period when, first, Czech, and then German, obstruction in the Austrian Reichsrath attracted foreign attention to its proceedings, the Parliamentary character of that assembly was more nominal than real. The Sovereign still ruled under a Parliamentary mask, with the aid of the proverbial "thirty aristocrats who govern Austria." The present system, with its excessive representation of the landed interest and latterly of the large manufacturers, which rendered this condition of affairs possible, has long since broken down, and it will now be certainly replaced at an early date by that of "universal, equal and direct suffrage." This will at the same time take the power out of the hands of the German element, and of the landowners and propertied classes generally.

What effect will this radical change have upon the relations of the Dual Monarchy with foreign countries, and more particularly with Germany and the Balkan States? This is an interesting and most important inquiry, which is suggested with particular force by recent events, such as the altered attitude towards Germany of the Hungarian majority (hitherto stalwart supporters

of the Triple Alliance) and the disapproval of that same Hungarian majority, as well as of a section of the Austrian people, of the overbearing action of the Vienna Foreign Office towards Servia in the matter of the projected Customs Convention with Bulgaria. The present hostility of the Hungarians to Germany, and their obvious desire for a reconciliation with the Servians, the most important of the Slav races with which they have immediate dealings, are but the confirmation of a change that has been proceeding gradually and surely for some years past, the completion of which will in all probability deprive what Prince von Bülow has aptly and correctly styled "Prussia-Germany" of the support of Austria-Hungary in realizing her ambitions. Germany has abused her position to the detriment of her Austro-Hungarian ally—economically in the Balkans and in the commercial treaties concluded between the two Powers, and both politically and economically at Constantinople. The natural result is that she has well-nigh exhausted the patience of the two elements upon which the Alliance was based in this country, namely the Germans in Austria and the Magyars in Hungary.

The sympathy shown in both halves of the Monarchy for the Servians, in their recent conflict with the Vienna Foreign Office, is also a noteworthy sign of a spirit which promises in time to lead to a new policy towards the Balkan States. Hitherto, there were two currents of Austro-Hungarian public opinion on this matter—first, the desire of the Austrian manufacturer to guard those States as his exclusive preserve, and, secondly, the half-avowed Government policy of maintaining dissensions between them as a means of preventing their consolidation, with its corollary of a settlement of the Macedonian question in their favor. The future Austrian and Hungarian Parliaments, however, are not likely to share this desire for territorial expansion, with its concomitant increase of military expenditure. The public in this country were never enthusiastic about the acquisition of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It has only served as a somewhat poor consolation to their defeated dynasty, and, if it were not regarded as a stage on the way to Salonica in some indefinite future, they would often wonder what they were doing there.

But when King Victor Emmanuel, son-in-law of the Prince of Montenegro, ascended the Italian throne, this dream of expansion began to fade, and would seem doomed to vanish altogether.

Italy, which cannot abandon the Montenegrins and the results of her own work in Albania, will not permit Austria to take a footing at Salonica. Nor can Austria consent to see Italy establish herself on the Albanian coast, either at Avlona or Durazzo, thus converting the Adriatic into an Italian lake. Consequently, both Powers would appear to be checkmated, so far as territorial expansion is concerned. In these circumstances, Austria may be expected eventually to abandon her constant aim to maintain disunion among the Balkan States, and to prevent their material as well as political consolidation, as she has done, for instance, in the case of Servia, whose efforts to secure access to the Adriatic by a railway from Nisch to Skutari she has thwarted at Constantinople for ten years past. It is also to be hoped that she will abandon her systematic opposition to that one hope of a satisfactory settlement of the Macedonian question: the creation of a Balkan Confederation strong enough to justify Europe in attempting a fair partition of Macedonia between the adjoining Balkan States. There can be no doubt that the indignation of the Austrian Foreign Office against the projected Customs Convention between Servia and Bulgaria (which has now been emasculated under threat of a tariff war) was rather political than economic. Servia, practically cut off from other markets, secured from Bulgaria under that Convention the right to send her goods through the Principality to the Black Sea free of duty, but Austria would not consent to this either on commercial or political grounds, and protested that the two States had no right to conclude such a treaty. It should be remembered that Austria-Hungary made a similar protest against Servia's first Commercial Treaty, that concluded with England in 1880. Taking advantage of the privileged position given to her by the Treaty of Berlin, she ousted British trade from Servia in a fashion somewhat similar to that in which Germany is ousting her own at the present moment. But this sort of treatment cannot last forever! When diplomatic relations between England and Servia are again resumed—which will, doubtless, be very soon—it is to be expected that Great Britain, France and other disinterested European Powers that have long advised the Balkan States to come to an understanding between themselves, will help to counteract the pernicious policy of the "closed door," pursued at Constantinople by Austria and Germany. This policy is putting spokes

in the wheel of progress, and, with a short-sighted and unintelligent selfishness, retarding the development of the Balkans and hampering the commerce of all the maritime States with an extensive region rich in natural resources.

---

WASHINGTON, *March, 1906.*

ALTHOUGH nearly four months have elapsed since the first session of the Fifty-ninth Congress began, and, although three of the measures earnestly and avowedly desired by the President —to wit, the Philippine Tariff bill, the Statehood bill and the Railway Rate-Making bill—were quickly carried through the House of Representatives, not one of them has secured the approval of the Senate, and two of them are buried beyond the hope of resurrection. Only selfish motives could have prompted the stifling of the Philippine Tariff bill in the committee of the Senate to which it had been referred. As we have formerly pointed out, the only objection to this measure is that it did not go far enough. We are obviously bound in equity to treat the Philippines as well as we treat Porto Rico and Hawaii. Porto Rico enjoys absolute free trade with the United States, although her sugar and tobacco compete with our domestic products. In view of this concession to Porto Rico, the Philippine Tariff bill should have been compressed in a line that simply announced that, on and after a certain date, all products of the Philippines would be admitted to the ports of the United States, duty free. As a matter of fact, the bill provided that, while all other products of the Philippines should be exempt from duty in our ports, sugar and tobacco should pay 25 per cent. of the Dingley rates up to 1909, after which they also should be free from duty. Inadequate as it was, this proposal met with strenuous resistance on the part of the "Stand-Patters" in the House of Representatives, but in that chamber Speaker Cannon, with the assistance of Democratic members, succeeded in inflicting an overwhelming defeat upon the rebels, and in securing the performance of an act of justice. The bill then went to the Senate, where it was referred to a committee, of which a majority were "Stand-Patters" and in which consequently it was killed.

Speaker Cannon also managed to drive through the House of Representatives under whip and spur the Statehood bill for the admission into the Union of Oklahoma Territory and Indian

Territory as a single State, and also for the admission of the Territories of Arizona and New Mexico as one State. The fusion of Arizona and New Mexico was hotly and persistently opposed in the House on the ground that the inhabitants of the first-named Territory were vehemently opposed to such amalgamation. The protestants, however, as we have said, were not strong enough to beat the measure in the House, but the Senate, after a prolonged debate, adopted by a majority of thirteen an amendment proposed by Senator Foraker, providing that the question whether the fusion of the two Territories should take place should be submitted to the inhabitants of Arizona and New Mexico separately, and, if a majority in either Territory should reply in the negative, the fusion should not be effected. Not satisfied, apparently, with this precaution, the Senate proceeded to adopt, by a majority of two, another amendment, excising all mention of Arizona or New Mexico from the bill. In that mutilated form, the bill was passed, and was sent to a conference committee. As we go to press, it seems probable that Speaker Cannon will insist upon instructing the House members of the conference committee to demand the enactment of the bill in its original shape; but it is expected that he will ultimately advise the House to pass the bill in its dismembered form.

As for the treaty with Santo Domingo, it has not been definitely killed, but is sleeping in the Committee on Foreign Relations. It will not be awakened and reported to the Senate until Mr. Lodge sees a better prospect of securing the votes needed for ratification than is now offered. There are in the Senate only 56 Republicans, there being a vacancy in Delaware and one Republican Senator, Burton of Kansas, being unavoidably absent. Consequently, four Democratic votes are required to constitute the prescribed two-thirds, but, since the Democratic Senators decided in caucus to oppose the measure, only two are procurable. For the present, the Santo Domingo treaty will remain in its present curious condition. We say "curious," because, while the treaty is inchoate in the United States, it is operative in Santo Domingo, where American agents designated by our Government, but appointed by the Dominican Executive, are actually discharging the collection and distribution of customs revenue in pursuance of the treaty's provisions. Whether Mr. Roosevelt has any right to act under a treaty which, as lacking ratification

by our Senate, is for the United States no treaty at all, is a question about which constitutional lawyers differ. We ourselves should answer the question in the negative.

The Hepburn bill, which, when it left the House of Representatives, embodied the President's views and wishes regarding Government rate-making for railroads, has now become the Hepburn-Tillman bill, having been reported, unamended, by a Democratic member of the committee to which it was referred. It has undergone, in other words, the same kind of metamorphosis which the Bland bill experienced. The latter measure, it will be remembered, having left the House of Representatives under the name of its Democratic author, was reported to the Senate from the Senatorial Committee by a Republican Senator, Mr. Allison, and thus found itself transformed into the Bland-Allison bill. In the present instance, the odd result of a game of cross-purposes, and of a clash between the friends of the railroads and the friends of the President, was that those Senators who thought that the Hepburn bill went too far voted to place the reporting of it to the Senate in the hands of a Democrat who thought it did not go far enough. If the Republican friends of the Administration and the Democrats should cooperate, they could undoubtedly pass the Hepburn-Tillman bill in the form which it wore when it left the House of Representatives. If they do not come to such an agreement, the chances are that the Republicans of all shades of opinion will come to some understanding as to the crucial point, namely, the extent to which an order of the Interstate Commerce Commission may be reviewed by the Courts. What the friends of the railroads want is that the power of judicial review shall be complete, and shall include the right to suspend by injunction the operation of an order, pending the final adjudication of its validity.

It is extremely doubtful whether the power of review and the right to suspend by injunction do not inhere constitutionally in the United States Courts, and whether it is possible to limit them by legislation. From our own point of view, the prolonged and animated contest over this point is but sound and fury, signifying nothing. Suppose the utmost demand of the so-called reformers should be granted, or suppose, in other words, that the Hepburn-Tillman bill should make an order of the Interstate Commerce Commission instantly and permanently opera-

tive, all judicial review and suspension by injunction being prohibited; what would it amount to? On the very first occasion when the Interstate Commerce Commission should issue a peremptory rate-making order, the railway affected would go before a United States Court and invoke the fundamental constitutional right of an American citizen, the right set forth in the Fifth Amendment of the Constitution, that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or *property* without due process of law. What is "due process of law"? The process of law which existed at the date when the first ten Amendments of the Constitution were adopted. The due process of law then included, and consequently must now include, the right of every citizen to have the validity of a Federal statute judicially tested, and, pending final adjudication, to have its operation suspended by injunction.

What is to be done about the Panama Canal? Not even the type of the canal has yet been definitely determined on, although by April 1st, tens of millions of dollars will have been expended on the Isthmus. Mr. Roosevelt's management of the canal problem is rapidly becoming an object of public derision. The specific responsibility for the conduct of the affair, which rests on Secretary Taft, has disqualified him for becoming the next Republican nominee for the Presidency. If Secretary Root is wise, he will resign sooner than acquiesce in the transfer of the Canal Strip and the construction of the interoceanic waterway to the State Department. If we may judge of the future by the past, disgust and ridicule will be the portion of any official who is called upon to handle that unlucky business. We never ought to have bought the canal franchise until after we had made up our mind as to what kind of a canal we wanted. Then, within thirty days after the purchase of the franchise, the work of excavation should have been begun in pursuance of the predetermined plan. The work of sanitation could have gone on simultaneously, as it did at Suez, and as it did at Panama under the French *régime*. One thing is certain, and that is that the Senate will not give President Roosevelt, his Secretary of War, and his subordinate appointees the free hand in dealing with tens of millions of dollars which they have had during the last three years. They should not have an additional penny until it is known whether a lock canal or a sea-level canal is to be built; and, after funds are again entrusted to them for the work

of excavation, they should be compelled to make good by frequent and rigorous investigation. The carnival of wastefulness which, for some years, has been witnessed on the Isthmus should be summarily stopped.

It will be remembered that, three years ago, President Roosevelt, although he could find absolutely *no* authorization for the act in the Federal Constitution, intervened in the anthracite-coal strike, appointed a Commission and, prevailed upon the mine-owners and the miners to agree to accept that Commission's award. The letters recently addressed by him to a conspicuous operator in the bituminous coal region, on the one hand, and to Mr. John Mitchell, the representative of the United Mine Workers, on the other, are viewed in Washington as an indication that Mr. Roosevelt intends to repeat his former unprecedented experiment. So far as the threatened strike in the bituminous coal-fields is concerned, it unquestionably should be averted. If the strike should be universal, it would put out of business all the railways in the United States that use the bituminous combustible, and would close every factory and foundry. To name but a single example of the damage it would cause, it would paralyze the colossal iron and steel industry, which, at present, is enjoying unparalleled prosperity. The arrest of that prosperity, and the prevention of railways from performing the work of transportation, would be not only economical catastrophes; they would be public crimes. Inasmuch, therefore, as Congress deliberately declined to dispute the constitutionality of the President's intervention, when it appropriated money to pay the members of the Anthracite Coal Commission, we are no doubt justified in believing that the Federal legislature, as well as public opinion, would sanction Mr. Roosevelt's interposition, so far as the bituminous mines would be affected by a strike. The case is otherwise with the anthracite mines. Here there is no pretence that the community would suffer from a strike. The reserve stocks of the anthracite companies are ample to carry consumers through the summer without any material increase in price. Under these circumstances, if the anthracite miners are not content with the extremely liberal award made by the Anthracite-Coal Strike Commission three years ago, they will deserve no pity for the consequences of their discontent, and should be allowed to bear the consequences of a concerted refusal to work.

## CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER.

Baron Speck von Sternburg

fought through the Franco-German war, and continued in active military service until 1885, when he was appointed military attaché to the German Legation at Washington. He joined the diplomatic service in 1890 and was transferred to Pekin as First Secretary to the Legation. Subsequently, he was *chargé d'affaires* at Belgrade, Servia. He was appointed First Secretary to the German Embassy at Washington in 1898, when he acted as High Commissioner on the Samoan Commission. In 1900, he was Consul-General of Germany for British India and Ceylon, and since 1903 he has been German Ambassador to the United States.

Luigi Luzzatti,

the famous Italian economist, was born in Venice, of Jewish parents, in 1841. He has long devoted himself to the public service of his country. For many years he has held the chair of Constitutional Law in the University of Rome. In 1882, he was Under-Secretary in the Ministry of Agriculture. In 1891, he was Secretary of the Treasury in the cabinet of Rudini, and since that time he has repeatedly presided over Italian finances. He was called to the same Ministry again in February of this year. He has done more than any one else in Italy for the cause of agricultural cooperation, and he is interested in the movement for solving the problem of the housing of the poor through cooperative societies. When Mr. David Lubin projected the scheme for organizing agriculture on economic lines by means of an International Institute, he laid it before Signor Luzzatti, through whose

influence he obtained the audience from the King of Italy which led to His Majesty's espousing the idea and taking the initiative in its favor.

FRANK W. BLACKMAR

graduated from the University of the Pacific in 1881, and from Johns Hopkins University in 1889, when he was appointed Professor of History and Sociology in the University of Kansas. This chair he occupied for ten years, assuming in 1899 the professorship of Economics in the same University. He is the author of many important works, including "Federal and State Aid to Higher Education," "Spanish Colonization," "Spanish Institutions in the Southwest," "The Study of History and Sociology," "The Story of Human Progress" and "The Elements of Sociology."

AMERICUS

is an American citizen who, for many years, has lived and labored in the Turkish Empire. For obvious reasons his identity is not disclosed.

GEORGE STEWART BROWN

is a member of the Baltimore bar. He is a graduate of Johns Hopkins University and of the University of Maryland Law School. He has taken a practical interest in municipal politics. In 1899, he was elected to the popular branch of the City Council in which he sat through two terms, when he was elected to the upper branch of the Council, of which he is still a member. On two occasions, in 1901 and 1903, under a direct-vote system of making nominations he defeated the candidate of the "organization" in the Democratic primaries.

H. G. DAVIS

was candidate for the Vice-Presidency of the United States on the Democratic ticket in 1904. He was born in Maryland in 1823, but when quite a young man went to West Virginia to reside, and for the last half-century he has been the most prominent citizen of that State. He served in the United States Senate from 1871 to 1883. He declined reelection to engage in railroad and mining enterprises, and has since been foremost in the industrial development of the State. In 1901-2, he was Chairman of the delegation from the United States to the Second Pan-American Conference in

Mexico, and made head of the Permanent Pan-American Railway Committee.

WALTER L. FLEMING

is a native of Alabama. After graduating from the Alabama Polytechnic Institute, he took a special course in history and political science in Columbia University. In 1903, he was appointed Professor of History in the University of West Virginia. During the war with Spain, he was an officer in the Third Alabama Volunteers. He is a member of a number of historical societies, and he was one of the editors of the Historians' History of the World.

HANNIS TAYLOR,

who is recognized throughout the world as one of the most eminent living authorities on constitutional history and constitutional law, was born in New Berne, North Carolina, in 1851. Having graduated at the University of his native State, he was admitted to the bar and achieved great distinction in the practice of his profession. He was appointed Minister to Spain by President Cleveland in 1893. The wide literary fame gained for Dr. Taylor by his great work on "The Origin and Growth of the English Constitution" was materially enhanced by his treatise on "International Public Law," which has been declared by a high authority to be "the most exhaustive work of its kind issued in this country since Dana's Wheaton." In recognition of the service which he had rendered to literature and learning by the publication of these works, the Universities of Dublin and Edinburgh recently conferred upon Mr. Taylor the honorary degree of LL.D. He has just published a third treatise, of a like scholarly and comprehensive character, on the "Jurisdiction and Procedure of the United States Supreme Court" upon which the Justices of that court have put the imprimatur of their high approval and commendation. Mr. Taylor represented the United States before the Alaskan Boundary Commission.

LOUISE COLLIER WILLCOX

was born in Chicago. She is the daughter of a Unitarian minister, and was educated in France, Germany and England. Later, she studied for two years at the Conservatory of Leipzig, and for two years in Birmingham, England. She

has lived in Virginia since 1887, and has been a contributor to "East and West," "The Chap-Book," "The Century," "The Outlook," "Poet-Lore," "The Times-Democrat" of New Orleans, "The Boston Transcript" and "The Evening Post" of New York. For several years, she has been a reader and adviser of one of the leading publishing houses, and has regularly contributed editorials to "Harper's Weekly."

HESTER DORSEY RICHARDSON

has given special attention to historical and genealogical research. She has written much for the magazines and for a number of leading papers with which she has been associated from time to time. She is President of the Public Records Commission of Maryland, Vice-President of the Maryland Original Research Society, and a member of the Maryland Historical Society and of the Maryland Society of Colonial Dames.

AGNES LEE

was educated in Switzerland, though she was born in Chicago. She has translated the poems of Theophile Gautier into English verse and published poems from her own pen. The poem which she contributes to this number was suggested by a tragic incident which occurred in Honolulu a few years ago.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

No. DXCIV.

MAY, 1906.

# THE PHANTOM PERIL OF GERMAN EMIGRATION AND SOUTH-AMERICAN SETTLEMENTS.

BY BARON SPECK VON STERNBURG, IMPERIAL GERMAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES.

THE question of German emigration, in former years the subject of widespread and animated discussion, has been revived of late, and there is a noticeable tendency in the international press to invent a "German Peril in South America." It is the object of this paper to give a short definition of Germany's emigration policy, and to remove various misunderstandings which have been created frequently by telegrams emanating from European sources, having as their object the creation of distrust, especially in the United States, with regard to the German policy in South America.

German emigration has dwindled so steadily and rapidly that at present it would seem to have reached the low-water mark in its downward trend. A glance at the official statistics of emigration will indicate the remarkable extent of this retrogression. In 1852, Germans, to the number of 145,918, and in 1854, to the number of 215,009, went to the United States alone. In 1872, just after the unification of the Empire, the grand total of German emigration amounted to 128,152; in 1873,



Copyright, 1906, by THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW PUBLISHING COMPANY. All Rights Reserved

to 110,438; in 1881, to 220,902; in 1882, to 203,585 persons. During the years succeeding 1882 up to 1892, the figures, in the average, still surpassed 100,000, but since then they have shown a notable falling off. Thus, only 22,309 in 1900; 22,073 in 1901; 32,098 in 1902; 36,310 in 1903; 27,984 in 1904—were recorded as having gone from Germany to lands beyond the seas.

This retrogressive tendency appears the more surprising when it is remembered that Germany's population, mainly as a result of the excess of births over deaths, but partly through its inland migration, has, since the foundation of the Empire, increased at an average annual rate of half a million, during recent years at the still higher rate of 800,000 *per annum*. The cause for this seeming anomaly lies in the extraordinary economical development of Germany during the last decade, in the consequent steady improvement of the social status of its laboring classes, brought about by a progressive rise in wages, and in the elimination, thereby, of one of the strongest incentives to emigration in former days: the hope, at the bottom of modern emigration in general, to receive a better reward for labor abroad than under prevailing economic conditions could be secured at home.

In view of this striking decline in the volume of German emigration, it is somewhat difficult to find a satisfactory explanation for the attitude of a certain portion of the foreign press, which, in utter disregard of incontestable statistical and historical facts, still eagerly grasps at every opportunity, however far-fetched, to assail Germany's emigration policy, question its loyalty and by this means stir up public sentiment against the German nation. These attacks, partly open, partly covert, are more pointedly directed against German emigration to South America generally, and to South Brazil in particular.

Constant allusions are made in these interpretations of an imaginary "writing on the wall" to an alleged "German danger," which, in the disguise of German immigration, past and to come, threatens the political and economic sovereignty of the South-American republics. With a "*videant consules*," imputations are cast abroad of political aspirations on the part of Germany in the southern half of this hemisphere, in the realization of which the German settlements already there are to be the stepping-stone. Ominous hints are disseminated of intentions of territorial aggrandizement in South Brazil, which Germany

proposes to effect with the aid of the German-Brazilian colonists, backed by its powerful fleet now building up. Subsidized, it is averred, by the mother country, these settlements are to form a state within the state, a "thorn in the flesh" of South America.

Another of these fabrications informs us that the German "Central Bureau of Information for Emigrants," created several years ago, in exchange for official aid received by it from the Imperial Government, is engaged in conducting a well and systematically organized campaign for peopling South America, and especially South Brazil, with German settlements. Intelligent and well-informed persons everywhere are, of course, fully aware of the absurdity of these accusations and calumnies; nor does it appear that the Governments mainly interested in questions of migration and other bodies of influence are at all inclined to lend a willing ear to these misrepresentations.

Nevertheless, when it is remembered how readily certain classes of people are accessible to even the most ludicrous rumors of this kind, such inventions, inventions though they be, are not without some effect. Past experience is not lacking in proofs of the fact that, by such instrumentalities, public sentiments and public passions may be aroused which are anything but conducive to the friendly approach of nations to each other and to a mutual understanding of their respective individualities.

An impartial review of South-American conditions, as they have actually shaped themselves in course of time through German immigration, may be of some aid in averting such regrettable consequences and in refuting these attacks against Germany.

It is hardly necessary to say that large tracts of land in South America, particularly in South Brazil, the Argentine Republic and South Chile, are by their natural environments eminently suitable as homesteads for German immigrants. A climate blessed in its mildness; a virgin soil of great fertility; lands as yet uninvaded by colonists and still available for occupancy; living conditions similar to those prevailing at home; a Government benevolently inclined towards promoting German immigration—all these factors combine to attract Germans to the hospitable South-American shores with their alluring promises of affording a prosperous existence. Under these circumstances, and led by the innate migratory instinct of their fertile race, Germans in numbers large enough, if taken by themselves, yet small in com-

parison with the quota contributed by the fatherland to other countries, chose South America for their colonizing activities.

German migration to Brazil began in the twenties of the past century. Great difficulties were encountered by the early settlers; with characteristic German perseverance they plodded along, and soon established the fact of the vitality of their settlements. In South Brazil, especially, a portion of these settlements have attained a high degree of prosperity, Reaching there, as a rule, with hardly any means, these sturdy Teutons have gradually built up for themselves a safe and comfortable livelihood. Germans in speech, Brazilians in citizenship, they have founded scores of thriving colonies. Their descendants have through generations preserved their German identity and, as a natural consequence, a preference for goods of German origin.

To-day, German merchants are working successfully in the commercial pursuits of the Republic. German trade and navigation are progressing in a gratifying manner. In many lines, the achievements of German colonists are recognized as standards of perfection. Rio Grande do Sul, the most southern State of the Republic, and Santa Catharina are inhabited by about 200,000 persons of German extraction. Under the active leadership of men of the type of Dr. Blumenau, who exercised their influence towards establishing close relations between the Brazilian Republic and its German element of population, and towards making the interests of the latter subservient to those of the former, the German settlements in these southern parts prospered in a remarkable degree. In Santa Catharina, the much-maligned "Hamburg Colonizing Society" of 1849, later absorbed by the "Hanseatic Colonization Company," has rendered material assistance in the upbuilding of the German colonies, by furnishing capital for the improvement of its own landed property in these regions, by making surveys, building roads and bridges and thus employing scores of newly arrived and indigent immigrants.

In Parana and Sao Paulo, the Germans, although for years left without any noteworthy reinforcement from abroad, and finding themselves confronted with a strong element of Italian and Polish-Galician immigrants, have likewise succeeded in the fields of commerce, capital, enterprise and intelligence. German immigration to the Argentine Republic has thus far been of relative insignificance. In a total of 2,279,000 immigrants, re-

corded by that country for the period 1857-1895, there were only about 25,000 Germans. The Germans of Buenos Ayres, the capital of the Republic, are held in high esteem by their fellow citizens; in commerce they occupy an honorable position. In Chile, Germans have rendered eminent services in the domains of colonization, trade and navigation, as well as in military and public life. Nowhere, perhaps, on the southern portion of this hemisphere has the civilizing influence of their immigration made itself more keenly and more penetratingly felt than in that very country, the southern section of which owes its economic development almost entirely to the coming of the Germans.

Moreover, this movement has been entirely spontaneous, without any stimulus from the Government of the mother country. On the contrary, the latter may be said to have exercised its powers in the direction of obstructing rather than of fostering it. Students of German emigration will remember the Prussian "von der Heydt rescript" and similar decrees, which, for a time, prohibited the granting of any concessions for the transportation of emigrants to Brazil.

If it now be asked whether German immigration has proved a danger, or even a disadvantage, to South America, the answer must be decidedly in the negative. Witness the history of the last eighty years. The offspring of the early settlers in South America have almost invariably renounced or lost their German citizenship. In this they were indirectly aided by the laws of their native country. While perpetuating their mother tongue, their German customs and manners, they have embraced the citizenship of their adopted country. In closest touch with the interests of their new fatherland, they have distinguished themselves as eager and successful promoters of its advancement and economic development. They have not the remotest thought of returning to their former homes. They are free from any hankering after political separation, which, if it were suggested to them, they would repudiate as a serious detriment to their own interests, and as irreconcilable with their allegiance to the country of their adoption. They stand aloof from revolutionary movements and internal political strifes. Guided by their characteristic orderliness, their habitual deliberation and a correct understanding of the reciprocal relations between human right and duty, they are a bulwark of strength to the state, an element,

in short, which has rendered infinite service in elevating the standard of civilization in the South-American republics.

It was but natural that the thriving condition of these settlements, and the economic effect of their demands upon export and industry of the mother country, turned the eyes of German economists to the possibilities presented by the southern half of this continent as an outlet for the surplus population of the fatherland. German public opinion, even before, but notably during, the period of Germany's high tide of emigration in the course of the eighties, raised its voice in support of a policy of directing German emigration into South-American channels. "Diversion of emigration from North to South America" then became, and for a long time remained, the shibboleth of all those who advocated *economic utilization* of emigration as a postulate of public opinion.

Of the attitude assumed by the German Government in dealing with this popular demand and with the question of emigration in general, documentary evidence may be found in the German Emigration-Law and the introductory *exposé* of its underlying "motives," a careful perusal of which will be found of material assistance in arriving at a correct understanding of Germany's emigration policy. Emigration, in the eyes of that law, is an economic phase of the social life of the nation, which, in itself, is an economic loss to the commonwealth. It should not be prohibited, for that would interfere with the constitutional rights of the individual. But it should not, on the other hand, receive governmental aid, regardless of the country of its final destination. From this fundamental point of view, it is made a punishable offence to stimulate emigration by artificial means or by systematic effort.

It is true that the law, as set forth in its preamble, favors the diversion of emigration from countries which it considers ill-suited to German habitation, to countries of opposite characteristics. In the latter category, however, it classes in a summary way all foreign countries, the climatic, agricultural and other surrounding conditions of which are deemed to be well adapted to serve as a basis for prosperous German settlements, in which Germanism may thrive and the German element, through its own consumption of German manufactures, become an intermediary of increased *traffic exchange* between the new and the

old country. In the former class are grouped all countries in which German individuality, language and traits are most likely to be absorbed through assimilation, and the relations between the mother country and its former subjects to be loosened.

Special pains are taken by the legislature to avoid indiscriminate generalization from these points of view with reference to certain countries as entireties. The public demand, previously alluded to, for an outright diversion of emigration from North to South America, is subjected to severe criticism. In justification of this position, particular stress is placed upon the fact that in North America, as well as elsewhere, there are German settlements, which through generations have preserved their German identity. In South America, on the other hand, the aspects are not invariably as bright as is frequently surmised. Instances are on record of German settlements in South America which have assimilated as early as in the second or third generation of their existence. Lack of suitable ground, of adequate protection of the rights of ownership, and of appropriate channels for marketing their goods has brought disaster to more than one South-American colony of Germans. In thus deliberately refraining from any generalization in their references to North and South America, the framers of the law were evidently guided by the desire to curb, at the outset, any tendency in the direction of such generalization. Under the law and its "motives," questions as to the fitness of certain countries or districts for German colonization are to be taken up individually and decided upon careful examination of all the local conditions prevailing in each particular case.

In dealing with emigration, indiscriminate commendation of, or warning against, whole countries or parts of countries, presenting, perhaps, the most diversified conditions, is to be avoided. It is pointed out that for years to come North America is bound to remain the principal goal of German exodus. Transportation of German emigrants to the United States and Canada, as well as to Australia, is, therefore, a matter of special concern to the legislator. The law also emphasizes the fact that it is not one of its functions to dissuade Germans from emigrating to these countries, their general conditions being such as to afford a certain guarantee for the future welfare of the emigrants.

The soundness of these fundamental principles is incontestable.

They bear the stamp of having been dictated, solely, by considerations of national progress, without, however, losing sight of the interests of the emigrant or of those of his chosen country. They need not shun the light of publicity, and they have been adopted by Great Britain, Italy, Austria-Hungary and other countries as a guide in shaping their own emigration policy.

As regards the "Central Bureau of Information for Emigrants," the attacks directed against it are likewise void of foundation. The calumniators of the "Bureau" are often pleased to brand it as being instrumental in furthering a policy of expansion, which, by transplanting vast multitudes into Brazilian soil, hopes to pave the way for the realization of political aspirations in South America. There is not a shadow of truth in these allegations. The primary object of the "Bureau," according to the official programme outlined for its activities, is to safeguard the interests of Germans in moderate circumstances who supply the bulk of German emigration. In its general features, it is patterned after the "Emigrants' Information Office," of London, the "*Bureau de Renseignements*," of Brussels, the Swiss, Italian, and other similar institutions, some of which have been in existence for many years.

Its origin is traceable to the consideration that persons bent upon emigrating should have access at home to reliable information concerning the countries of their choice. The "Bureau," although supervised and financially aided by the Government, has no official character, but is attached to a private society. Under the rules of its organization, approved by the Chancellor of the Empire, it is forbidden to engage in any policy of emigration. Its services as a source of information are limited to the answering of inquiries addressed to it. The answers must be confined to the specific countries named by the inquirer; within these bounds their scope may be extended to any country, including the German colonies, and *not* to South America alone.

According to the statistics published by the "Bureau" since its creation, its services in the line described were as follows:

| From | Total number of answers to inquiries. | Subject of inquiry. German colonies. | United States. | South Brazil. | Brazil. | Argentine Republic. | Chile. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| April 1 to Sept. 30, '02.... | 2654 | 1700 | 134 | 146 | 66 | 52 | 25 |
| Oct. 1, '02, to Sept. 30, '03.. | 3376 | 2315 | 215 | 237 | 147 | 76 | 44 |
| Oct. 1, '03, to Sept. 30, '04.. | 3308 | 2348 | 244 | 273 | 115 | 128 | 55 |
| Oct. 1, '04, to Sept. 30, '05.. | 2663 | 1888 | 154 | 232 | 111 | 120 | 37 |

Note the insignificant number of questions asked and answered regarding South America, as against the total shown in the first column of the table. No further evidence is required to show the flimsiness of the assertion that the "Bureau," in consideration of governmental aid, centres its energies on promoting German emigration to South America and especially to South Brazil.

Unnecessary, therefore, and ridiculous are, finally, the frequent warnings, sounded in certain publications of alleged dangers threatening South America through German emigration. According to the official German statistics, the total number of Germans who emigrated from the fatherland during the period 1871 (the year of the unification of the Empire) to 1894, amounted to 2,616,731. Of this number, 2,380,792 emigrated to the United States, 19,011 to British North America, 54,719 to Brazil, 31,814 to Argentina, Chile and other South-American countries, 13,012 to Africa. Since 1898 German emigration has been as follows:

| | NUMBER OF EMIGRANTS TO | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | United States. | Brazil. | Other South America. | Total. |
| 1898 | 18,563 | 821 | 1139 | 22,221 |
| 1899 | 19,806 | 896 | 997 | 29,323 |
| 1900 | 19,703 | 364 | 330 | 22,309 |
| 1901 | 19,912 | 402 | 271 | 22,073 |
| 1902 | 29,211 | 807 | 263 | 32,098 |
| 1903 | 33,649 | 693 | 252 | 36,310 |
| 1904 | 26,085 | 355 | 316 | 27,984 |

It will be observed that, according to these figures, the quota of German emigration to Brazil was a very small percentage of the total. The percentage of Germany's contribution of emigration to the rest of South America is still lower. It may be safely left to the intelligent reader to decide for himself whether these figures are really indicative of a well-planned German movement for the colonization of South America, and whether they really portend any danger to that continent. Like results are obtained from the figures compiled by the German Bureau of Statistics as to the German population of all countries:

| Country. | Native Germans. | German subjects. |
|---|---|---|
| The United States | 2,669,164 | ? |
| The Argentine | ? | 17,143 |
| Chile | ? | 7,049 |
| Brazil | 20,000 | 8,000 |

Thus, again, the phantom of a German peril in South America

disappears before the searchlight of statistics. Note, on the other hand, the enormous number of Germans residing in the United States. It is a statistical fact that of its entire emigration Germany, in the average, sends over 96 per cent. to the United States. According to the model American immigration statistics, the influx of Germans into the Union during the period 1820 to 1870 amounted to 2,368,483, and during the period 1820 to 1903 to 5,138,091, or 25 per cent. of the alien arrivals in that country.

The Federal Census of 1900 places the number of native Germans in the United States at 2,663,418, against a total population of 75,693,734. Mannhard* is authority for the statement that the number of German immigrants now residing in the United States, together with their direct offspring, amounts to 26,000,000. The percentage of German blood circulating in the veins of the inhabitants of the United States, Mr. Mannhard estimates at 33.56. German immigration has thus contributed vastly more to the upbuilding of the population of the United States than to that of any other country. Nor are there any present indications that the United States will cease to be the Mecca of German emigration. Of space available for settlement, there is still an abundance. On a land area which, according to American economists, could support a population of 800,000,000, there are at present only 80,000,000 inhabitants.

Even now, German civilization, German language, prosperous German schools, churches, societies, and papers are everywhere throughout the United States in ample evidence. Yet, who ever thinks of speaking of a German peril in the United States? German immigration, on the contrary, is now, as ever, welcomed in the United States as a desirable influx, as an economic gain to the population. Equity demands that German emigration to South America be judged by the same standard, and that, instead of being denounced as a peril to the state, it be recognized as an increment to the population which, small though it be, true to its mission, may be safely relied upon to contribute its full share to the progress and economic development of the South-American republics.

STERNBURG.

* *Cf.* "*Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter,*" October, 1903.

# THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF AGRICULTURE.

BY LUIGI LUZZATTI.

As a result of the initiative by the King of Italy in favor of the foundation of a World's Agricultural Institute, the representatives of all the nations, both great and small, who met at the Conference held in Rome in May of last year, unanimously recognized the utility of such an institution.

The International Institute of Agriculture is to embody in a new form the spirit of the *Pax Romana,* no longer to be enforced by the victor at the point of the sword, but to be obtained as the result of the triumph of science and of intelligent agricultural labor. The delegates of all the Governments at the diplomatic Conference in Rome unanimously endorsed this great project.

The general, uniform and constant collection and immediate dissemination of statistical information; the prevention of the diseases of plants and animals; the stipulations of international agreements having a bearing on agricultural production and distribution were among the themes discussed at the Conference, and the conclusion was reached that all these problems, essentially international as they are, could best be dealt with by an International Institute of Agriculture.

The scandals arising from the manipulation of the prices of the staples of agriculture, and the circulation of false news as to the prospects of crops with the intent to perturb prices artificially, compel both producing and consuming nations to realize the need for trustworthy statistical information—information which shall be received by all the world as authoritative. And, while conflicting interests might prevent one nation from accepting as authoritative and final the information furnished by another nation, it would be otherwise in the case of statements

made by the International Institute of Agriculture, for the duty of gathering and issuing the information would be in the hands of the world's statistical experts, and it would be discharged under the auspices of the high representatives of the various nations. There is yet another and a stronger reason why the information furnished by the Institute would be more acceptable than any now accessible, and that is because a world's summary is absolutely necessary to the establishment of a just world's price. No such world's summary can now be had, for the simple reason that, among the most important producing nations at the present time, there are no daily or weekly or monthly reports of facts as to growing crops, and whatever information is had from those countries at present is gathered by private persons. But would the International Institute of Agriculture assure greater possibility of obtaining the facts than exists now? The answer is, "Decidedly so," as may be confidently inferred from the list of nations that have already signed adherence to the Institute. We see from this list that nations which have heretofore kept no tally of the growing crops and of other necessary facts were among the first to support the project. This is equivalent to a tacit agreement between the nations that accurate, timely and necessary information shall be furnished by them to the Institute. How else could it carry on its work?

The importance of all this becomes manifest as soon as we realize that the information here spoken of is the main factor which determines the prices of agricultural staples, and that the status of the price determines the earning power of the capital and labor employed on the farm and in the factory, and, last but not least, that it affects the welfare of all the consumers.

It is admitted that at the start there will be many difficulties to overcome, but, with the help of scientific knowledge and the requisite financial means, all these may be conquered.

Of its efficacy, when established, it may be said that, as the general principles at the basis of civil and commercial law tend to become uniform, the action of the proposed Institute would hasten the solution of problems which can be solved only through the association of scientific knowledge with legislative power. This fact being generally recognized at the Conference, the proposal did not encounter opposition, at least in theory. The immensity of the undertaking alone caused hesitation; but, like all

sound undertakings, it will have its own organic evolution and the consecration which time and experience will confer on it.

A point upon which a difference of opinion arose at the Conference—a difference which cannot be a matter of surprise—was the question of the organization of the new Institute and its practical activities.

In the rough outline of the original proposal, there is mention of an Agricultural Parliament, but these words do not appear in the King's letter to his Prime Minister. However, the idea is there none the less; for the King, in inviting the several Governments to the great Conference, proposed that in the Institute the vital forces of agriculture should be represented, on the one hand, by the delegates from the nation, and, on the other hand, by delegates from the agricultural associations. An Agricultural Parliament, it is implied, would sit in Rome, composed of two houses—one elected by and representing the farming world; the other, a counterpart of the Senate, composed of delegates appointed by the Governments.

The Germans—notably Haas, the working leader of German rural cooperation,—the Austrians, the Hungarians, and possibly the Swiss, the Dutch, the Belgians and the Danes are in favor of the two-houses scheme. Or, should the two houses seem to imply needless complication (which I do not think would be the case), they wish, at all events, that agriculture should not be represented by Government delegates exclusively, but that a voice should be given also to the agricultural associations.

The Germans attach much importance to individualism, as revealed in the elective affinities of associations and cooperative societies; and they wish to see the representative members of these associations admitted to the Institute as a counterbalance and corrective or stimulant to the Government delegates. And, in this connection, it may be noted that, while in no country does the State do more or do better than in Germany, there is no country in which free associations exercise a more active or more salutary influence upon affairs, in conjunction with governmental forces.

Other countries opposed this elective principle, adducing arguments worthy of consideration, and affirming that the technical intervention of the several Governments would be more efficacious and more uniform; the Governments could then see about coming

to an agreement with their respective associations. When all this is taken into consideration, it will not seem strange that the essential point of the two houses was left undecided by the Conference, and that mainly with a view to the preservation of unanimity.

That the two-houses idea will, however, in due time be evolved is certain; for it is clear that the agricultural associations will bring pressure to bear on their respective Governments, and will demand admission for their representatives to the new Institute. This is to be desired, for, if the farmers once realize the salutary efficacy of the Institute, the all-powerful law of self-interest will urge them to agitate for the right of participation in the labors of the Institute; otherwise, it could be implied that the Institute had only an academic value, and such an implication would be disastrous to its success. It is, therefore, reasonable to conclude that, in process of time, the Governments, through their representatives at the Institute, will reconsider this question. When the agricultural classes unanimously express themselves in favor of the principle of the dual representation, their wishes will be respected.

The other point on which a difference of opinion arose is a yet more delicate one, and may be summarized in the following terms: Ought the International Institute of Agriculture to promote, not only the exchange of ideas, but also the exchange of commodities and of traffic? Shall it merely be consultative, deliberative and advisory, or shall it have power to do, to act? Here, again, different tendencies became manifest at the Conference. The delegates who favored the principle of dual representation were inclined to pass from words to deeds; on the other hand, those who favored exclusively official representation did not wish the Institute to venture beyond studies leading on to legislative reforms.

An example may make this matter clearer.

The importance to which rural cooperation has attained today is well known. It is a power both for transformation and salvation. The valuable studies and experiences of Sir Horace Plunkett clearly show that rural cooperation has done for Ireland what legislation, from the first bold reforms promoted by Gladstone down to those of the present day, has been powerless to accomplish. Denmark owes to rural cooperation the change

from poverty to a condition of general and equitable prosperity. Rural cooperation has freed whole districts from the most tenacious and voracious forms of usury. Rural cooperation has upbuilt the moral and economic status of the small farmer, in whom is embodied the choicest and soundest type of a healthy democracy. Now, as rural cooperation extends its operations everywhere, why should not its representatives, under the auspices of the International Institute, (which would offer them the Tent of Hospitality), meet at stated times, in convention at Rome, with a view to taking advantage of the best results of the world's experience?

Such a world-wide alliance of cooperative societies would do more than all the laws on the statute-books to prevent the adulteration of foods, the formation of trusts, and artificial speculation in the staples of agriculture. At the Conference, Haas and myself, representing Germany and Italy, proposed and supported this scheme of international cooperation, which won the approval of the Danish, Dutch, and other delegations. But the time was not yet ripe for such a measure; and, so as not to endanger the success of the Conference, it was kept in reserve for the future decision of the Institute, and was not exposed to the chance of an unfavorable vote.

If the Institute does not wish to lose its most vital elements, it will have to place itself at the head of the movement. Everywhere rural cooperation implies the transformation and crystallization of the choicest labor into the most legitimate kind of capital, a capital which is fruitful and should be inviolable, inasmuch as both the heart and mind of the least of the producers contribute to its formation. It is the surest antidote to, the safest buttress against, Socialism. The International Institute of Agriculture will receive its real patent of nobility from rural cooperation, and this the King of Italy knew and felt when, in his announcement of the plan, he pointed out world-wide cooperation as the chief aim of the new Institute. Enlightened Monarchs feel more keenly than other people their elective affinity to redeemed agrarian labor!

Another point. To-day, more than ever, European and Chinese emigration has become a difficult and anxious problem. North and South America and Australia are the chief countries into which emigrants pour. In the crucible of the United States,

the residuum of the European and Asiatic races is melted down. These homeless wanderers from Europe and Asia, driven by poverty and by the spirit of adventure to emigrate, have already been the objects of legislation, both for and against them. In Italy, we have the emigration laws, the Emigration Bureaus, Committees formed for the protection of these unfortunate people; the United States, on its side, is anxious to sift out and select, by means of educational and money tests, the foreigners who seek its shores; whilst Australia openly tries to thrust them out as so many intruders, who perturb the labor-market and lower the wage rate. There is a wish to protect home labor as home industries are protected.

Now what more important or valuable task could the new Institute undertake than that of aiding the solution of the emigration problem? In its world-wide and humanitarian aspect, it ought to reflect all phases of this problem, and in its philanthropic aspect it ought to promote a whole series of measures for the protection of emigrants in all parts of the world. It should stand up for the protection of the worker, no matter whence he comes or whither he is going. On what a splendid network of new institutions the Twentieth Century might set her seal!

As, through the International Institute of Agriculture, the correct prices of the staples of agriculture would be arrived at, so, by means of this new and international Labor Exchange, information would be constantly furnished as to the places where there was either excess or lack of labor. How many blessings such a work would earn, how many tears it would dry, how many economic crimes it would be the means of abolishing (witness the lynching of foreign workers), how actively it could promote economic and social prosperity! I am sure that, when the International Institute of Agriculture achieves this end, when it can provide for the universal protection of the emigrant who will no longer feel himself an alien in any land (for, as the result of this just and liberal protection, he will find himself at home all over the world), I am sure that in this the King of Italy will feel that his initiative has achieved its most beneficent results.

Evidently, the new Institute will have no lack of great works to accomplish wherewith to stimulate its activity; and, although the German delegates and some of the Italian delegates (to wit, Professor Pantaleoni and myself) would have wished the Rome

Conference to break loose from the fetters of diplomatic etiquette, and to place these new ideals under the co-direction of the national delegates and of the farmers' organizations, nevertheless, the seed which was then sown will bear fruit in the future. The essential thing is that the International Institute is now substantially in existence, that before long it will be in working order in Rome, as a legally constituted body. The pressure of the public opinion of the agricultural world, as expressed at its international congresses, will do the rest.

At the last meeting of the Committee of the International Federation of Master Cotton Spinners and Manufacturers, held in Paris, representing a large proportion of the world's cotton industry, an important resolution was passed to express the hope that the Institute may get to work as soon as possible, so as to protect one of the chief of the world's industries, that which clothes the prince and the peasant, old and young, male and female, all over the world.

Nowadays, owing to speculation and manipulation of the markets, the cotton industry, formerly one of the most stable, is becoming one of the most risky. Speculation on the cotton exchanges, along with the uncertainty always prevalent as to the real conditions of the production of cotton, has led all over the world to a display of feverish activity with a view to finding new fields for cotton-plantations. Every nation is anxious to free itself from these risks and speculations, by obtaining its own territory for the cultivation of cotton. Even Italy is now trying to obtain a cotton region in Benadir. Thus, the penalty for the American cotton-grower, which the unhealthy speculation will have brought about, promises to be in a permanently lowered world's price through stimulated production of increased volume.

Hence, it is clear that it is in the interest of the United States to foster the new International Institute of Agriculture, and to work for it with a view to freeing the world of all forms of false and artificial manipulation of the prices of cotton. The United States, as a nation, will be responsible should it not work to strengthen this new Institute, which will free the *bona fide* production and consumption of the world from this blot of manipulation. As a nation, the United States was responsible for slavery, and it freed itself of slavery by the most glorious of wars; as a

nation, it is now responsible for all the swindles in prices which are carried on under the shade of its otherwise spotless flag.

In conclusion, the Institute promoted by the King of Italy is an altar sacred to agrarian and social peace, the parents of political peace. The fiercest struggles which the world still has to fear are those due to the diversity of economic interests. To what other cause can we attribute the divergence prevailing between two of the mightiest and wisest nations of the world, England and Germany, which along with the United States, France and Italy, are the great beacon-lights of civilization? It is all very well to spread the economic precepts of Adam Smith, Cobden, and Bastiat; to preach that the interests of all states are at bottom identical; that the prosperity of one cannot spell the ruin of the other. It is all very well to state that the national alliance of consumers improves that of the producers; to prove that there is room for all in this world, still so full of buried wealth, of dormant activities; the demoniacal instinct of human cupidity will, none the less, awake at certain hours in human history, and will drive the nations on to war. Now, the only hope is to oppose to these dire tendencies powerful and solid economic institutions, which will counteract the bad by the good instincts, the unwholesome interests by the wholesome, the divergent forces by the natural alliance of consumers and producers. A popular free-trade treaty would be of no practical value for such a purpose. Our age, which is so saturated with economic science, has gone back all along the line to the most rigid protectionism, without even being able to plead the ignorance of the Middle Ages, to which the laws of political economy were unknown. Should Chamberlain succeed in the future in making protection triumph in England also, there will no longer be a single corner in the whole world where the economic doctrine of free trade will be respected and observed. Economic peace will never be obtained through the agency of doctrinaire political economy. New institutions, essentially international in character, must be created, which, whilst refraining from stirring up irritating tariff questions, will find other means for initiating the nations in the pursuit of economic harmony.

When the Institute promoted by the King of Italy gets to work, then the obvious, daily and ever-renewed advantages which it will yield will speak to the heart of the nations. Manufacturers

will have the certainty that their raw material will be free from unfair values and from unnecessary fluctuations, and those who eat their daily bread in the sweat of their brows, and night and morning pray to God to vouchsafe them their crust, will know that they are not paying tribute to the manipulators of corners, to the men who with impunity starve the suffering and toiling masses. The emigrants who leave their mother country, which cannot feed them, will find other hospitable shores, and wherever they go they will find themselves under the beneficent influence of a thoughtful guardian. And the small farmers and peasants, united in rural federations, will enjoy a common prosperity insured to the humble, which will make itself felt in all parts of the world. From the ranks of these small farmers, redeemed by cooperation, unified in spirit by the Institute promoted by the King of Italy, will arise a powerful voice, a voice which will bridle the spirit of evil, and opposing it by the force of harmonious interests will impose Peace on all the world, and thus maintain it.

As is shown by the letter in which he invited all the Governments of the world to this common symposium, the King of Italy felt this, and gave expression to the idea in few and measured words. Would that this great vision may become a splendid reality!

Were the exalted head of the United States also to take under his protection the programme laid down by the King of Italy, such an alliance between the mighty Republic and the Kingdom which has Rome for capital might yield us the most notable miracle of modern civilization. The day on which the United States of America devotes to the cause of universal economic justice the enormous power which it has till now devoted to developing the resources of its own lands, its mines, its manufactures; the day on which a loftier thought—that of the union of all the nations for a wider, fuller life—shall replace in the mind of America the idea of struggling for national wealth, in which it has won for itself the foremost place, that day will usher in a new social era. And a mystic and solemn significance would attach to the fact if the Capitols of Rome and Washington were to contribute to the hastening of that day.

LUIGI LUZZATTI.

# WASHINGTON.—I.

BY HENRY JAMES.

## I.

I WAS twice in Washington, the first time for a winter visit, the second to meet the wonderful advance of summer, to which, in that climate of many charms, the first days of May open wide the gates. This latter impression was perforce much the more briefly taken; yet, though I had gathered also from other past occasions, far-away years now, something of the sense of the place at the earlier season, I find everything washed over, at the mention of the name, by the rare light, half green, half golden, of the lovely leafy moment. I see all the rest, till I make the effort to break the spell, through that voluminous veil; which operates, for memory, quite as the explosion of spring works, even to the near vision, in respect to the American scene at large—dressing it up as if for company, preparing it for social, for human intercourse, making it in fine publicly presentable, with an energy of renewal and an effect of redemption not often to be noted, I imagine, on other continents. Nowhere, truly, can summer have such work cut out for it as here—nowhere has it to take upon itself to repaint the picture so completely. In the "European" landscape, in general, some, at least, of the elements and objects remain upon the canvas; here, on the other hand, one seems to see intending nature, the great artist of the season, decline to touch that surface unless it be first swept clean—decline, at any rate, to deal with it save by ignoring all its perceived pretensions. Vernal nature, in England, in France, in Italy, has still a use, often a charmed or amused indulgence, for the material in hand, the furniture of the foreground, the near and middle distances, the heterogeneous human features of the face of the land. She looks at her subject much as the portrait-painter looks at the

personal properties, this or that household object, the official uniform, the badges and ornaments, the favorite dress, of his sitter —with an "Oh, yes, I can bring them in; they're just what I want, and I see how they will help me out." But I try in vain to recall a case in which, either during the New England May and June, or during those of the Middle States (since these groups of weeks have in the two regions a differing identity and value) the genius in question struck me as adopting with any frankness, as doing more than passively, helplessly accept, the supplied paraphernalia, the signs of existing life. The business is clearly to get rid of them as far as may be, to cover and smother them; dissimulating with the biggest, freest brush their impertinence and their ugliness.

I must ask myself, I meanwhile recognize, none the less, why I should have found Mount Vernon exquisite, the first of May, if the interest had all to be accounted for in the light of nature. The light of Nature was there, splendid and serene; the Potomac opened out in its grandest manner; the bluff above the river, before the sweep of its horizon, raised its head for the historic crown. But it was not for a moment to be said that this was the whole story; the human interest and the human charm lay in wait and held one fast—so that, if one had been making light, elsewhere, of their suggestion and office, one had at least this case seriously to reckon with. I speak straightway, thus, of Mount Vernon, though it be but an outlying feature of Washington, and at the best a minor impression; the image of the particular occasion is seated so softly in my path. There was a glamour, in fine, for the excursion—that of an extraordinarily gracious hospitality; and the glamour would still have been great even if I had not, on my return to the shadow of the Capitol, found the whole place transfigured. The season was over, the President away, the two Houses up, the shutters closed, the visitor rare; and one lost one's way in the great green vistas of the avenues quite as one might have lost it in a "sylvan solitude"—that is, in the empty alleys of a park. The emptiness was qualified at the most, here and there, by some encounter with a stray diplomatic agent, wreathed for the most part in sincerer smiles than we are wont to attribute to his class. "This"—it was the meaning of these inflections—"was the *real* Washington, a place of enchantment; so that if the enchantment were never less who could ever bring

himself to go away?" The enchantment had been so much less in January — one could easily understand; yet the recognition seemed truly the voice of the hour, and one picked it up with a patriotic flutter not diminished by the fact that the speaker would probably be going away, and with delight, on the morrow.

The memory of some of the smiles and inflections comes back in that light; Washington being the one place in America, I think, where those qualities are the values and vehicles, the medium of exchange. No small part of the interest of the social scene there consists, inevitably, for any restless analyst, in wonder about the "real" sentiments of appointed foreign participants, the delegates of Powers and pledged alike to penetration and to discretion, before phenomena which, whatever they may be, differ more from the phenomena of other capitals and other societies than they resemble them. This interest is susceptible, on occasion, of becoming intense; all the more that curiosity must, for the most part, pursue its object (that of truly looking over the alien shoulder and of seeing, judging, building, fearing, reporting with the alien sense), by subtle and tortuous ways. This represents, first and last, even for a watcher abjectly irresponsible, a good deal of speculative tension; so that one's ease is refreshing in presence of the clear candor of such a proposition as that the National Capitol *is* charming in proportion as you don't see it. For that is what it came to, in the bowery condition; the as yet unsurmounted *bourgeois* character of the whole was screened and disguised; the dressing-up, in other words, was complete, and the great park-aspect gained, and became nobly artificial, by the very complexity of the plan of the place—the perpetual perspectives, the converging, radiating avenues, the frequent circles and *carrefours,* where all that was wanted for full illusion was that the bronze Generals and Admirals, on their named pedestals, should have been great garden-gods, mossy mythological marble. This would have been the perfect note; the long vistas yearned for it, and the golden chequers scattered through the gaps of the high arches waited for some bending nymph or some armless Hermes to pick them up. The power of the scene to evoke such visions sufficiently shows, I think, what had become, under the mercy of nature, of the hard facts, as one must everywhere call them; and yet though I could, diplomatically, patriotically pretend, at the right moment, that such a

Washington *was* the "real" one, my assent had all the while a still finer meaning for myself.

I am hanging back, however, as with a sacred terror, from Mount Vernon, where indeed I may not much linger, or only enough to appear not to have shirked the responsibility incurred at the opening of these remarks. There, in ample possession, was masking, dissimulating summer, the envelope and disguise to which I have hinted that the American picture owes, on its human side, *all* its best presentability; and at the same time, unmistakably, there was the spell, as quite a distinct matter, of the hard little facts in themselves. How came it that, if they could throw a spell, they were yet so abject and so negligible? How came it that, if they had no intrinsic sweetness, no visible dignity, they could yet play their part in so unforgettable an impression? The answer to this can only be, I think, that we happen here to "strike," as they say, one of the rarest of cases, a spot on which all sorts of sensibilities are touched and on which a lively emotion, which is yet other than the æsthetic, makes us its prey. The old high-placed house, unquestionably, is charming, and the felicity of the whole scene, on such a day as that of my impression, scarce to be uttered. The little hard facts, facts of form, of substance, of scale, facts of essential humility and exiguity, none the less, look us straight in the face, present themselves literally to be counted over—and reduce us thereby to the recognition of our supreme example of the rich interference of association. Association does, at Mount Vernon, simply what it likes with us—it is of so beautiful and noble a sort; and to this end it begins by making us unfit to say whether or no we would, in its absence, have noticed the house, for any material grace in it, at all. We scarce care more for its being proved picturesque, the house, than for its being proved plain; its architectural interest and architectural nullity become one and the same thing for us. If asked what we should think of it if it hadn't been, or if we hadn't known it for, Washington's, we retort that the inquiry is inane, since it is not the possessive case, but the straight, serene nominative, that we are dealing with. The whole thing *is* Washington—not his invention and his property, but his presence and his person; with discriminations (as distinguished from enthusiasms) as invidious and unthinkable as if they were addressed to his very ears.

The great soft fact, as opposed to the little hard ones, is the beauty of the site itself; that is definitely, if ever so delicately, sublime, but it fails to rank among the artificial items that I began by speaking of, those of so generally compromising an effect in the American picture. Everything else is *communicated* importance, and the magic so wrought for the American sensibility —by which I mean the degree of the importance and the sustained high pitch of the charm—place it, doubtless, the world over, among the few supreme triumphs of such communication. The beauty of the site, meanwhile, as we stand there, becomes but the final aspect of the man; under which everything conduces to a single great representative image, under which every feature of the scene, every object in the house, however trivial, borrows from it and profits by it. The image is the largest, clearest possible of the resting, as distinguished from the restless, consciousness of public service consummately rendered. The terms we commonly use for that condition—peace with honor, well-earned repose, enjoyment of homage, recognition of facts—render but dimly the luminous stillness in which, on its commanding eminence, we see our image bathed. It hangs together with the whole bright immensity of air and view. It becomes truly the great white, decent page on which the whole sense of the place is written. It does more things even besides; attends us while we move about and goes with us from room to room; mounts with us the narrow stairs, to stand with us in these small chambers and look out of the low windows; takes up for us, to turn them over with spiritual hands, the objects from which we respectfully forbear, and places an accent, in short, through the rambling old phrase, wherever an accent is required. Thus we arrive at the full meaning, as it were—thus we know, at least, why we are so moved.

It is for the same reason for which we are always inordinately moved, on American ground, I think, when the unconscious minor scale of the little old demonstrations to which we owe everything is made visible to us, when their disproportionate modesty is proved upon them. The reason worked at Mount Vernon, for the restless analyst, quite as it had worked a few months before, on the small and simple scene of Concord Fight: the slight, pale, bleeding Past, in a patched homespun suit, stands there taking the thanks of the bloated Present—having wound-

edly rescued from thieves and brought to his door the fat, locked pocketbook of which that personage appears the owner. The pocketbook contains, "unbeknown" to the honest youth, bank-notes of incredible figure, and what breaks our heart, if we be cursed with the historic imagination, is the grateful, wan smile with which the great guerdon of sixpence is received. I risk, floridly, the assertion that half the intensity of the impression of Mount Vernon, for many a visitor, will ever be in this vision there of Washington *only* (so far as consciously) so rewarded. Such fantastications, I indeed admit, are refinements of response to any impression, but the ground had been cleared for them, and it ministered to luxury of thought, for instance, that we were a small party at our ease there, with no other circulation—with the prowling ghosts of fellow-pilgrims, too harshly present on my previous occasion, all conveniently laid. This alone represented privilege and power, and they in turn, with their pomp and circumstance of a charming Government launch, under official attendance, at the Navy-Yard steps, amid those large, clean, protecting and protected properties of the State which always make one think much of the State, whatever its actual infirmities —these things, to say nothing of other rich enhancements, above all, those that I may least specify, flung over the day I scarce know what iridescent reflection of the star-spangled banner itself, in the folds of which I had never come so near the sense of being positively wrapped. That consciousness, so unfamiliar, was, under the test, irresistible; it pressed the spring, absolutely, of intellectual exaltation—with the consequent loud resonance that my account of my impressions doubtless sufficiently translates.

## II.

Washington itself meanwhile—the Washington always, I premise, of the rank outsider—had struck me from the first as presenting two distinct faces; the more obvious of which was the public and official, the monumental, with features all more or less majestically playing the great administrative, or, as we nowadays put it, Imperial part. This clustered, yet at the same time oddly scattered, city, a general impression of high granite steps, of light gray corniced colonnades, rather harmoniously low, contending for effect with slaty mansard roofs and masses of iron excrescence, a general impression of somewhat vague, empty,

sketchy, fundamentals, however expectant, however spacious, overweighted by a single Dome and overaccented by a single Shaft—this loose congregation of values seemed, strangely, a matter disconnected and remote, though remaining, in its way, portentous, and bristling, all incoherently, at the back of the scene. The back of the scene, indeed, to one's quite primary sense, might have been but an immense painted, yet unfinished, cloth, hung there to a confessedly provisional end and marked with the queerness, among many queernesses, of looking always the same; painted once for all in clear, bright, fresh tones, but never emerging from its flatness, after the fashion of other capitals, into the truly, the variously, modelled and rounded state. (It appeared provisional, therefore, because looking as if it might have unhooked and removed as a whole; because any one object in it, so treated, would have made the rest also come off.) The foreground was a different thing, a thing that, ever so quaintly, seemed to represent the force really in possession; though consisting but of a small company of people engaged perpetually in conversation and (always, I repeat, for the rank outsider) singularly destitute of conspicuous marks or badges. This little society easily became, for the detached visitor, the city itself, *the* national capital and the greater part of the story; and that, ever, in spite of the comparatively scant intensity of its political permeation. The political echo was, of course, to be heard in it, and the public character, in its higher forms, to be encountered —though only in "single spies," not in battalions; but there was something that made it much more individual than any mere predominance of political or administrative color would have made it—leaving it in that case to do no more than resemble the best society in London, or that in best possession of the field in Paris.

Two sharp signs my remoter remembrance had shown me the then Washington world, and the first met, as putting forth; one of these the fact of its being extraordinarily easy and pleasant, and the other that of one's appearing to make out in it not more than half-a-dozen members of the Lower House and not more than a dozen of the Upper. This kept down the political permeation, and was bewildering, if one was able to compare, in the light of the different London condition, the light of the social ubiquity there, of the acceptable M. P. and that of the social

frequency even of his more equivocal hereditary colleague. A London nestling under the towers of Westminster, yet practically void of members of the House of Commons, and with the note of official life far from exclusively sounding, that might have been in those days the odd image of Washington, had not the picture been stamped with other variations still. These were a whole cluster, not instantly to be made out, but constituting the unity of the place as soon as perceived; representing that finer extract or essence which the self-respecting observer is never easy till he be able to shake up and down in bottled form. The charming company of the foreground then, which referred itself so little to the sketchy back-scene, the monstrous Dome and Shaft, figments of the upper air, the pale colonnades and mere myriad-windowed Buildings, was the second of the two faces, and the more one lived with it the more, up to a certain point, one lived away from the first. In time, and after perceiving *how* it was what it so agreeably was, came the recognition of common ground; the recognition that, in spite of strange passages of the national life, liable possibly to recur, during which the President himself was scarce thought to be in society, the particular precious character that one had apprehended could never have ripened without a general consensus. One had put one's finger on it when one had seen disengage itself from many anomalies, from not a few drolleries, the superior, the quite majestic fact of the City of Conversation pure and simple, and positively of the only specimen, of any such intensity, in the world.

That had remained for me, from the other time, the properest name of Washington, and nothing could so interest me, on a renewal of acquaintance, too long postponed and then too woefully brief, than to find my description wholly justified. If the emphasis added by "pure and simple" be invariably retained, the description will continue, I think, to embrace and exhaust the spectacle, while yet leaving it every inch of its value. Clearly quite immeasurable, on American ground, the value of such an assertion of a town-type directly opposed to the unvarying American, and quite unique, on any ground, so organized a social indifference to the vulgar vociferous Market. Washington may, of course, *know* more than she confesses—no community could perhaps really be as ignorant as Washington used at any rate to look, and to like to look, of this particular thing, of "goods"

and shares and rises and falls and all such sordidities; but she knows assuredly still the very least she can get off with, and nothing even yet pleases her more than to forget what she does know. She unlearns, she turns her back, while London, Paris, Berlin, Rome, in their characters of political centres, strike us as, on the contrary, feverishly learning, trying more and more to do the exact opposite. (I speak, naturally, as to Washington, of knowing actively and interestedly, in the spirit of gain—not merely of the enjoyed lights of political and administrative science, doubtless as abundant there as anywhere else.) It might fairly have been, I used to think, that the charming place —charming in the particular connection I speak of—had on its conscience to make one forget for an hour the colossal greed of New York. Nothing, in fact, added more to its charm than its appearing virtually to invite one to impute to it some such vicarious compunction.

If I be reminded, indeed, that the distinction I here glance at is negative, and be asked what then (if she knew nothing of the great American interest) Washington did socially know, my answer, I recognize, has at once to narrow itself, and becomes perhaps truly the least bit difficult to utter. It none the less remains distinct enough that, the City of Conversation being only in question, and a general subject of all the conversation having thereby to be predicated, our responsibility is met as soon as we are able to say what Washington mainly talked, and appears always to go mainly talking, about. Washington talks about herself, and about almost nothing else; falling superficially, indeed, on that ground, but into line with the other capitals. London, Paris, Berlin, Rome, goodness knows, talk about themselves: that is, each member of this sisterhood talks, sufficiently or inordinately, of the great number of divided and differing selves that form together her controlling identity. London, for instance, talks of everything in the world without thereby for a moment, as it were, ceasing to be egotistical. It has taken everything in the world to make London up; so that she is in consequence simply doomed never to get away from herself. Her conversation is largely, I think, the very effort to do that; but she inevitably figures in it but as some big buzzing insect which keeps bumping against a treacherous mirror. It is in positive quest of an identity of some sort, much rather—an identity other

than merely functional and technical—that Washington goes forth, encumbered with no ideal of avoidance or escape; it is about herself *as* the City of Conversation precisely that she incessantly converses; adorning the topic, moreover, with endless ingenuity and humor. But that, absolutely, remains the case; which thus becomes one of the most thorough, even if probably one of the most natural and of the happiest, cases of collective self-consciousness that one knows. The spectacle, as it at first met my senses, was that of a numerous community in ardent pursuit of some workable conception of its social self, and trying meanwhile intelligently to talk itself, and even this very embarrassment, into a *subject* for conversation. Such a picture might not seem purely pleasing, on the side of variety of appeal, and I admit one may have had one's reserves about it; reserves sometimes reflected, for example, in dim inward speculation—one of the effects of the Washington air I have already glanced at—as to the amount of response it might evoke in the diplomatic body. It may have been on my part a morbid obsession, but the diplomatic body was liable to strike one there as more characteristically "abysmal" than elsewhere, more impenetrably bland and inscrutably blank; and it was obvious, certainly, that their concern to help the place intellectually to find itself was not to be expected to approach in intensity the concern even of a repatriated absentee. You were concerned only if you had, by your sensibility, a stake in the game; which was the last thing a foreign representative would wish to confess to, this being directly opposed to all his enjoined duties. It is no part of the office of such personages to assist the societies to which they are accredited to find themselves—it is much more their mission to leave all such vaguely and, so far as may be, grotesquely groping: so apt are societies, in finding themselves, to find other things too. This detachment from the whole mild convulsion of effort, the considerate pretence of not being too aware of it, combined with latent probabilities of alarm about it no less than of amusement, represented, to the unquiet fancy, much more the spirit of the old-time Legations.

What *was*, at all events, better fun, of the finer sort, than having one's self a stake in the outcome?—what helped the time (so much of it as there was!) more to pass than just to join in the so fresh experiment of constitutive, creative talk? The boon, it

should always be mentioned, meanwhile went on not in the least in the tone of solemnity. That would have been fatal, because probably irritating, and it was where the good star of Washington intervened. The tone was, so to speak, of *conscious* self-consciousness, and the highest genius for conversation doubtless dwelt in the fact that the ironic spirit was ready always to give its very self away, fifty times over, for the love, or for any quickening, of the theme. The foundation for the whole happy predicament remained, moreover, of the firmest, and the essence of the case was to be as easily stated as the great social fact is, in America, whether through exceptions or aggravations, everywhere to be stated. Nobody was in "business"—that was the sum and substance of it; and for the one large human assemblage on the continent of which this was true the difference made was true. Nothing could strike one more than that it was the only way in which, over the land, a difference could be *made,* and than how, in our vast commercial democracy, almost any difference—by which I mean almost any exception—promptly acquires prodigious relief. The value here was at once that the place could offer to view a society, the only one in the country, in which Men existed, and that that rich little fact became the key to everything. Superficially taken, I recognize, the circumstance fails to look portentous; but it looms large immediately, gains the widest bearing, in the light of any direct or extended acquaintance with American conditions. From the moment it is adequately borne in mind that the business-man, in the United States, may, with no matter what dim struggles, gropings, yearnings, never hope to be anything *but* a business-man, the size of the field he so abdicates is measured, as well as the fact of the other care to which his abdication hands it over. It lies there waiting, pleading from all its pores, to be occupied—the lonely waste, the boundless gaping void of "society"; which is but a rough name for all the *other* so numerous relations with the world he lives in that are imputable to the civilized being. Here it is then that the world he lives in accepts its doom and becomes, by his default, subject and plastic to his mate; his default having made, all around him, the unexampled opportunity of the woman—which she would have been an incredible fool not to pounce upon. It needs little contact with American life to perceive how she *has* pounced, and how, outside business, she has made it over in

her image. She has been, up to now, on the vast residual tract, in peerless possession, and is occupied in developing and extending her wonderful conquest, which she appreciates to the last inch of its extent.

She has, meanwhile, probably her hours of amazement at the size of her windfall; she cannot quite live without wonder at the oddity of her so "sleeping" partner, the strange creature, by her side, with his values and his voids, but who is best known to her as having yielded what she would have clutched to the death. But these are mere mystic, inscrutable possibilities—dreams, for us, of her hushed, shrouded hours: the face she shows, on all the facts, is that of mere unwinking tribute to the matter of course. The effect of these high signs of assurance in her has been—and it is really her masterstroke—to represent the situation as perfectly normal. Her companion's attitude, totally destitute of high signs, does everything it can to further this feat; so that, as disposed together in the American picture, they testify, extraordinarily, to the *successful* rupture of a universal law, the sight is at first, for observation, most mystifying. Then the impunity of the whole thing gains upon us; the equilibrium strikes us, however strangely, as at least provisionally stable; we see that a society in many respects workable would seem to have been arrived at, and that we shall in any case have time to study it. The phenomenon may easily become, for a spectator, the sentence written largest in the American sky: when he is in search of the characteristic, what else so plays the part? The woman is two-thirds of the apparent life—which means that she is absolutely all of the social; and, as this is nowhere else the case, the occasion is unique for seeing what such a situation may make of her. The result elsewhere in Europe generally of conditions in which men have actively participated and to which, throughout, they personally contribute, she has only the old story to tell, and keeps telling it after her fashion. The woman produced by a women-made society alone has obviously quite a new story—to which it is not for a moment to be gainsaid that the world at large has, for the last thirty years in particular, found itself lending an attentive, at times even a charmed, ear. The extent and variety of this attention have been the specious measure of the personal success of the type in question, and are always referred to when its value happens to be challenged. "The

American woman?—why, she has beguiled, she has conquered, the globe: look at her fortune everywhere and fail to accept her if you can."

She has been, accordingly, about the globe, beyond all doubt, a huge success of curiosity; she has at her best—and far beyond any consciousness and intention of her own, lively as these for the most part usually are—infinitely amused the nations. It has been found among them that, for more reasons than we can now go into, her manner of embodying and representing her sex has fairly made of her a new human convenience, not unlike fifty of the others, of a slightly different order, the ingenious mechanical appliances, stoves, refrigerators, sewing-machines, type-writers, cash-registers, that have done so much, in the household and the place of business, for the American name. By which I am, of course, far from meaning that the revelation has been of her utility as a domestic drudge; it has been much rather, in the fact that the advantages attached to her being a woman at all have been so happily combined with the absence of the drawbacks, for persons intimately dealing with her, traditionally suggested by that condition. The corresponding advantages, in the light of almost any old order, have always seemed inevitably paid for by the drawbacks; but here, unmistakably, was a case in which—as at first appeared, certainly—they were to be enjoyed very nearly for nothing. What it came to, evidently, was that she had been grown in an air in which a hundred of the "European" complications and dangers didn't exist, and in which, also, she had had to take upon herself a certain training for freedom. It was not that she had had, in the vulgar sense, to "look out" for herself, inasmuch as it was of the very essence of her position not to be threatened or waylaid; but that she could develop her audacity on the basis of her security, just as she could develop her "powers" in a medium from which criticism was consistently absent. Thus she arrived, full-blown, on the general scene, the least criticised object, in proportion to her importance, that had ever adorned it. It would take long to say why her situation, under this retrospect, may affect the inner fibre of the critic himself as one of the most touching on record; he may merely note his perception that she was to have been after all but the sport of fate. For why need she originally, he wonders, have embraced so confidently, so gleefully, yet so unguardedly, the terms offered

her to an end practically so perfidious? Why need she, unless in the interest of her eventual discipline, have turned away with so light a heart after watching the Man, the deep American man, retire into his tent and let down the flap? She had her "paper" from him, their agreement signed and sealed; but would she not, in some other air and under some other sky, have been visited by a saving instinct? Would she not have said "No, this is too unnatural; there must be a trap in it somewhere—it's addressed really, in the long run, to making a fool of me?" It is impossible, of course, to tell; and her case, as it stands for us, at any rate, is that she showed no doubts. It is not on the American scene and in the presence of mere American phenomena that she is even yet to be observed as showing them; but does not my digression find itsef meanwhile justified by the almost clear certainty that the first symptoms of the revulsion—of the *con*vulsion, I am tempted to say — must break out in Washington?

For here (and it is what I have been so long in coming to), here alone, in the American world, do we catch the other sex not observing the agreement. I have described this anomaly, at Washington, as that of Man's socially "existing"; since we have seen that his fidelity to his contract throughout the country in general has involved his not doing so. What has happened, obviously, has been that his reasons, at a stroke, have dropped, and that he finds himself, without them, a different creature. He has discovered that he *can* exist in other connections than that of the Market, and that all he has therefore to settle is the question of whether he may. The most delicate interest of Washington is the fact that it is quite practically *being* settled there—in the practical way which is yet also the dramatic. *Solvitur ambulando;* it is being settled—that is the charm—as it goes and without discussion. It would be awkward and gross to say that Man has dealt any conscious blow at the monopoly of his companion, or that her prestige, as mistress of the situation, has suffered, in any manner, a noted abatement. Yet, none the less, as he has there, in a degree, socially found himself, and, allured by the new sense, is evidently destined to seek much further still, the sensible effect, the change of impression on one's coming from other places, is of the most marked. Man is solidly, vividly, present, and the presence of Woman has, therefore, for the

proposed intensity, to reckon with it. The omens on behalf of the former appearance are just now strikingly enhanced, as happens, by the accident of the rare quality, as it were, of the particular male presence supremely presiding there; and it would be strange, certainly, that this idea of the re-committal to masculine hands of some share at least in the interests of civilization, some part of the social property and social office, should not, from so high an example, have received a new impulse and a new consecration. Easily enough, if we had space here to consider it, might come up the whole picture of the new indications thus afforded, the question of the degree in which a sex capable, in the American air, of having so despoiled itself may really be capable of retracing its steps and repairing its mistake. It would appear inevitable to ask whether such a mistake on such a scale *can* prove effectively reparable—whether ground so lost *can* be effectively recovered. Has not the American woman, with such a start, gained such an irreducible advance, on the whole high plane of the amenities, that her companion will never catch up with her? This last is an inquiry that I must, alas, brush aside, though feeling it, as I have already noted, *the* most oddly interesting that the American spectacle proposes to us; only saying, provisionally, that the aspect of manners through the nation at large offers no warrant whatever for any prompt "No" to it.

It is not, however, of the nation at large I here speak; the case is of the extremely small, though important and significant, fraction of the whole represented by the Washington group —which thus shows us the Expropriated Half in the very act of itself pondering that issue. Is the man "up to it," up to the major heritage, the man who *could,* originally, so inconceivably, and for a mere mess of pottage, if there ever was one, let it go? "Are we up to it, really, at this time of day, and what on earth will awfully become of us if the question, once put to the test, shall have to be decided against us?" I think it not merely fanciful to say that some dim, distressful interrogative sound of that sort frequently reached, in the Washington air, the restless analyst—though not to any quickening of his own fear. With a perfect consciousness that it was still early to say that the data are as yet insufficient and that the missing quantity must absolutely be found before it can be weighed and valued, he was none the less struck with the felicity of many symptoms, and would fairly

have been able to believe at moments that the character hitherto so effaced has but to show the confidence of taking himself for granted. That act of itself reveals, restores, reinstates and completes him. Is it not, for that matter, essentially implied in our recognition of the place as the City of Conversation? The victim of effacement, the outcast at the door, has, all the while we have been talking of him, *talked himself* back; and if anything could add to this happy portent it would be another that had scarcely less bearing. Nowhere more than in Washington, positively, were the women to have struck me as naturally and harmoniously in the social picture—as happily, soothingly, proportionately, and no more than proportionately, participant and ministrant. Hence the irresistible conclusion that with the way really shown them they would only ask to take it; the way being their assent to the truth that the abdication of the Man proves ever (after the first flush of their triumph) as bad really for *their* function as for his. Hence, in fine, the appearance that, with the proportions re-established, they will come to recognize their past world as a fools' paradise, and their present, and still more their future, as much more made to endure. They could not, one reasoned, have been, in general, so perfectly agreeable unless they had been pleased, and they could not have been pleased without the prospect of gaining, by the readjusted relation, more, on the whole, than they were to lose; without the prospect even again perhaps of truly and insidiously gaining more than the other beneficiary. That *would* be, I think, the feminine conception of a readministered justice. Washington, at such a rate, in any case, might become to them as good as "Europe," and a Europe of their own would obviously be better than a Europe of other people's. There are, after all, other women on the other continents.

HENRY JAMES.

*(To be continued.)*

# THE MASTERY OF THE DESERT.

BY FRANK W. BLACKMAR.

THE theory of a Great American Desert, stretching over boundless wastes in the interior of the continent, was one of the most persistent ideas in the historical development of our nation. Based upon the meagre facts obtainable by indirect methods, this theory was, largely, the product of the vivid imagination of writers who felt and travellers and explorers who suffered. Philosophers, historians, and scientists have contributed to the dream, and the statesman has ever been prone to concede what he considered the inevitable.

Perhaps the first suggestion of the myth of the desert came from Thomas Jefferson, who thought that the great inland territory west of the Mississippi would be of comparatively little value to the United States. In the purchase of Louisiana, he seemed to be thinking only of a strip of land which would protect our Western frontier, rather than of a great territory to be filled with a teeming population. But there was no real knowledge of this country at the time of Jefferson. It was a boundless territory, unknown as to soil, climate, and possibilities of civilization. It appears that the explorations of the Spaniards in the interior and on the Pacific Coast were little known by the inhabitants of the Atlantic seaports. And so for years afterwards, through conjecture, various reports of travellers, and the flight of imagination, this region was known as "The Great American Desert."

The real foundation of this myth was perhaps laid in the expedition of Zebulon M. Pike, who crossed the plains to the Rocky Mountains in 1808 and 1809. It is true that the famous expedition of Lewis and Clarke had revealed something of the vastness of the territory, but as they kept very close to the Missouri and Columbia, they could learn very little of the possibilities of the

country. But the object of the expedition was to discover a route for commerce to the Pacific rather than to make a detailed description of the country and the lands beyond the Mississippi. Pike's expedition, however, yielded some statements in regard to the territory, which were taken as correct. Speaking of the fertility of the soil, he says: "From the Missouri to the head waters of the (Little) Osage River, a distance, in a straight line, of probably three hundred miles, the country will admit of a numerous, extensive, and compact population. Thence, on the rivers Kansas, La Platte, Arkansas, and their various tributaries, it appears to me to be only possible to introduce a limited population on their banks." This limits the fertile territory nearly to the boundaries of the State of Missouri.

Again, he says, in characterizing this territory: "These vast plains of the Western Hemisphere may become in time as celebrated as the sandy deserts of Africa; for I saw, in my route, in various places, tracts of many leagues where the wind had thrown up the sand in all the fanciful forms of the ocean's rolling wave, and on which not a speck of vegetable matter existed." And, in his conclusion, he states: "But from the immense prairies there arises one advantage to the United States, viz., the restriction of our population to some certain limits, and thereby a continuance of the Union. Our citizens being so prone to rambling and extending themselves on the frontier will, through necessity, be constrained to limit their extent on the West to the boundaries of the Missouri and the Mississippi, while they leave the prairies incapable of cultivation to the wandering and uncivilized aborigines of the country." There is in this statement a hint of the possibility of material injury to the nation resulting from the too rapid exploration of the country and from the practice of extensive, to the neglect of intensive, agriculture.

Long's expedition of 1819 and 1820 rather emphasizes this characterization given by Pike. In speaking of the country east of the meridian which passes through Council Bluffs, he asserts that it will support a large population, but that "the scarcity of timber, mill sites, and sources of water, difficulties that are almost uniformly prevalent, must for a long time prove serious impediments in the settling of the country. Large tracts are often to be met with exhibiting scarcely any trace of vegetation." When it is observed that, within this territory, we have now the

northern part of Missouri, nearly all of the fertile State of Iowa, and a large part of the grain belts of Minnesota, it is easy to realize that the possibilities of the country were unthought of by the chronicler. Of the country west of this meridian, the report states: "In regard to this extensive section of the country, we do not hesitate in giving the opinion that it is almost wholly unfit for cultivation and, of course, unhabitable by people depending upon agriculture for their subsistence."

But, having taken this melancholy view of the land, he finally discovers that this vast territory may be of some use to the United States, and he reiterates the opinions of Jefferson and Pike in the following paragraph: "This region, viewed as a frontier, may prove of infinite importance to the United States, inasmuch as it is calculated to serve as a barrier to prevent too great an extension of our population Westward and secure us against the machinations of an enemy that might otherwise be disposed to annoy us in that quarter." He closed by saying: "From the minute account given in the narrative of the particular features of this expedition, it will be perceived to be a manifest resemblance to the deserts of Siberia." In this he refers to the whole distance to the Rocky Mountains.

Now come the first reports of the territory beyond, in which the boundaries of the desert are extended to the Pacific Coast. He says, in speaking of the country beyond the Rocky Mountains: "It is a region destined, by the barrenness of its soil, the inhospitable character of its climate, and by other physical defects, to be the abode of perpetual desolation."

These reports of Pike and Long laid the foundation for the discussion of the subject in future years. So we find, thereafter for a period of fifty years, in the school geographies and atlases and in other descriptions of the country, a representation of The Great American Desert. Woodbridge and Willard published a geography for schools in 1824, in which they reflected the statements of Long and Pike, except that they mention that the soil between the Missouri and the Mississippi is very fertile, but that, lacking in water and timber, settlement would be impeded. They seem to have discovered, somewhere south of the Missouri and extending to the Red River, a swamp two hundred miles in length and five to thirty in width. They give a full description of the country, a part of which may be stated as follows:

"From longitude 96, or the meridian of Council Bluffs, to the Chippewan Mountains is a desert region of four hundred miles in length and breadth, or about sixteen hundred miles in extent. . . . On approaching within one hundred miles of the Rocky Mountains, their snow-capped summits become visible. Here the hills become more frequent, and elevated rocks more abundant, and the soil more sterile, until we reach the abrupt chain of peaks which divide it from the Western declivities of North America. Not a thousandth part can be said to have any timber growth, and the surface is generally naked. . . . The predominant soil of this region is a sterile sand, and large tracts are often to be met with which exhibit scarcely a trace of vegetation. The salts and magnesia mingled with the soil are often so abundant as to destroy vegetation. The waters are, to a great extent, impure and frequently too brackish for use. . . . The Valley of the Canadian River is covered to a great extent with salt incrustations resembling ice or snow in its appearance. The waters of this river are so impregnated with salt as to be unfit for use, and this is the case with other tributaries of the Arkansas and of the Red River. . . . Agreeably to the best intelligence we find, the country, both northward and southward of that described, commencing near the sources of the Sabine and Columbia, and extending to the northern boundaries of the United States, is throughout of the same character."

Again, in Carey and Lee's atlas of 1827, the Great American Desert covers an indefinite territory in Colorado, Kansas, Nebraska, Indian Territory, and Texas. Mitchell, in his "Accompaniment to Reference and Distance Map," published in 1835, states that a large portion of this country may be likened to the Great Sahara or African Desert. In 1838, Bradford's atlas of the United States indicated the great desert as extending from the Arkansas through into Colorado and Wyoming, including South Dakota, part of Nebraska, and Kansas. Here also was an indefinite boundary suggesting an unknown country.

Perhaps Irving, in his "Astoria," which appeared in 1836, gave the most forcible impulse to this notion of the great interior. In his association with the northwest customs officials at Montreal, he listened to many stories of adventure, and he states: "I was at an age when imagination lends color to everything, and the stories of these Sindbads of the wilderness made the life of a trapper and a fur-trader perfect romance to me." Subsequently, he made a brief tour on the prairies and into Missouri and Arkansas, and then was prepared to write "Astoria," in which he gives graphic pictures of the plains. But he prefaces this charming book with the significant statement that "the work I here

present to the public is necessarily of a rambling and somewhat disjointed nature, comprising various expeditions by land and sea." While it is a book full of interest, the Sindbads of the wilderness and Irving's imagination fail to give sufficient data to enable us to form a clear judgment of the country.

As to the nature of this country, Irving has this to say:

"This region, which resembles one of the ancient steppes of Asia, has not inaptly been termed The Great American Desert. It spreads forth into undulating and treeless plains and desolate sandy wastes, wearisome to the eye from their extent and monotony. . . . It is a land where no man permanently abides, for at certain seasons of the year there is no food for the hunter or his steed. Such is the nature of this immense wilderness of the Far West, which apparently defies cultivation and habitation of civilized life. Some portions of it along the rivers may partially be subdued by agriculture, others may form vast pastoral tracts like those of the East; but it is to be found that a great part of it will form a lawless interval between the abodes of civilization, more like the wastes of the ocean, or the deserts of Arabia, and like them be subject to the depredation of marauders."

Soon after came the great struggle over the Oregon Territory, during which an attempt was made to show the boundless wastes of desert that existed between the extended possessions of the United States and the Pacific Coast. Greenhow's "History of Oregon," which appeared in 1846, took up the statement of Long, and emphasized his frightful pictures of the country. It says:

"One most important fact, in a geological point of view, was completely established by the observation of the party, viz.: that the whole division of North America drained by the Missouri and the Arkansas and their tributaries, between the meridian at the mouth of the Platte and the Rocky Mountains, is almost unfit for cultivation and thus uninhabitable for people dependent on agriculture for subsistence. The portion for almost five hundred miles, extending from the thirty-ninth to the forty-ninth parallels of latitude, was indeed found to be a desert of sand and stones, and subsequent observations have shown the adjoining regions to a great distance west of those mountains to be yet more arid and sterile."

From this time on, the geographies continued to represent The Great American Desert on their maps and the explorers continued to talk of the sterility of the region which now extended from the meridian passing through Council Bluffs to that unknown region beyond the Rocky Mountains. Mitchell's School Atlas in 1840 pictured The Great American Desert west of the Rocky

Mountains, and described it as a great sandy desert, running from Arizona to the northern boundary of Nevada, covering the entire territory between the Rocky Mountains and the Sierra Nevada. Smith's Geography in 1844 had the same statement, with the exception that the Nevada-California Desert was called the Great Sandy Plains. Smith repeats the same in his editions of 1847 and 1850. The geographies continued to represent these ideas down to the year 1870, though the desert grew smaller and smaller and finally became eliminated.

The settlement of Kansas and Nebraska in the fifties and sixties tended, to a certain extent, to eliminate the desert idea. In the mean time, the expeditions of the United States Government, especially those of Fremont and Kearney, and the surveys for the great transcontinental railroads, tended to clear up the matter by degrees, though we still find that the magazines continued to discuss The Great American Desert. In the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW in 1858 is a paragraph on the report of Lieutenant G. K. Warren on the Missouri and the Great Plain. The eastern line of the desert has now moved up to central Kansas and Nebraska, but the author says:

"Supposing, however, that with central Nebraska and Kansas civilization outside of the river bottoms must cease, the question arises, What effect will this important fact have on these young territories themselves, as well as on the country at large? Nebraska and Kansas will, in that case, be the shores at which will terminate a vast ocean desert nearly one thousand miles in breadth."

Again, in the "Westminster Review" for July, 1867, a writer is trying to point out that the Hudson Bay Company has taken lands to itself which are fertile and valuable, and has tried to create the impression that the lands are worthless. In speaking of the territory south of the northern boundary of the United States, he says:

"From the Valley of the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains, the United States territory consists of an arid tract extending south nearly to Texas, which has been called The Great American Desert. This sterile region covering such an immense extent of area, covers but a few miles of fertile land. Nature, marching from East to West, showered her bounty on the United States until she reached the Mississippi, but there she turned aside and went northward to favor British territory."

The explorations for transcontinental railroads near the forty-seventh and forty-ninth parallels, from St. Paul to Seattle, and

near the forty-first and forty-second through South Pass from Council Bluffs, and near the thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth westward to San Francisco, rendered considerable information about the country. But, in all the surveys carried on by the Government, and in all the scientific expeditions, there seem to have been no methodical efforts to show the nature of the soil and its adaptability to agriculture. The general descriptions of climatic conditions and the fauna, flora, and geology of the country were without serious discussion of the possibility of agriculture.

In an article published by General Hazen in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, in January, 1875, based on his investigations during a long residence in the territory described, is given the most scientific description of the country put in print up to that date. He claims that the railroads and land-agents in the interest of Nebraska and Kansas had exaggerated their agricultural possibilities. General Hazen states that two hundred miles from Omaha good agricultural land is found, but after that nothing but barrenness. He states that the Western limit of our agricultural land had been reached by settlers along the frontier from the Rio Grande to the forty-ninth parallel of latitude. Among other things, he specifically states that the western half of Kansas is unfit for agriculture, and that the Solomon, Republican, and Saline rivers rise in the northern part of it in numerous small branches, giving some small strips for irrigation, but, as a rule, the soil is unsusceptible of agriculture and unfit for settlement. We now know that much of the land described in Kansas and Nebraska has turned out to be good agricultural land, producing some of the finest crops of wheat in the world. Indeed, as if to defy the opinions of men, nature has extended the wheat belt to the Colorado line. As farmers have learned to handle the soil and adapt agricultural methods to the climate and the soil, the agricultural belt has continually widened. Also, to a certain extent, the processes of agriculture have noticeably affected the rainfall and the climate. General Hazen refers to the following statement of Mr. Blodget of the Government Service:

"This great arid region may be said to embrace ten degrees of longitude and seventeen of latitude in the United States, . . . drained only by the great Colorado and Columbia Rivers. So arid is the Great Basin that fully two hundred thousand square miles has not a sufficient rainfall to require any drainage at all."

It is evident that in this statement he includes the region west of the Rocky Mountains.

Some attempts were made in 1862, by the Union Pacific Railroad, to experiment on its land in regard to the possibilities of agriculture, but all grains and grasses failed for want of water. All trees failed but the catalpa, honey-locust, and box-elder.

General Hazen estimated in his report that the possible arable land of Arizona was not more than one million acres, and that of New Mexico the same, Colorado having only two millions. We find at the present time that Arizona has an acreage of about two millions already under cultivation; Colorado, of nearly ten millions; New Mexico, of five millions of acres of land, all under cultivation within thirty years from the time General Hazen made his dismal statement. One conclusion that he reached is the following:

"The phenomenon of the formation and rapid growth of new, rich, and populous States will no more be seen in our present domain, and we must soon face a condition of facts utterly new in the economy of the country, when not new but old States must make room for the increase of population, and thereby receive a fresh impetus."

The final stroke which destroyed the terror of the desert, exploded its myths and reduced its legends to matters of fact, was a report of Major Powell, in 1879, on the "Lands of the Arid Region." It was a report on the whole interior region, from the humid regions of the East to the Pacific Ocean, based upon the rainfall and the water-supply. All the lands having an annual rainfall below twenty inches are called "arid." Those having a rainfall of from twenty to twenty-eight inches are called the "sub-humid" region. The western boundary of this sub-humid region runs along on the 100th meridian. About four-tenths of all the land in the United States, exclusive of Alaska, at the time the report was written, was included in the arid district. About one-tenth of the land was found in the sub-humid region. Major Powell characterizes the sub-humid region as a land subjected more or less to disastrous droughts, the frequency of which will diminish from West to East. He also asserts that agriculture cannot have an assured success in a country where the rainfall is twenty inches or less, and he doubts whether, because of the alternation of drought and harvest, agriculture will prove re-

munerative in the arid region. Not only has rainfall been more regular in recent years, but it has been found that some crops may be successfully grown on land where the annual rainfall is less than twenty inches. Add to these facts the study of the soil and the seasons, and the adaptability of a variety of crops, and the actual results have been far different from the inferences drawn from the report.

Recently a new method of agriculture, known as the "dry system," permits the successful cultivation of the soil of the uplands having a scant rainfall. Thousands of acres in western Kansas and eastern Colorado have been taken up recently for this method of culture. However, Major Powell makes a general estimate of the water-supply, the amount of irrigable lands, timberlands, and pasture-lands, all of which was of great value in the settlement of the arid region. After this report, while people might talk about the desert in a general way, or about particular districts, the conception of The Great American Desert changed or passed away.

In the map which Major Powell published in connection with his work, no mention is made of any desert in America except a small district southwest of the Great Salt Lake, a territory less than twice the size of the small State of Rhode Island, known as The Great Salt Lake Desert. The official map of the United States of 1900 recognizes this desert under the name of Great Salt Lake Desert. The geographies used in our public schools still call it The Great American Desert. They also recognize a desert in southern California and Nevada, east of the Sierra Nevada Mountains. But now the former desert is circumscribed by two railroads which pass through a portion of it, while a third line is surveyed across it. Only a few years will elapse before the term "desert" will cease to be used in connection with any part of the territory of the United States.

But is there no real desert, apart from the myth which existed in the minds of geographers and philosophers? Within the boundaries of this immense territory, designated by Major Powell as "the arid region," are many districts which partake of all the qualities of the desert. There are indeed rocky steppes, treeless plains, and sandy wastes still in existence to-day. There are wide stretches of land without running water or lakes, and with scarcely any rainfall, covered with sand and sage-brush. Upon

these dreary wastes the sun pours its intense rays, making the hot air move in undulating waves from the earth's surface, and creating the mirage, the irony and mockery of the desert. The traveller, a faint speck upon the boundless plain, sees by means of the fateful mirage the distant sage-brush suddenly enlarging to trees of good proportion that mirror their forms in inviting waters. But, as he travels on, the vision recedes at his approach, nor does he ever overtake it before the sun passes to the west of the distant mountains and the picture is dissolved.

But, with all of its desolation, the desert is not without its charms; the mountains are always in sight in the dim distance of dust and haze, and when the sun's rays pass behind their huge forms they seem to approach the dweller on the plains and to gather about him as night falls. The air is delightfully cool and charming, even intoxicating, and, as the glare of the sun is removed, in the long twilight or in the early morning, colors of entrancing beauty appear. Those who have dwelt in these dry districts, where small tracts of land could be irrigated or where stock could be pastured, have accustomed themselves to the conditions of life like the animals and plants. They have toughness in their grain and have learned to delight in the attractions of the desert. The climate of the arid region lacks the disagreeable feature of heat and cold—namely, moisture. The excessive heat does not exhaust the system as it does in humid regions, nor does the excessive cold impair the health. When the thermometer registers 110° in the shade in Arizona, the suffering is not so great as at 90° in New York City. Likewise, in the Dakotas 25° below zero is more easily endured than zero weather in Boston.

Little by little, civilization has gradually encroached upon the desolate places. While men were conjecturing as to what was to be done to this practically boundless area of worthless land, the settler has gradually invaded the territory and adapted himself to the development of the resources of the country. First, there came the trappers and the fur-traders, who established their posts along the principal streams of the continent. The Government, to protect the first invaders and to secure the country to itself, planted lines of forts along the principal highways of travel, until the whole territory was dotted with military stations, which opened up the way more fully to the settler and the traveller. The great overland trading routes from Independence,

Atchison, Leavenworth, and Council Bluffs to Santa Fé, New Mexico, and to Oregon, along the old Santa Fé, Salt Lake, Oregon trails, enlivened the scene and opened up the way for future settlement. The hardy pioneer established his cabin in some fertile spot convenient to fuel and water, and began agriculture and stock-raising in a small way. This advance-guard of civilization, settling down without leave upon "Uncle Sam's" land, suggested the possibilities of the country. Others followed until, by the time of the great transcontinental railroad, the advance-guard had established itself on every plain and in every valley, wherever there was prospect of food and water for man and beast.

The discovery of gold in California gave a great impetus to overland travel, and many who had crossed the plains returned to settle in some favored spot. Thus, the possibilities of the great interior became known. Gradually, too, it appeared that, in their haste to reach the Eldorado of the Pacific Coast, the gold-seekers had passed by untold wealth of coal, iron, copper, gold, silver, zinc, lead, and petroleum, hidden underneath the soil in mountain or plain. The discovery of these has caused the rapid settlement of some districts and added much to the wealth of the country.

Following in the wake of the railroads came the great multitude of people hurrying and scurrying for new lands, and mines, and watercourses, so that this great arid region is developing tremendous wealth of mining, agricultural and pastural products, its population is steadily increasing, and its desert conditions are gradually disappearing through the efforts of the man who digs and toils and subdues nature.

There has been prodigal waste of plain and forest by improper use and by the carelessness of settlers in destroying forests by fire. But those strenuous times, when the whole country was subjected to the savage rule of contending forces, are fast passing away. Gradually the country has yielded to the influences of law and order. There is also a greater utility of the resources of nature. Forests and ranges are protected and the water is quite evenly distributed, so as to yield the largest service to the various members of the community. The laws of irrigation have done much to regulate the property rights in water. It is treated more as a commodity in the market and less as a mere accident of nature.

Irrigation is one of the great aids in the mastery of the desert.

First, the settler with the small stream irrigating a few acres; then, the rancher with a larger cultivation and followed by great irrigation corporations with thousands of miles of ditches, some of them veritable rivers; and, finally, the reclamation service of the Government, aided and encouraged by President Roosevelt, by means of which some of the most desolate places of the earth will be made "to blossom as the rose." All of these agencies at work will soon make at least 100,000,000 acres of otherwise worthless land the most productive and beautiful parts of our country. Already 10,000,000 acres are devoted to intensive agriculture under irrigation. The best of it all is that the mining, manufacturing and transportation industries of these regions make it possible to absorb the agricultural products to such an extent that the farmers of the Mississippi Valley and other agricultural districts under rainfall need not fear of harmful agricultural competition from lands tilled under intensive agriculture through irrigation.

The millions of money derived from land sales, and appropriated by Congress to carry on irrigation in the arid region, will be of untold value in the utilization of the water-supply. Great reservoirs will be built for the storage of surplus water of the melting snows of the mountains, to be distributed on the land, insuring bountiful crops. When the floods of great rivers are thus stayed and evenly distributed over the plains, immense tracts of land now uncultivated will yield bountiful harvests.

But let us see what has been accomplished already in this arid region of Major Powell's. Let us observe to what extent the real desert has been conquered. Leaving out of consideration the great States of Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, and Arkansas, comprising a territory nearly all of which was once considered valueless, with a population of over eight millions, and considering only the fifteen States and Territories lying almost wholly in the great "arid region," exclusive of California, comprising a territory of 1,508,210 square miles, we have to note the following statistics: The population within this territory numbered in 1900, 8,771,269; the acreage of farms was 300,380,645. Of these farms, 100,956,487 acres are already improved. The value of the farms in 1900 was $4,006,108,282. The value of agricultural products for 1900 was estimated to be $947,907,104. Of the farm lands, 6,566,738 acres are under irrigation. In addition to this, the mining

products add $160,000,000 to the growing wealth of the country. But, more marvellous than all this, is the rapid growth in railroad extension throughout this territory. The mileage of railroads had already reached in 1900 the enormous figure of 50,712.96 miles. There are not less than six great transcontinental lines running through the territory, and there soon will be several more. Short lines are extending in every direction into fertile valleys, and to mines and cattle-ranges, opening up the territory and furnishing means of serving increasing population.

The Santa Fé and Oregon trails, still in the memory of men living, are like the stage-coach and the emigrant train, practically unknown to the men who are now building the West. The old cabins and dugouts are replaced by modern dwellings. The great ranges are fast passing into orderly farms, where cultivated crops take the place of wild grasses. Steadily is man's rational selection directing the selection of nature. Even the cowboy, an essential creation of Western conditions, is rapidly passing away. Like the buffalo, he has had his place in the drama of civilization. The Indian of the plain must yield to civilization or pass away. Custer, Cody, Bridger, and Carson did their work and passed on. So did the great caravan of the plains. Pioneers of the old school are giving place to a young and vigorous group of men of intellect, will and ceaseless activity, who are turning the light of scientific discovery on plain and mountain.

Prophesying on the future of America, Coleridge, many years ago, said: "The possible destiny of the United States of America as a nation of a hundred millions of freemen, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, living under the laws of Alfred, and speaking the language of Shakespeare and Milton, is an august conception." We are now prepared to improve on Coleridge, and to say that a nation of two hundred millions of freemen, living under American Common and Statute Law, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, fifty millions of whom occupy the arid region of the continent, where the word "desert" is unknown, will soon be a mighty reality.

FRANK W. BLACKMAR.

# SOME PHASES OF THE ISSUES BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND TURKEY.

BY AMERICUS.

THE issues between the United States and Turkey as defined at Constantinople during the past five or six years are easily grouped into four categories:

(1) The elevation of the American Legation to the rank of an Embassy.

(2) Commercial questions, large and small.

(3) Treatment of American religious and educational and philanthropic enterprises within the Ottoman Empire.

(4) Position and treatment of naturalized American citizens, formerly Ottoman subjects, when they return to the Empire.

The order of the items here given is in no sense the official one, nor necessarily that of relative importance. The Department of State at Washington might well give precedence to the commercial questions; our Minister at Constantinople might, wisely or unwisely, place the question of the Embassy in the forefront; American citizens, who happen to be Missionaries in Turkey, might fairly object to having pork and higher educational institutions bracketed in discussion with a Moslem Power whose ceremonial law is largely Jewish; while the Turkish Government would no doubt be only too glad to settle the question of naturalized Americans and leave all the others untouched. But the order in which they are to be attacked and pressed to settlement presents one of the most delicate problems in diplomacy.

Let us examine in detail the issues as defined at Constantinople.

(1) The elevation of the American Legation at Constantinople to the rank of an Embassy is a question involving many lines of international policy that can be intelligently discussed only by the diplomatic lawyers within the Department of State at Washington.

But the anomalies and disadvantages of the present situation at Constantinople can be understood by any layman. Ever since the subversion of the Sublime Porte in the early eighties by the irresponsible Palace party, the transaction of business through the regular channels—that is, through the Council of Ministers who are supposed to be the regular government of Turkey—has become increasingly difficult and at times completely impossible. Long negotiations conducted by foreigners with these officers of the Sublime Porte reach a stage where little remains to be done but the affixing of the Sultan's signature. In most lands, this would be granted without further delay. But in Constantinople such matters must now be sent up to the Palace, the road to which is barred and guarded by as astute and unscrupulous a set of courtiers as ever surrounded a despotic ruler. Many highly important communications are delayed for years, or never heard of again. Rarely do any return unmutilated, or without additions that defy explanation, or completely nullify the principle sought for. So that diplomatic representatives in Constantinople spend most of their lives in battling with the absurdities and inconsistencies that lie only half concealed between the Sublime Porte and the person of the Sultan. Money here, as in many other situations, has a magic power. But the next best means is the person of an Ambassador. There are, perhaps, many who do not know that, according to usage in Constantinople, an Ambassador may obtain an audience at any time with the Sultan, and force many items through even against the influence of both the Palace and the Porte. But every representative lower than an Ambassador can never appear before the Sultan except when called for by His Gracious Majesty. This invitation can be secured sometimes by indirect means; but when, for any reason, the Sultan does not wish to see a Minister of any foreign Power, the Palace officials can baffle him, if necessary, for years. Now, the American representative is called "Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary," and is outranked by every Ambassador to Turkey. Hence, he lacks the all-important privilege of approaching the Sultan uninvited. The United States of America is outranked by half a dozen petty kingdoms, whose combined interests do not equal one-half of the interests of our growing nation. The present Minister, Mr. Leishman, has told* a part of the story

* See United States Foreign Relations for 1903.

of his attempts to secure an audience with the Sultan, when his efforts were baffled for more than two months. The story is pitiful and ludicrous in the hopes deferred, the broken promises and the veiled threats. More than once, he was on the point of leaving Constantinople and severing diplomatic relations. More than once he threatened to break off all relations with the Sublime Porte and address his attentions to the Palace alone. Exactly what this might mean none but old residents of Constantinople could fully explain, but it had the immediate effect of causing the Sultan to send a Chamberlain from his own household and beg Mr. Leishman not to proceed to such an extremity.

So Mr. Leishman has rightly regarded the change from the rank of a Minister to that of an Ambassador as a possible key to the whole situation at this stage. And just as certainly has the Sultan seen that to prevent this change is his best move in the game. The pretext that Turkey cannot afford the expense of an Embassy at Washington is a specious one, even though backed by the fact that the Turkish Minister at Washington has seen no salary for years, and it does not count for much in comparison with the deeper reasons. But as far as the verdict of American citizens living inside the Empire is concerned, from the Minister downwards, there seems to be no better way of ending many of the indignities and difficulties of the situation than by elevating the post to the rank of an Embassy. That the Sultan will oppose this step by every means in his power is an absolute certainty, for the traditions and policy of the United States are far removed from what is right and best in his eyes. His Majesty has far too many Ambassadors shouting in his ears, and he hesitates about increasing the number. It is also true that certain of the other Powers will, just as surely, oppose the entrance of this modern giant, some for one reason, some for another. All the despotic Powers, from Germany through the list to Russia, will oppose, because they are certain that the United States will of necessity range herself with the more enlightened and advanced section of the nations on all questions of civil and religious liberty. In exactly the same way those Powers that view the commercial advance of the United States with fear or suspicion will not welcome her appearance in this centre of empire as one of the greater Powers.

(2) Commercial questions between the United States and

Turkey are all of recent date. Twenty years ago, they had almost no existence. Those who would understand the magnitude of them must always read the most recent Consular Reports. American rails and bridges are now being sent down the line of the Pilgrimage Railroad. These Consular Reports set forth clearly the many issues that have appeared at points where new enterprises clash with the vested rights and privileges of other nationalities which have been longer in the field. Without attempting to catalogue or analyze these issues, it will be enough to insist upon this one point: that the American Government has abundant cause for all she has done towards Turkey, quite independent of any philanthropic or educational interests that affect citizens of the United States now residing within the Empire.

In this category may be classed all questions concerning property owned by American citizens. For hundreds of years, no foreigner could hold property in the Empire. Not until early in the seventies was a treaty negotiated according to which Americans were allowed to own property in their own names. But the Turkish Government bitterly opposed and hindered any American from holding property as the *agent* of any Society, or company, in his own land, and does not recognize any will or legal paper which wills such property trusts to the real owners at his death. When it is realized that there are a thousand thorny difficulties in the way of transfers, and that the legal expenses of regular transfers frequently amount to five or six per cent. of the total value of the property, it will be seen that commercial and philanthropic enterprises are seriously handicapped in Turkey. Each time the American Missionary or agent moves from the field, the transfer of property to some other name reopens all the difficulties of the situation and involves great expense. When the holder passes away by death, and his heirs are scattered all over the world, the difficulties are increased enormously. Whenever our Government secures the same treatment as France and other nations, property can be transferred to the name of the Society or its Treasurer, and all this problem will be solved. By denying a College or a Mission a firman the Government can worry such an enterprise forever, and according to strict Turkish law can claim the whole or a part of the property of a foreigner dying without heirs. Property given for Christian enterprises might thus be absorbed and used for Mohammedan purposes.

Now, according to the Capitulations, Missionaries of all countries have a standing, not alone as citizens or subjects of their own countries, but *also as Missionaries* in Turkey. And, as such, their enterprises have been recognized officially for centuries. Where the Turkish Government lives up to this obligation, property can be registered in the name of the Society or its Treasurer, and this constantly recurring trouble and expense avoided forever. As far as I can learn, Turkey is now the only country in the world where philanthropic enterprises are still hampered by such vexatious restrictions. At the time of the Mitylene incident, France demanded and secured the recognition of every religious and philanthropic enterprise, new and old, conducted by French citizens, and at the same time secured the orders for the transfer of all properties held in trust for them to the Societies interested, and insisted that all this should be carried out without the payment of any of the fees or charges demanded in ordinary circumstances. Since then the French Government has extended its postal facilities in Turkish cities by attaching letter-boxes to French property, as she does in her own colonies, and has insisted on the right of French citizens hoisting the French flag over such properties, as though they were in France. Other nations at once demanded and obtained the same treatment for the enterprises and properties of their respective subjects, and they are now in the process of completing these transfers. The American Government made the same demand on September 12th, 1902, for the enterprises and properties controlled by American citizens, and this demand was curtly refused and has been opposed by all kinds of ruses and crooked means.

(3 Treatment of American religious and philanthropic enterprises.

For fifty years, American missionaries, when pressed for *religious* reasons by Turkey, have appealed to the English Ambassadors and Consuls, and let it be recorded and never forgotten that these men have never failed to do all in their power for us and for native Protestants, and have made possible the existence of a Protestant community in the Turkish Empire.

When the American Government secured by treaty the right for her citizens to acquire and hold property, there were no conditions attached other than those applying to all foreigners. Now, Turkish law, as well as the immunities enjoyed by the native

Christian communities and the regulation of the Capitulations, provides for freeing from taxes, etc., all buildings and properties devoted to religious, educational and philanthropic uses; and American Missionaries once enjoyed these privileges by common courtesy in a large part of their properties. But there came a time, not many years ago, when the Turkish Government began to prefer charges against us for having alienated what was once taxable property without Government permission. In nine cases out of ten, we at once answered the charge (in Syria at least) by paying taxes and securing *tabu* deeds for properties which had been held until then by the old-fashioned court deeds. There are, among our properties, dedicated churches and several large schools that had been recognized more or less fully in firmans and papers issued by the central Government at Constantinople. On these we refused to pay, because they had also more than once been recorded in the Government books as free from all taxes. When we presented our case the Government answered: "You are not recognized by firman," even though we had been working here for more than *seventy* years. When we appealed to our own American Government in the eighties, the position was taken that our long residence and enjoyment of our rights as Americans constituted a virtual treaty, and that we were not to be molested. But this was only a temporary relief from annoyance. All permission to repair, extend or transfer any property, large or small, was denied, on the ground that we were an illegal organization. To make matters worse the Government, in pursuing its demands for taxes, was not content with starting with the date of its demand; but, in dozens of instances, it demanded back taxes for *fifteen* years. This amounted in many cases to a virtual repurchase of the property from the Government.

Then came another series of orders from Constantinople forbidding us to use such properties for church, school or hospital purposes, until we had obtained the imperial permits to do the same. More than once, official notices were printed in the papers threatening to close all our schools at a certain date, if such permits were not obtained. Knowing well that no such permits could be obtained in ten times the time allowed, we appealed to our Government again, and once more the trouble was averted by another imperial rescript suspending the order to close and imperfectly recognizing all our schools that had been open for

more than ten years. At that time, 1889, we filed lists of all our property and schools with our American Legation at Constantinople, and, according to directions and instructions, made application to the Turkish Government for local school permits which the Turkish Government assured our Legation would be issued promptly. For a period of more than *seven* years, 1890-1897, the writer of this article pursued the matter of these permits in the Government at Damascus, exhausting every resource to complete what the Turkish Government had promised so freely in order to make all our educational enterprise legal. During these seven years, we presented list after list of our 53 schools in that Vilayet; ream after ream of paper was covered with attempts to conform to the regulations. We presented set after set of all the books used in all our schools. Twice all the papers, diplomas of teachers and books were lost, and a third time we renewed them. After seven years we received permits for perhaps one-third of all our schools in the Vilayet of Damascus. We went through the same process of petitions, lists, questions answered, books submitted for all our 60 schools in the Beirut Vilayet, and never received *a single one of the permits promised.* The central Government at Constantinople refused to recognize by firman the various Missions and enterprises conducted by American citizens, and the local authorities, instructed properly from the central source, made it impossible to conform to the local requirements, so that it was plain to all that the Government was against us, and that every apparent concession or promise to legalize our position was a lie or a trick. The attitude of the Government every year since these events (1897) proves this assertion. Other nations resented more vigorously these subterfuges and encroachments, and never suffered as keenly as we. But it remained for France to make the final protest at Mitylene.

Now our condition as Americans has grown steadily worse. Applications for firmans for long-established institutions have been refused; applications for permits to repair or enlarge or to build schools or hospitals have all been shelved, we know not where. We have wearied ourselves and our Legation in attempting to conform to the impossible. Hence, we are now a unit in taking the stand that nothing further can be done until our Government has induced or forced the Sultan to say the one word necessary: *i. e.*, that American interests and enterprises shall be

accorded the same treatment as those of all other nations. After that, the verifying of the number of the schools, the extent of the properties, what should be freed from taxes, the transfer of the titles, etc., can be attended to as convenient. Until that word of the Sultan has been spoken and recorded, all other processes are sure to be failures.

One of the shrewdest lines of Turkish policy, as seen in the course of its attitude towards all foreign enterprises, has been about as follows. Drastic irades are issued which infringe upon long-established rights or immunities. They are sent out to the local governors, and not for months do the Legations have accurate knowledge of them. Protests are registered; and then the central Government promises to send out another order directing provincial governors *to stay the execution* of these drastic irades. The matter grows cold, and, like ten thousand other Turkish regulations, lies neglected by all. But some years later, the invidious irade is suddenly dug up and put into execution. By that time, many changes have taken place in the Embassies and Legations. The occupants are new at the business of the Turkish Empire. Complaints increase, and, when the matter is again forced upon the notice of the Sultan's ministers, the answer is about as follows: "There is nothing new in this irade. It was promulgated years ago. Objections are no longer in order. They should have been made at the time of its issue." And again the Embassies go through the farce of objecting, and again the Turkish Government leads them all through the long lane of Turkish promises to nowhere. But at each process the Turk has gained something that he is after.

It needs to be repeated and kept in mind that the present situation has not been brought about by any lack, on the part of the Missionaries, of conformity to Turkish laws and regulations; nor has it been by any combination of Missionaries as a class to secure new or wider privileges or immunities. All that Missionaries have done is to join in the general protest against the increasingly intolerant restrictions of the present régime and the secret and open filching away of privileges long enjoyed.

(4) Position and treatment of naturalized American citizens, formerly subjects of the Sultan.

In 1868 Congress declared that "the right of expatriation is a natural and inherent right of all people, indispensable to the en-

joyment of the rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," and one of the "fundamental principles of the republic." Soon thereafter (1870), England and the United States, abandoning the old doctrine of the indelibility of natural allegiance, through convention and treaties with many Powers in Europe, opened a free exchange of nationality. Now, for nearly thirty years the American Government has been trying, at longer or shorter intervals, to conclude some sort of a Naturalization Treaty with Turkey, but in vain. Turkey still maintains the most ancient custom in Europe and flatly denies the right of any Ottoman subject to renounce his nationality. Her bitter and uncompromising attitude in religious matters, where no Moslem by any fair means can become a Christian, and where no non-Mussulman heir can inherit anything of a Mussulman's property, is extended very naturally to the matter of citizenship and allegiance. Any Ottoman subject who renounces his allegiance to the Sultan and afterwards visits the Empire is liable to banishment forever; and the property of any individual who has thus abandoned Ottoman nationality, without legal authority to do so, does not even pass to his heirs, whether Ottoman or foreign, but devolves to the state.

In 1855 when the famous edict, the Hatti Hamayun, was issued, professing to "abolish every distinction making any class of the subjects of the Ottoman Empire inferior to any other class on account of their religion, language or race," and establishing, as was thought by all the world, religious liberty in Turkey, many Moslem subjects looked toward a profession of Christianity with favor. But every hope in this direction was dashed rudely to the ground by the declaration of the Government explaining that such was not the meaning and scope of that edict at all! It simply legalized the existence of the Christians, whose very life breath had been before that an illegal thing, according to the Moslem law which offered the sword or the Koran to every human being falling into their power. When England and Germany and other Christian Powers attempted to protect any man who dared to make the attempt at a change of religion from Mohammed to Christ, the Government seized him as a *deserter from military service,* because none but the followers of the Prophet are drafted into the Turkish army. When England pressed forward to protect any such converts, some of the other

Powers malignantly pointed out the fact to Turkey that, if England's understanding of the famous edict prevailed, she would thereby strike a death-blow at Turkey's military establishment, for it was more than probable that half the Moslems of the Empire at that time would soon have made a nominal profession of Christianity in order to escape the military conscription.

England concluded many treaties with other Powers, and foreseeing the difficulties arising from frauds, possible in lands where the military service is compulsory, soon added some restrictions to her grant of citizenship which have saved her many complications. The English law thus provides:

"An alien, to whom a certificate of naturalization has been granted, shall enjoy all political and other rights and privileges, and be subject to all obligations to which a natural-born British subject is entitled or subject in the United Kingdom, *provided that he shall not, when within the limits of the former state of which he was a subject previously to his obtaining his certificate of naturalization, be deemed a British subject unless he has ceased to be a subject of that state in pursuance of the laws thereof, or in pursuance of a treaty to that effect.*"

These italicized clauses have no meaning to the citizen from the United States wishing to become a British subject; but they have a very important bearing upon the applicant from France, from Germany, from Russia and from Turkey. Now, the United States law which claims that "the right of expatriation is a natural and inherent right of all people" makes no exception in the case of Ottoman subjects.

Emigration from Turkey to the United States began with the Bethlehemites in 1875, and has grown to alarming proportions within thirty years. The troubles in Armenia and elsewhere have added impulse to the movement, until the numbers now reach into hundreds of thousands. Prior to 1900, perhaps 95 out of every 100 were Christians; and, seeing that Christian communities pay their taxes in bulk, these absentees were not missed and the Government gave itself little concern, so long as the remainder of the Christian community had to pay the taxes in full for the present and absent. But, a few years ago, the Moslems began to go in large numbers, until it has become the most popular means of escaping the heavy burdens of the military conscription. Those who are drafted yearly from Syria are always sent to the more remote parts of the Empire. In Mace-

donia they face cold, bloodshed and death; in Yemen they face unbearable heat, hunger and pestilential disease. The fraction who live to return come home after eight or ten years ragged, penniless and ruined in health. By fleeing to the United States they can spend the same number of years in what seems to them heaven. Now, these Moslems almost invariably emigrate to the States for reasons that every one knows. They have learned that, in the matter of citizenship, our fundamental law lays down no restrictions, and that nowhere on the earth can they get so much for nothing! Of these emigrants, perhaps one-third will die in foreign lands, one-third will settle down and one-third will return. But, whether they die or remain away or return, they furnish knotty problems for American Consular representatives in Turkey. Those who remain abroad, as the Armenians, are calling for their wives and children, whom the Turkish Government insists upon holding as hostages, even when demanded by name by our Minister at Constantinople; while those who return and demand their rights as American citizens will open every phase of this strife for civil and religious liberty. The records of the American Consulates in Turkey will give the story of what happens every month in Turkey, but heretofore these troublesome cases have been mainly those of Christians and Jews. From this time forward, we shall hear more of the former Moslem subjects of the Sultan; and, seeing that the American Government is the only Government in the world that stands on the unconditional claim "that the right of expatriation is a natural and inherent right of all people," we are bound to come into conflict with the Sultan, not only on the political but also on the religious horn of the dilemma. Our Government will have to choose between limiting the value of American citizenship, which means a change in "the fundamental law of the land," and protecting these naturalized citizens when they return to Turkey, which brings up a controversy that will shake the foundations of this antiquated system.

I do not presume to offer any solution to these questions. I have referred to the British Naturalization Law, which adds conditions to its grant of nationality. But I do wish to repeat that, whatever may be American claims and grievances at Constantinople, in the Turkish official mind there is no item of international import that causes any such nightmares as this one, be-

cause it is not only entangled with the rights of Ottoman subjects, but also affects the military establishment and the foundations of the Mohammedan religion. And, furthermore, while the matter of the Embassy may loom large in the mind of the Minister at Constantinople, and while the matter of the American schools and institutions may seem to be the largest feature in the landscape for other people, let it be repeated that our American Government has enough other grievances, political and commercial, to justify amply all it has done in recent years, quite independently of the matter of the Embassy and the schools. Back of all the details, no matter how large they may be, is the fundamental question: Will or will not Turkey accord to the American Government and American citizens the same treatment that she has accorded to other nations and their subjects? If the starred spaces in the Foreign Relations of the United States with Turkey for 1903 were filled out, it would be found that our American Minister in Constantinople had been more than once subjected to treatment such as finds no place in the dealings of *civilized* Powers with each other. American patience and good humor is proverbial; but, when tested beyond the safety point, there is danger of an explosion of something besides expletives.

The "most-favored-nation clause," in modern international politics, is a keen weapon that cuts largely according to the will and heart of the hand that wields the glittering blade. Turkey, rightly from her mediæval point of view, dreads to make this concession in principle to the American Government, because she can see that the United States cannot be ranged in line with the European Powers on many of the most important issues of human struggle and aspiration. We have the confidence, however, that, whatever may be the final tabulated results of diplomatic efforts at Constantinople, God, in His providence, will use the American people and Government to deliver another mighty blow in the interests of civil and religious liberty. For the *same* privileges granted to the United States that have been granted to Russia or Germany will differ in actual results according to the difference of the civil and religious genius of the peoples and nations in question.

AMERICUS.

# MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP OF PUBLIC UTILITIES.

BY GEORGE STEWART BROWN.

PROGRESSIVE Democrats are for municipal ownership, primarily, because they believe in democracy. They believe (1) that competition in the public services is impracticable; (2) that municipal ownership will pay, either in cash savings to the taxpayer or in cheaper and better service; (3) that municipal ownership is a political necessity, and will remove the main and most threatening source of political corruption.

(1) *Competition in public-service industries is impracticable.* —There is a fundamental difference between a corner grocery, for instance, which can spring up anywhere, and an industry like a gas company, whose very existence depends on a grant from government, and whose first nourishment is the right to use the property of the community, the public streets.

In Baltimore, Maryland, the native city of the writer, there was for a time so-called competition in every public-service industry; the result was some temporary benefit, perhaps, in reduced rates or improved service; but in the end came consolidation, with a capitalization bearing interest on two franchises instead of one, and a not inequitable plea on the part of the combined company to the effect that "you, the people, have forced us to this condition of over-capitalization, and must help us bear the burden."

This has resulted in confusion worse confounded both to the corporations themselves and to the public mind, which has failed to grasp the real nature of the problem. So-called competition in public-service industries is not competition at all,—it is war. The stronger company either buys out the weaker at once without further parley, or it divides the territory with the weaker, if the territory is big enough to divide, and agrees on rates; or it

temporarily lowers the rates below the point of profit until the weaker succumbs. As a matter of fact, with the exception of the telephone service, industrial public-service war has had but one universal result, consolidation. Not a single instance to the contrary can be cited. The tendency to consolidation has become so strong that lighting companies furnishing different kinds of lights, like gas and electricity, are now combining, although they largely supply a different field and class of customers. No ingenuity of the most skilled lawyers can prevent consolidation. On the other hand, when a few consolidations here and there have been found illegal, a new method has always been invented to keep the separate interests together, or to reunite them in fact if not in name.

Granted that a public service must be a monopoly, the people will not long tolerate a monopoly in private hands. They will perhaps try regulation first; they will sooner or later insist that, if a monopoly, it must be a government monopoly, operated solely for the public benefit, instead of a private monopoly, operated primarily for the purpose of private gain, and only incidentally for the service of the people.

(2) *Municipal ownership will pay.*—One item is almost universally neglected in considering the financial success or failure of city ownership, and that is the capitalized value of the right to do the particular service through the use of the public property in the streets. Let us assume, for illustration, two companies in cities of the same size with their two tramway services, or electric-lighting services, costing the same sum for instalment and with the same rates and an equally efficient management—two business enterprises, that is to say, earning exactly the same amount of money, and identical in their conditions, except that one is public and the other private.

Let us suppose that the value of the actual material property of each, bought and constructed, is $50,000,000, and that the private concern pays interest and dividends on a capitalization of $100,000,000, the other $50,000,000 being the intangible value created by the permit held by the private concern from government to use its combined material properties in connection with the public streets for the required public service.

Thus we have the interest on $50,000,000 saved for our equally efficient city service. That is the saving to the city, or the margin

of efficiency, which our supposed public concern effects as compared with the equally well-managed private company. Now, in Baltimore, for instance, the attempted easement assessments, under a plan similar to the New York franchise-tax law, amounted to $23,000,000, and they were moderate, because they did not attempt to reach all the intangible value, but only so much of it as came directly from the use of the city streets. Yet this is half the city debt; and, if the same ideal condition had existed in Baltimore as is supposed in our illustration, the effect of public management would have been like cutting the debt in two.

To return to our illustration. Fifty million dollars is paid by the first city to the private company for rendering a governmental function, whereas the other city saved that amount by performing that function itself; or, to state it in a different way, the public concern would have to be only half as efficient as the private company to produce the same result to the city.

It is absurd to attempt to settle finally the right or wrong of the policy of municipal ownership by reference to the results of any specific instance, just as it would be ridiculous to conclude that individual failures or successes in the banking business demonstrated the folly or wisdom of following that business as a calling. Yet Philadelphia, the stock example of the opponents of municipal ownership, is always so quoted, without regard to the question what Philadelphia gained in the increment of franchise value while it held on to its public service. Compare the advantages which Philadelphia gets out of its present lease of the gas-works with the condition of Baltimore with a company operating under a perpetual franchise. Now, Philadelphia's present advantage is due to the fact that, at the time of making the lease, it had a large accrued franchise value to dispose of, and who can say offhand that its long-continued policy of holding on and operating was worse, on the score of past extravagance and debauchery, or better, on the score of present advantages derived incidentally from that very policy?

The writer believes it is a recognition of the value of the capitalized franchise that makes us hold on to the one public service that is generally municipalized, namely, our water-supplies. Logically, our reactionaries should advocate the turning over of our water-supplies to private enterprise. Why not, if municipal ownership is so bad?

Whatever the reason, we seem to have finally reached the conclusion to hold tight to what we have. For, even in the most reactionary communities, any proposition to give up a municipal water system to private management would be immediately laughed out of court. The veriest tyro can see that now he pays for water the actual cost, namely, the low rates of interest on city capital expended for plant *plus* the actual running expenses of the department, and that any balance goes to a lowering of his tax rate, while, were it farmed out, he would at once begin to pay in addition interest upon the watered flotation of a private company capitalized on its franchise value. Even if he thinks the private company could hire men for lower wages, save money on its supplies and in many other ways, he knows that the new item would largely exceed any such savings; and he also instinctively feels that, as that franchise value grows with increase of population, the capitalization on which he must give a fair return will grow with equal pace.

To show still further that we are conscious of this same idea concerning the franchise value to be given away, it is worthy of note that, in considering the establishment of some new service, such as a subway for underground wires, or a sewerage system, we invariably favor municipal ownership, entirely without respect to making it pay as a business proposition.

In the fight to put the wires underground in Baltimore, it was clearly recognized that the way to do so was by a municipal subway. And here the idea of municipal profit on the transaction was eliminated, the plan being simply to charge enough rental to pay interest and sinking-fund, and thus give the use of the subways to the private companies for cost, simply and solely to get the streets clear of obstructions.

Not charging for the franchise value would probably be the result of the plan proposed as an alternative to municipal ownership and operation; that is, public ownership with private operation. This method would be much preferable to private ownership, because the franchise itself would be reserved, and some day might be utilized without extra cost by the city itself.

Again, in the matter of sewerage in Baltimore, only once was it seriously proposed to farm out the system to a private company. The proposition to grant a franchise was coupled with fair promises of the benevolence the company would show to the city—

how it would relieve the city from an enormous municipal debt and charge fair and reasonable rates; but immediately, with loud and universal public condemnation, the proposal was buried out of sight. Its opponents called it a scheme for "graft," a "gigantic steal," etc. Why graft? Why a steal? What was there to steal except the franchise value, which, of course, would have been abundantly capitalized? A distinct popular recognition of the point I am trying to make.

The margin of efficiency saved by the reservation of the franchise value, coupled with the lower interest rate on municipal, as compared with private, loans (with the promoters' and bankers' commissions on the latter), must be more than used up by higher wages, political debauchery and extravagance before public operation can become more expensive than private ownership.

Besides, there is no inherent reason why the mob of voters should not obtain as good and successful management as the mob of stockholders.

Again, the increment of franchise value to come from future increase of population is going to be enormous. We all believe in great increases in population in the future in and about our great cities. The franchise or right to serve a city of a million souls will be worth more than twice as much as the franchise to serve half a million. If we buy now from the private owners, including present franchise value, we will save all future increment, with every prospect that the proportionate improvement in the governmental service will be greater every year in the line of increased efficiency. The increase, up to the present time, in the value of public-service capitalizations, has been almost beyond the dreams of avarice. From the moment of municipalization, this will become the property of the people, and accrue to them as reduced rates, better service or lowered tax rates.

(3) *Municipal ownership is a political necessity.*—Public-utility corporations are the chief bulwark and support of the machine, and interest in the questions affecting vested privilege means for the individual showing such interest that he puts himself outside the party pale. Give the "boss" his franchises and the vested interests behind them, and you have the immense modern campaign fund which alone makes the machine possible.

What is the testimony of those who have had practical experience in this matter? Ask La Follette, ask Mark Fagan, ask

Tom Johnson, ask Folk, ask Weaver, and they will answer, with one accord, that their breach with their party organizations came when they attempted to remedy some abuse which the masters of vested privilege, the franchise-holders, were committing, or to punish the perpetrators thereof. They will testify that it was not the free choice of subordinates, or the suppression of petty and minor graft, that aligned the party "boss" against them. These were sins, but forgivable sins. The one unpardonable sin was to touch with a fearless hand the public-service monopoly question, or to punish those who assist the machine in carrying out its alliance with business privilege.

No one now, conservative or radical, stands for unregulated monopoly, while all thinkers and writers on the subject recognize public services as necessary and natural monopolies; and it is generally admitted that existing political evils are primarily caused by the presence in politics of the public-service corporations, and this admission involves the recognition of the necessity for some remedy. Certain opponents of municipal ownership propose "regulation" and "punishment for the wrong-doer." Now, in the first place, "regulation" means what looks very like a political impossibility. It means that the servant must regulate his master; that the party man, who has been elected as such, must put himself outside the breastworks of the organization by regulating the party's best and ever-faithful friend, the campaign contributor. This is not in human nature. This is why you will so often find the business man in office, honest as the day is long in his private business, but in office particularly careful to carry out his reforms in places where they do not conflict with big business privilege.

The advocates of regulation overlook one point, which, in my opinion, is vital. Regulation of rates or service is always resisted by the owners; and the advocate of regulation is compelled to put himself in constant antagonism with his business associates and social friends, who happen to be owners or managers of the particular service involved. To do this, to interfere with the business interests of those with whom one enjoys the most pleasant personal relations in one's daily walk, is a disagreeable and often dangerous thing for any man to do.

Yet the public official must needs do this, over a long and aggravating period of years, throughout his whole political exist-

ence, if he is to carry out a policy of regulation, or even attempt to compel the public-service corporations to obey their legal obligations. A battle for municipal ownership would be a comparatively short conflict, and there would be nothing to disturb personal relations, as soon as it became an accomplished fact.

This social and business association, combined with the fear of wrath to come in the shape of a contribution which will set their party machine against them, explains the failure of executive officers, otherwise honest and efficient, to take up, on their own initiative, cases of plain violation of public obligations on the part of these companies. This is what the organizations and the companies mean by a "safe" man. Every nomination for important office is scrutinized from their own point of view by the representatives of these vested interests. Fagan, La Follette, and Johnson are not considered "safe," because they have touched the vital pocket-nerve. To obtain their renominations, they have each been compelled to capture their party, over the heads of its old organization, and practically to construct a new party of their own, and fight the combined power of the public-service corporations, which immediately rallied around the banner of the opposing party. The fact that they have succeeded shows that the people have learned to protect their government, and indicates strongly that they will be responsive to the necessities which municipal ownership brings of a more certain tenure of office in the public service and a greater governmental efficiency.

In every case where "regulation" has seriously been attempted, long and tedious litigation has been the result. Witness Roosevelt's Ford Law which, though passed in 1899, has never yet been enforced. Witness La Follette's rate legislation and Johnson's efforts for three-cent fares. If the litigation is successful, it involves the election of successive administrations, who are firm believers in the same policy, to keep the "regulation" going; and this, in turn, means a continuous political warfare, fraught with all these necessary antagonisms and involving a steady incentive to political corruption, without the definite results municipal ownership would secure.

Municipal ownership is only beginning to be tried in this country, although a start is being made in the electric-lighting service, some 800 plants, large and small, having been established, according to Mr. McCarthy, the legislative statistician of Wisconsin.

But time enough has not rolled by to make history and show success or failure. Private ownership, on the other hand, has existed for a long time, and yet no important instance can be cited of successful "regulation" in any city. In the cities where it has been attempted, like Chicago, Cleveland, New York and Detroit, the sentiment for municipal ownership is strongest. It is not too much to say that, for political reasons, "regulation" either has not been attempted, or where attempted has failed.

If we are to measure efficiency by something more than dollars and cents, if elements like comfort and convenience and conscience and political freedom are to count for anything, we must by co-operation, through the medium of our city governments, furnish the people with those necessities which, from the nature of the situation, ordinary competitive business cannot furnish, and as to which they must either be protected by government or taxed to make a watered franchise pay.

These are real functions of government according to the true doctrine of "*laissez-faire.*" The philosophers of that school did not hesitate to provide a police force to prevent private exploitation, to establish a tax-collecting department instead of farming out the taxing power. But we have handed over the public property in the streets to private corporations, and given them a power, monopolistic in its nature, to furnish public necessities; and within limits the owners have the power to charge or tax the people for this service.

We who believe in public ownership believe in radical reform as we believe in democracy. We want to make democracy free and able to handle the big propositions for popular benefit, as well as the small ones. We hold that, if we merely get good men in office who will look after and trample upon the small grafters, we accomplish something; but to give real justice to the people, we must stop the big leaks involving millions, as well as the small leaks involving hundreds and thousands. To fight the "boss" successfully, you must cut off his supplies, his campaign contributions. You must take away the special privilege of the man behind the "boss," the public-utility captain, and turn him from a natural enemy of government into an ordinary unprivileged citizen and the friend of progress.

GEORGE STEWART BROWN.

# THE PAN-AMERICAN RAILWAY: ITS BUSINESS SIDE.

BY H. G. DAVIS, CHAIRMAN OF THE PERMANENT PAN-AMERICAN RAILWAY COMMITTEE.

THE principles and motives underlying the assembling of Pan-American Conferences are found in the Monroe Doctrine. These conferences are the logical result of the position therein taken of the independence and interdependence of the republics of the Western Hemisphere. It was in December, 1823, that President Monroe sent to Congress his message announcing the position of the United States with respect to these new republics, and the relation of the Governments of the Old World thereto. Emulating the spirit of freedom, which in the colonies of the north had found expression in the formation of a government by the people, the colonies of Spain in the south asserted their independence and became republics. The United States naturally sympathized with these sister republics in their struggles and success, and, from motives not altogether unselfish, perhaps, was anxious that this success should be permanent. To promote the feeling of friendship and to encourage and advance trade relations between this country and the countries to the south, in 1826, Mr. Clay, then Secretary of State under President Adams, endeavored to bring about a general conference of representatives of these governments, and some progress was made to that end. Delegates were appointed, and a number of the southern republics expressed their intention to be represented; but it fell through, as Congress and the Administration were not in political accord.

When the first International American Conference, the inspiration of Mr. Blaine, when Secretary of State, held its sessions in Washington, in 1889-90, its work covered a wide field. The desire of Mr. Blaine was to draw the countries of the Western

Hemisphere more closely together by practical measures, one of the most important of these being the Pan-American Railway.

Following his suggestion, and with the cooperation of the delegates from the United States and from the other countries, a series of resolutions was adopted in support of the project. The substance of these was in the declaration that a railroad connecting all or most of the nations represented in the Conference would contribute greatly to the development of trade relations between them, and to the growth of their material interests, and also that the best method of facilitating its accomplishment would be the creation of an international commission of engineers to ascertain the possible routes, determine their true length, estimate the cost of each, and compare their respective advantages.

The Congress of the United States made provision for this international commission, and the other republics contributed *pro rata* to defray its expenses. The Commission included Mr. A. J. Cassatt, Chairman, Mr. R. C. Kerens, and myself, as representatives of the United States. It had the cooperation of some of the best railway minds of the country. Under its direction, the intercontinental survey was organized and the instructions of the Conference to ascertain the possible routes, etc., were carried out. Parties of engineers were placed in the field, and surveys and locations were made by them. It was shown that by using railway systems in operation and filling in the gaps between them it would be entirely practicable to secure rail communication between the United States and the Argentine Republic. The results were published by authority of Congress, and have since been utilized by the various governments, and by individuals and companies engaged in railroad building in Mexico, Central America and South America.

The Second International American Conference, at its sessions in the City of Mexico in 1901-02, gave further endorsement to the Pan-American project as a feasible one which merited continued support by the respective governments. It provided for the appointment of Commissioners to visit the republics interested, and report especially on the existing condition of commerce and the prospects for business for an intercontinental line. It also provided for the appointment of a Permanent Pan-American Railway Committee, residing in the United States, which should furnish all possible information as to the work of

the Intercontinental Railway, and should report to the next Conference on the result of its labors. This Committee is now constituted as follows: H. G. Davis, Chairman; Andrew Carnegie; J. D. Casasus, the Mexican ambassador; C. M. Pepper; A. Lazo-Arriaga.

Under this resolution and the authority of Congress, a Commissioner visited the different countries, while the Committee has pursued the course marked out for it in obtaining and making public all possible information on the subject. The next Conference, the third, is to meet in Rio Janeiro in July, and the Committee, following instructions given, will report to that body what has been accomplished since the Mexican Conference.

Without anticipating these results, which are of great importance, it is proper to take into account the general subject and foundation of the proposed intercontinental trunk line and branches. The basis is a business one, whether looked at from the standpoint of the individual, of a single nation, or of the group of nations which constitute the American Continent. Railroads are built to earn dividends. For the body of stockholders the dividends must depend on the net earnings to be obtained from the traffic that either already exists or is created. The capitalists who supply the funds may have additional reasons, resulting from their ownership of mines, of timber areas, or of agricultural regions whose products can only be made marketable by providing means of communication. Sometimes, therefore, their investments do not depend solely on the actual net earnings. Yet the increased value of lands and the market obtained for their products of every kind are only another form of dividends.

For a nation, the dividends cannot be estimated in direct terms of interest on bonds or of net earnings for capital stock. For it the dividends are the development of the local resources, the wider market obtained for the products of the country, the increase of the population through immigration, and, in a word, the addition to the wealth of the nation. There is also the dividend which cannot be estimated in terms of dollars and cents because it comes from the better knowledge which the people of different regions of the country obtain of one another, and from the cultivation of the national patriotic spirit. This is a clear case of the influence of frequent and cheap communication among diverse sections of a country.

It is because of the addition to the wealth of the nation by developing its resources and the strengthening of the patriotic bonds which bind the different sections and their inhabitants more closely together, that all progressive governments have aided railway construction. This will always be the policy of a new country with undeveloped resources, or of an old country which seeks to become a modern nation. It was this feeling that caused the United States to spend $400,000 on surveys across the Rocky Mountains, long before any feasible plans for a railroad to the Pacific were attracting the attention of capitalists, and, later, developed into a definite national policy when the Pacific Railways were aided by enormous land grants, subsidies and bond guaranties. When the first transcontinental line was constructed, many wise men doubted whether there ever would be traffic enough to pay the operating expenses. Now there are several of these lines paying very well, and still others projected. No one questions that in the firmness with which the Pacific coast held to the Union during the time of the Civil War, the United States received returns far transcending the aid originally extended to the railways.

Mexico, which has carried out a policy similar to that of the United States, under the enlightened government of General Diaz, has received its dividends in the peace, prosperity and patriotic spirit that have knitted the diverse sections of the country together. When Sir John MacDonald undertook the gigantic enterprise of building the Canadian Pacific Railway, Canada made a like investment, which has returned not only large sums of money, but has resulted in a spirit of national unity.

These instances might be multiplied, if it were necessary to argue seriously that government aid to railway construction by land grants, bond guaranties, cash subsidies, exemption from taxes, and tariff concessions for the admission of construction material, needs justification. Such methods do not need justification; they justify themselves by their results.

The international, like the national, dividends are wider markets and the enlarged trade which come from increasing the means of intercourse between different countries. A better understanding by one people of another people is certainly a desirable result, and this is secured by furnishing means of communication. The international dividend may be said to be one

of dollars and cents in the way of more commerce, and of peace in the way of avoiding the misunderstandings which come from lack of intercourse.

In the light of these facts, the proposed Pan-American Railway may be said to offer returns to individuals, to the nations as separate republics, and to them as part of the family of nations of the Western Hemisphere. But the question at the root of railroad building always must relate to the commercial advantages, that is, to the traffic. It is not often that a rail line is built for traffic that already exists. Freight follows the rail line. The railway creates tonnage, and tonnage is commerce, both local and international.

The area of South America is slightly less than that of North America, and is nearly twice as large as the United States. With those of Central America and Mexico, it has seventeen separate republics, containing an estimated population of sixty millions of people.

The following tables are interesting, as showing the total annual commerce of all these countries and the share therein of the United States. The figures are from Government sources, and are approximated from the latest available data:

IMPORTS.

| | *Total of* | *From United States* | *Per cent.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mexico | $84,487,000 | $47,530,000 | 56 |
| Central America | 18,080,000 | 7,733,000 | 42 |
| South America | 444,014,000 | 58,944,000 | 13 |
| Total | $546,581,000 | $114,207,000 | 20 |

EXPORTS.

| | *Total of* | *To United States* | *Per cent* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mexico | $96,962,000 | $65,095,000 | 67 |
| Central America | 25,038,000 | 10,205,000 | 40 |
| South America | 629,869,000 | 136,488,000 | 22 |
| Total | $751,869,000 | $211,788,000 | 28 |

ENTIRE COMMERCE.

| | *Total of* | *With United States* | *Per cent* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mexico | $181,449,000 | $112,625,000 | 62 |
| Central America | 43,118,000 | 17,938,000 | 41 |
| South America | 1,073,883,000 | 195,432,000 | 19 |
| Grand Total | $1,298,450,000 | $325,995,000 | 25 |

It will be seen that with Mexico, with which we have railroad communication, the larger part of her commerce is with the United States; that with Central America, not so closely con-

nected with us, less than half is with this country; while with South America, it is only nineteen per cent. In the grand total of the trade of all the countries to the south, the United States has twenty-five per cent. We buy two hundred millions, or a third more than we sell them; but it is not really so important which side has the balance, so long as there is a good and growing trade on both sides. What will be noted in any detailed analysis of trade returns is that commerce grows in the ratio in which increased facilities are given, not merely to steamship service, but more especially to means of railway communication.

The steamship service, from its nature, is of little benefit in developing the interior of the country. The coast line does not furnish a large traffic, and the points not reached by railroads create little tonnage. When this tonnage has to be brought to the markets by pack-mules or wagon carts, the cost is often equal to the value of the products. The railway picks up freight every few miles, but the steamship service of South America, on an average, requires a land haul of 150 miles each way, or 300 miles in all. This is one reason, and a strong one, why intercontinental development through railway connection is desirable.

A common illustration, familiar to all railway builders and traffic managers, which may be used, is that of the team with the load of wheat, which, by the time the point of shipment has been reached, has eaten up all the wheat. The same principle applies in mines. Iron ore, coal, copper, silver may exist in great quantities in certain localities, but the mines never will be worked where the cost of transporting the ore is greater than the amount received for it. It is railway lines that make it profitable to develop the mines, and the traffic from this source is always to be considered in providing for railway systems. This probably is more especially necessary with regard to the localities to be reached by the Pan-American System than with those of any other part of the world.

In South America, of late years, the heaviest increase of foreign commerce has been that of the Argentine Republic, which has done most railway building in the last ten or twelve years. Much of this construction has been stimulated by the effort to form a through connection with the railways that will be part of the intercontinental system.

The Argentine Republic itself furnishes a clear example of the

national development which comes from railroad lines. In 1880, that country had 1,562 miles of railway, and its total foreign commerce was a little more than $100,000,000. In 1905, it had about 12,000 miles in operation, and its foreign commerce exceeded $500,000,000. In the ten years from 1894 to 1904, the increase in its exports was 159 per cent., and in its imports 102 per cent.—a total of 261 per cent., and this was a period of active railway construction.

The increase in national prosperity which results from railway building may be shown in another manner. In 1895, the imports *per capita* were $23.80, and the exports $30.10; in 1905, they were $37.60 and $53.00, respectively. This is to say that the 12,000 miles of railways in 1905 meant a foreign commerce of $90.60 to every one of the 5,000,000 inhabitants of Argentina.

Mexico is at our doors. We have watched the growth of this sister republic and helped it by the investment of large amounts of our capital in railway enterprises. In 1875, Mexico had 360 miles of rails, and her total imports and exports amounted to $46,319,000 in Mexican currency. During the year 1905, there were 10,300 miles of railway in operation, and the total foreign commerce, in the terms of Mexican currency, reached $387,000,000,—an increase of approximately 700 per cent. in the thirty years since the work of creating a complete system of railroads began.

Mexico is also an illustration of the widening of freight zones beyond the circle of local traffic. The railroad line is the radius of the circle. As it is lengthened, the circumference grows in proportion and the circle of intercontinental and international trade is extended. In 1881, the year in which a through line from the southern border of the United States reached Mexico City, the total of the trade with the United States, both exports and imports, was $19,500,000, largely through the Gulf ports. In 1893, the commerce through the border custom-houses alone amounted to $22,000,000, gold, and this, of course, was railway traffic. In 1905, the railroads to and from Mexico carried freight which, as shown by the import and export figures, exceeded $45,000,000. According to the report of Mr. Limantour, the able Secretary of the Treasury, Mexican railways remit annually to Europe and the United States, for their stockholders and bondholders, $10,000,000. Since the bulk of the capital is from the

United States, most of these remittances come here. They are in addition to the payment for material and to the returns from the freight which the southwestern lines turn over to their Mexican connections.

These examples of the commerce that comes from the traffic of the railways leads to a consideration of the present status of the Pan-American project. Given sufficient tonnage to be created, there is justification and encouragement for railway building. Where this traffic, or a reasonable proportion of it, may be international there is ground for an intercontinental railway.

The Pan-American routes, as surveyed, parallel the Pacific coast along the trend of the Andes, but they provide for branches or feeders which will shoot out toward the Atlantic as well as toward the Pacific. If their construction is much more difficult and costly than when the water-line can be followed, there is in its business aspect the value of the traffic that comes from the tonnage of mineral regions. This tonnage is of the kind that quickly pays for itself.

It is likely that the intercontinental line, in its engineering features, has to overcome more difficult conditions in the way of grades, curves, tunnels, bridges, cuts, and embankments, than any similar line of the same length; but it is also true that nowhere is so vast an area of mineral resources, silver, copper, coal, tin, still to be opened up to traffic as along the Andes Mountains. It must also be kept in mind that there are enormous timber areas and agricultural regions which are likewise to be developed and which will create tonnage.

The Pan-American plan provides for ultimate through rail connection between New York and Buenos Ayres, a distance of 10,400 miles, by existing lines and routes as heretofore surveyed. It is a fair statement that, with more thorough surveys and the shortening of some of the lines now in operation, this distance will be reduced to 10,000 miles. If all the lines on the Pan-American location already in operation and yet to be built were combined in a single trunk line, the total mileage between New York and Buenos Ayres would not be greater than the Atchison, the Burlington, the Pennsylvania, the Northwestern, or several other systems. The responsibility of control by one head would not be greater than that which to-day rests with A. J. Cassatt, James J. Hill or E. H. Harriman.

At this time only 3,700 miles of these intercontinental railway sections or gaps are not specifically provided for. The Bolivian Government has just entered into arrangements for the building of railroads from the Desaguadero River, on its northern limits, to within 50 miles of its southern border. It has $12,000,000 cash capital for this purpose, and the favorable condition of the negotiations for further capital assure that these lines will be built. Several years ago, the Argentine Government arranged to prolong its lines into Bolivia under a treaty. This work has been proceeding slowly, but it has been given a fresh start, because the action of the Bolivian Government makes it necessary for Argentina to secure connection with the new system in order to prevent traffic which properly belongs to it from being diverted. We may therefore take the railway connection from Buenos Ayres to Lake Titicaca as assured and consider the lines northward.

The Peruvian Government, partly under the stimulus of Pan-American publicity, has secured a loan in Germany which gives it the means of filling in the sections between Lake Titicaca and Cuzco. This is being done. There are already some disconnected rail lines on the intercontinental location from Cuzco to the north. I do not undertake to say how soon they will be joined together, but the following statement gives all the sections in the Pan-American trunk route for which provision has not yet been made: Peru, 1,200 miles; Ecuador, 450 miles; Colombia, 845 miles; Panama and Central America, 1,200 miles; total, 3,695 miles. In this statement, I assume as a fact the prolongation of the line which is now going on from Mexico to the boundary of Guatemala and the closing of the short section in the latter country which will place Guatemala City in direct rail connection with the City of Mexico and therefore with the cities of the United States. The total of railway lines unprovided for at this time is less, therefore, by 100 miles than the Pennsylvania lines east of Pittsburg. It is only 200 miles more than the Mexican Central system.

With regard to the cost, the engineers who made the intercontinental survey estimated $32,000 per mile for grading, masonry and bridges of a standard-gauge railway. On the plains and in the river valleys, the cost of construction, as they estimated it, was probably correct; but for the mountain engineering a

liberal additional allowance for contingencies would probably be made by practical railway builders. So the engineers in charge of the intercontinental survey added $8,000 per mile and assumed that the Pan-American line could be built at an average cost of $40,000 per mile.

But let it be assumed that the final cost of these links yet unprovided for, 3,700 miles in all, will average as much as $50,000 per mile. That would mean $185,000,000 yet to be spent on construction. This just about equals the outstanding capital stock of the 4,000 miles of the Baltimore and Ohio System, on which 8 per cent. to 9 per cent. is earned. Probably if $5,000,000 were expended in very thorough surveys and locations of the whole route, the construction expenses would be decreased very largely, for, in building railroads, there is no saving so great as that made by careful preliminary location. But, to be on the safe side, let it be assumed that $185,000,000 is still needed to build these Pan-American sections. Is it beyond the financial resources of the twelve or fifteen countries, including the United States, which are directly interested? The aggregate sum distributed among them is not large, because each section which is built not only develops the local traffic, but widens the freight zone and helps the creation of tonnage in adjoining districts. Who can estimate the trade returns when the railway systems of the United States and Mexico are connected with the network of railways in Argentina and the other republics of America? Our experience with American transcontinental lines may be duplicated.

The Dominion of Canada, after seeing the wonderful wealth which has grown out of the building of the Canadian Pacific, two years ago committed itself to another gigantic project, that known as the Grand Trunk Pacific, which proposes a transcontinental line far to the north, the main trunk from ocean to ocean covering between 3,500 and 3,600 miles. This line opens up great wheat areas which will furnish traffic, yet these wheat areas are a small section of the territory to be traversed. The Rocky Mountains are to be crossed to reach the Pacific, and an enormous stretch of barren country, the productiveness of which is very doubtful, has to be traversed in order to reach an Atlantic port. This project, it was estimated in the beginning, would cost somewhere in excess of $100,000,000. Now the estimates have

risen to $175,000,000. A section from Winnipeg to Moncton, New Brunswick, 1,800 miles, is so uncertain as to its resources that the government itself has had to undertake its construction. No section on the Pan-American location of similar length is so unpromising. Instead of barrenness, there are either mineral resources or very rich tropical countries. It is not too much to assume that these Latin-American countries, by cooperation and by the help of the United States, can do as much as the Dominion of Canada is doing for itself. Much aid could be rendered the enterprise by large land grants, the admission free of duty of material used, etc.

So little is known in the United States about South-American railways that, when one states they are profitable, his statement is questioned. Yet the London quotations every day give evidence of their dividend-paying qualities. It is a somewhat curious fact that, in an estimate of the total cost of construction or capital per mile,* there is not much variation between the South-American countries and the United States. This is the estimate:

| | |
|---|---|
| United States | $55,261 |
| Argentina | 49,895 |
| Chile | 54,697 |
| Uruguay | 52,756 |

How do the dividends compare? In the Argentine Republic, in a recent year, the 12,000 miles of railway had gross earnings of $61,676,000, gold; working expenses, $32,350,000; and net receipts, $29,326,000. The interest on the capital, which amounted to $573,000,000, was therefore a fraction over 5 per cent. That compares very well with the United States.

But it may be said that Argentina is chiefly a level country, producing wheat and raising cattle, and that the cost of building and maintaining railway lines is relatively cheap. This may be taken for granted, and it may be admitted that Argentina presents the best conditions for highest earning capacity, together with lowest operating expenses, though the bulk of its fuel has to be imported; yet here is an example from a railroad which climbs from the coast to heights of 13,000 feet, crossing a great volcanic mountain range. It was built to develop silver and other mines and provide an outlet for their products. This road is

* Transportation Routes and Systems of the World, Bureau of Statistics, Washington.

narrow gauge, known as the Antofagasta and Oruro Railway. It begins at Antofagasta, Chile, on the Pacific coast, and extends for 575 miles into the interior of Bolivia. The Bolivian Government guaranteed 6 per cent. on the sections which were built within Bolivia. It never has been called upon to pay a dollar of the guaranty. The net earnings of the road have been 9 per cent. and upwards. This is one of many cases of railway construction in South America where dividends have been paid from the beginning.

Everything relating to railway extension, both the Pan-American line and its branches, should interest the American people. It was William Wheelwright, the American, who first sought to force the rails through the Andes of Chile to the pampas of Argentina, sixty years ago, and within two years that plan will be consummated. It was Wheelwright also who built the Argentine railways extending to the north, extensions of which into Bolivia now form sections of the intercontinental trunk line. It was Meiggs, another American, who overcame every engineering difficulty which the Andes Mountains present, and built the lines in Peru that are the wonder of the world. It was C. P. Huntington, also an American, who went into Mexico and Central America as a pioneer and enlisted capital in those systems. It is Andrew Carnegie, who, from the time of the First International Conference, has steadily supported the intercontinental project. Because it is an all-American enterprise, the American people will be sure to endorse whatever steps the Third International American Conference takes for carrying it forward.

H. G. Davis.

# "FORTY ACRES AND A MULE."

BY WALTER L. FLEMING, PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY.

FOR several years after the close of the Civil War, the negroes of the South believed that the estates of the whites were to be confiscated by the Washington Government, and that each negro head of a family would obtain from the property thus confiscated "forty acres and a mule." Some old negroes still believe that the homestead and the mule will be given to them. This belief has often, especially in late years, been ridiculed as the childish dream of an ignorant people; for it is assumed that the negro had no reason for expecting land and stock from the Government. The purpose of this paper is to show that the expectations of the blacks were justified by the policies of the Government and the actions of its agents, and also to show that rascals took advantage of these expectations to swindle the ignorant freedmen.

The first step in the policy of confiscation was taken by Congress on August 6th, 1861, when the first Confiscation Act was passed. This law provided that property used in aid of the Confederacy should be liable to confiscation. Under this act, many slaves were captured and declared free. The Confiscation Act of July 17th, 1862, declared that all property of Confederates was liable to confiscation. Property not subject to confiscation under the law might be seized as "abandoned" or as "captured." The Treasury Department ruled that property was "abandoned" when the owner was away in the Confederate service. Any property seized by the army was classed as "captured," and was sold at once without the formality of legal proceedings. If the owner was unknown, the property was ordered to be sold for taxes, which were made a lien upon the land. In order to dispose of confiscated property, the South was divided into nine "Agencies,"

each under a Treasury agent, whose duty it was to collect and dispose of confiscated property. In this work they were aided by the negroes, who acted as guides and informers. The latter, both from hearing their masters talk about the policy of the Federals and from observation after invasion, were easily convinced that, if the struggle went against the South, the property of their masters would be seized, and many whites, North and South, believed the same. The Northern armies seized everything —even church property was generally taken, and the property of well-known "Unionists." The church property was usually turned over to some Northern denomination or given to the negroes. The Southern Methodist Publishing House at Nashville was seized and operated by the Federal army, and finally given to the Freedmen's Bureau. George S. Houston, a "Unionist," later Governor of Alabama, lost his property by confiscation. Since the war, about $30,000,000 has been paid by the Government to "Unionists" who had property confiscated; Confederate sympathizers recovered nothing. The greater part of the property taken before the end of the war consisted of movable goods, especially cotton, which was seized wherever found. The negroes gave valuable information to the Federals in the search for cotton.

The debates in Congress and the speeches made in political campaigns, show that many Northern people believed that wholesale confiscation and division of property ought to follow the close of the war. Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania began early to agitate the question, advocating that the land be seized to pay the expenses of the war, to punish the Confederates, and to provide for "loyalists" and for the blacks. The white people of the South, Stevens said in 1863, were entitled to no rights of person or property; the United States should treat the former Southern States as "conquered provinces, settle them with new men, and exterminate or drive out the present rebels from the country." In 1864, Stevens declared that "every inch of the guilty portion of the usurping power should be held responsible to reimburse all the cost of the war; to pay all the damage to private property of loyal men; and to create an ample fund to pay pensions to wounded soldiers and to the bereaved friends of the slain." During the same year, Andrew Johnson, then Military Governor of Tennessee, in a public speech said that "treason must be made odious, and traitors must be punished and impov-

erished; their great plantations must be seized and divided into small portions and sold to honest, industrious men." These declarations soon became known to the blacks, the more intelligent of whom were always well informed on the important issues, either through their masters or by "grape-vine telegraph." Often such matters were known to the negroes before the Southern whites knew them. I have been assured by old negroes that a general topic of conversation in some negro "quarters" was the intention of the Federals to confiscate the lands and divide them among the blacks. They heard about this from the "big house" and from "word that was saunt in."

The Confiscation Acts of the Federal Congress were constantly referred to by the Confederates as showing what the policy of the North would be in case the South were conquered. Through fear of confiscation and division of lands, the Southerners were rallied to fresh exertion. The several Southern Legislatures and the Confederate Congress repeatedly mentioned this matter in addresses to the people. The last address of the Confederate Congress, in March, 1865, reminded the people that the penalty for failure would probably be confiscation of estates, which would be given to their former bondsmen.

Meanwhile, what was actually being done to convince the blacks that they were to be cared for at the expense of the Southern whites? As the Northern armies invaded the South, many negroes went within the Federal lines; and, after 1861, thousands of them had to be cared for. In every Southern State where the Federals had military posts, great camps of freedmen were formed, rations were issued, and supplies taken from the captured property were given to them. As far as possible, the refugee blacks were subsisted upon the substance of their former owners. The care of these helpless persons devolved first upon the army, later upon Treasury agents, then again upon the army, and again upon the Treasury agents. Neither the War Department nor the Treasury desired the responsibility. The agents of the Treasury and the officers detailed from the army, assisted by benevolent associations in the North, endeavored to organize the negro colonies and camps so as to make them somewhat self-supporting. Little was done before 1863 except to seize plantations and houses, in territory held by the Federal army, and turn them over along with much movable property to the use of the negroes.

After the Emancipation Proclamation was issued, a more determined effort was made to settle the negroes upon their masters' lands. In March, 1863, thousands of acres of cotton-lands along the coasts, and in the sea islands of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida, were confiscated and sold at auction. The land was divided into small plots of twenty to forty acres. Many negroes were purchasers, as long credit was given, and land worth forty to sixty dollars in 1860 was sold for a dollar and a quarter per acre. The white owners had all been driven away by the negroes and the Federals. In Louisiana, General Banks organized a little commonwealth of blacks on the community-plantation system. On the borders of Virginia and in Tennessee were similar bodies. In April, 1863, Adjutant-General Lorenzo Thomas, after consultation with Grant and Lincoln, announced that the Government had determined to locate a "loyal" population on the banks of the Mississippi from Kentucky to Grand Gulf, Mississippi, in order to protect commerce and navigation. Commissioners were appointed to seize the estates of Confederates and lease them for moderate rents to negroes, or to persons who would employ and care for negroes. The Government sold, rented, or gave to the lessees the stock, implements and supplies found on the plantations. This system worked badly; the white lessees were of bad character and swindled the negroes, while making fortunes for themselves; the mortality in the plantation camps was fearful; the few negro lessees failed because of ignorance.

During the next year, "Superintendents of Freedmen" were employed by the Treasury Department. It was their duty to locate negro colonies called "Freedmen's Home Colonies" on the confiscated estates of prominent Confederates, to issue supplies to them and to induce them to work a little to support themselves. "Home Colonies" were established in every Southern State, the largest ones being in Tennessee, South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi and Florida. One colony was located on Jefferson Davis's plantation,* another on the estate of ex-Governor Chapman of

* The Davis plantation contained about 10,000 acres of fertile land; General Dana "consecrated it as a home for the emancipated," declaring in the order setting it apart for the blacks that it was "a suitable place to furnish means and security for the unfortunate race which he [Davis] was so instrumental in oppressing." It was now said that "the nest in which the rebellion was hatched has become the Mecca of freedom." Here, as elsewhere, where negroes were colonized, no whites were permitted to live. The colony was guarded by a regiment of negro troops.—See Garner, "Reconstruction in Mississippi," pp. 252, 253.

Alabama, and another on the Destrehan plantation of Judge Rost in Louisiana. The superintendents committed much fraud in their supervision of the blacks, and their régime was not successful; but, before the war closed, all negroes who had come into contact with the Federals were convinced that the Government meant to care for the blacks at the expense of the whites.

The most sweeping confiscations took place and the most important colonies were located along the coast and on the sea islands of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida. In 1863, in addition to about 15,000 acres which were sold to negroes, other large tracts were confiscated in the parishes of St. Helena and St. Luke in South Carolina, and in Georgia and Florida. When Sherman reached Savannah, in December, 1864, his army was encumbered by a multitude of negroes who had followed him in his march across Georgia. After State agents from the North had enlisted many of them to fill up the quotas of their States, there were still thousands who had to be provided for. Secretary Stanton and Adjutant-General Townsend came to Savannah; and, in consultation with General Sherman and a score of negro preachers, it was decided to form negro colonies on the coasts, where they could be protected by the United States forces. The negroes were unanimous in asking to be colonized away from the whites. So Sherman, with the knowledge and advice of Stanton, issued on January 16th, 1865, his famous "Special Field Order No. 15," which set aside for the settlements of negroes all the sea islands south of Charleston, the rice-fields along the rivers for thirty miles inland from the sea, and the country along the St. John River in Florida. In the territory thus set apart for negro settlements, no white persons were allowed to live; the management of affairs was to be left to the blacks. General Rufus Saxton was appointed inspector of negro settlements, and was authorized to grant, with a possessory title, forty acres of land to each family, in the possession of which the military authorities would protect them until Congress should regulate their titles.

Before the end of 1865, more than 40,000 freedmen were located on the sea islands by General Saxton, who called them together in public meetings, and encouraged emigration to the lands set apart for them. He reported that the movement was a great success. Thousands of acres were allotted to blacks; negro communities grew up; the government was carried on, churches and

schools were established and roads made, by the negroes under the supervision of army officials. A Government steamer carried supplies to them regularly. The white owners were not allowed to set foot on the islands, and one solitary white "Unionist" who had remained on his plantation during the war was now forced to leave under the terms of Sherman's order.

During the summer and fall of 1865, numbers of the owners of the coast and island plantations were pardoned by President Johnson. One effect of the pardon was to restore property rights, and consequently the land confiscated for the blacks by General Sherman and others was now to be returned to the owners, unless Congress should intervene. The owners at once demanded possession. The Freedmen's Bureau, now in charge of matters relating to negroes, refused to release the land, and asked Congress to confirm the titles of the blacks, who, encouraged by the Bureau agents, armed themselves and refused to allow any owner to return to his plantation. Meanwhile improvements were going to ruin, and the owners had no other homes. Repeated applications were made to Washington demanding restoration; Secretary Stanton and General Howard of the Freedmen's Bureau opposed it, asserting that the negroes had been led to expect permanent possession of the lands, and that to dispossess them would be an act of bad faith and would cause bitter disappointment. President Johnson, however, with more regard for legalities and less vindictive than in 1864, asserted that the effect of pardon was to restore all rights of property, and ordered restoration to those whom he had pardoned. But all recognized that the blacks were entitled to some consideration. So General Howard, Commissioner of the Bureau, went south to make a settlement.

Howard reached Charleston on October 19th, 1865, and two days later, accompanied by William Whaley, a representative of the planters, went to Edisto Island to explain matters to the freedmen. The latter, as well as the majority of the white people, North and South, believed that the intention of General Sherman and the Government had been to give them the land; and now they were confident that the Government would stand by them, and that a general confiscation would soon take place. The Freedmen's Bureau Act of March 3rd, 1865, had provided for the division of confiscated and "abandoned" lands among the blacks in forty-acre lots, and there were millions of acres classed as

"abandoned." Consequently, when Howard came, the blacks were confident that he would sustain them. More than two thousand met him at a church on the island, and were angry and overwhelmed at the news he brought. While their leaders were conferring with Howard and the representative of the planters, the rest of the blacks held a meeting in the church. Mournful songs were sung, prayers were offered and the preachers made touching addresses. They felt that the Government had deceived them, and a stormy outbreak was with difficulty averted. But the planters were reasonable, and Howard finally succeeded in making the negro leaders understand the situation. A compromise was patched up, and Howard decreed that no lands should be restored until the crops were gathered; no rents or damages were to be paid to the owners; "loyal" men or those who had been pardoned might then receive their lands, provided they gave homes and employment for the following year, at good wages, to all the negroes settled on their plantations, and did not oppose the establishment of schools for them; no unpardoned owners could have his land restored; and no negroes who had paid the Government for their land in 1863-1865 were to be dispossessed. Howard then went to Savannah and to Fernandina, where similar settlements were made. He then urged that Congress purchase these coast lands and give them to the freedmen.

It was not possible to carry the agreement fully into effect. The freedmen were in possession and in many localities refused to abide by the compromise and allow the whites to return. It was found that Bureau agents encouraged them in this attitude. The Act of March 3rd, 1865, had provided that the blacks should be protected in the use of their allotted lands for three years, and that meanwhile they might purchase the land at merely nominal prices. Under this law, the Bureau refused to allow the lands to be released to the owners. In the spring of 1866, efforts were made by General Tillson, of the Freedmen's Bureau in Georgia, to consolidate the grants made to the negroes and gather them together on a portion of each estate, restoring the remainder to the owner. The Freedmen's Bureau Act of July 16th, 1866, secured the negroes in the possession of lands actually purchased at the nominal rate of a dollar and a half per acre, and provided that no land settled upon by blacks under Sherman's order should be restored until the crops of 1866 were gathered.

The Bureau now declared the grants on the coasts and sea islands to be valid, and confirmed the blacks in the possession of all lands held by them in 1865. Later, when it was seen that the courts would probably restore the lands to the owners, the Bureau made it known that only those negroes who had possessory titles from the Government would be protected in possession of their twenty and forty-acre plots. It was found that very few negroes were settled on the land that their grants called for; many had no titles whatever or had lost them. Evictions then began; the Federal soldiers, late in 1866, were sent into some localities, and, having no great liking for the Bureau or for its wards, removed many of the latter in a summary fashion, causing much hardship. This was a grievous disappointment to the blacks.

In spite of the longing of the negroes to possess lands, those who retained their grants on the South Atlantic coast profited little by them. Deprived of the supervision of the whites, the negroes neglected their little crops and allowed their homes and industries to go to ruin, while they eked out a leisurely living by hunting, fishing and by killing the cattle that grazed on the salt marshes. The land has never again reached the production of 1860. The whole affair served mainly to irritate the whites and to disappoint the blacks.

So much for the plan of Sherman and its results. On a smaller scale, something similar had been done in the other Southern States. In the first flush of freedom at the close of the war, the negroes in the interior of the country, encouraged by the workings of the Freedmen's Bureau, believed that henceforth they were to be supported by the Government; that they would never be cold, or hungry or tired any more. In Alabama, General Swayne reported in 1866 that "freedmen were not uncommon who believed that work was no part of freedom." This belief lasted for months with those who lived in the vicinity of the Bureau "offices" and received the regular issues of rations and other supplies. Later, many of them were convinced that the Government would not support them, but that it contemplated a division of property among them. Most of them expected only the lands, houses and stock; and now arose in the interior country the definite expectation of "forty acres of land and a mule," or the equivalent in other property. Some few believed that, in addition, the white owner would be given as a slave.

In 1865, there was much foundation for the hopes of the negroes. The Confiscation Acts were still in force, and nearly all Southern property was by law liable to seizure. The Constitution provided that forfeiture could be made only after conviction and for the lifetime of the owner, but the negro and his friends knew or cared little about this restriction. The Bureau Act of 1865 legalized Sherman's Special Order, by providing that each negro might have forty acres at a low price on long credit; the Bureau Act of 1866 confirmed the sale of lands to negroes; General Howard, in May, 1865, ordered that no lands be restored to "disloyal" owners, and the military authorities were directed to receive no applications for restoration. In Virginia, a large amount of land was ready for sale under the Confiscation Acts; but, when the Bureau was established, in March, 1865, this land was turned over to that institution, and in June, the President directed that all Confederate property in possession of the military authorities be turned over to the Bureau. During the year 1865, the Bureau held 768,590 acres of land and 1,596 pieces of town property confiscated from individuals, besides an immense amount of property formerly belonging to the Confederacy. General Howard instructed his subordinate officials to scatter abroad among the negroes copies of the "homestead" law with its promise of free land, and this also aroused false hopes. The negro colonies were still held together and supported by the Government; and the Treasury agents, guided by negroes, were searching out and seizing cotton, tobacco and other produce, under the pretence that it had been subscribed to the Confederate Produce Loan. Even those who had failed to pay the tax-in-kind to the Confederacy now had to pay it to the rapacious Treasury agent, who turned over to his Government only a small part of his confiscations. The barns, storehouses, offices, dwellings, public buildings, court-houses, hospitals, prisons, armories, arsenals, ironworks, boats, mills, factories, and all kinds of supplies used by or intended for the use of the Confederacy were seized and, for the most part, after June 2d, 1865, were given for the use of the blacks. Church and school buildings belonging to the whites were given to the missionaries for the negroes. Property in the hands of the Bureau was sold or rented, and the proceeds applied to the support of the blacks or given directly to them. Naturally, the negroes thought that they were in permanent possession, and

the policy of the Bureau encouraged them in this belief. General Howard endeavored to nullify the effect of the President's pardon, by refusing to restore to the owners any land occupied by negroes; he directed that no eviction of negroes be allowed, and generally obstructed the restoration of land. The President ordered positively that property be restored to pardoned men, whereupon Howard asked Johnson to grant pardon only on condition that the pardoned party give to each slave family formerly belonging to him five to ten acres of land, or the equivalent in cash. Though property was gradually restored, the Bureau held quantities of it for several years: 768,590 acres in 1865; 272,231 acres in 1866; 215,024 acres in 1867; and 139,634 acres in 1868, besides many pieces of town property. Restoration was grudgingly performed; General Saxton, for instance, declared (for South Carolina, Georgia and Florida) that those who did not "announce" to the freedmen the fact of their freedom and "admit" it publicly to them would have their property seized and divided.

The speeches of Stevens and other radical leaders, in pamphlet form, along with the Bureau laws and regulations, the homestead laws and the Confiscation Acts, were sown thickly over the South; and the Bureau agents, the missionaries and the teachers, taking the cue from these, encouraged the belief in the "forty acres and a mule." The negroes were told that, since their labor had produced the property of the South, they ought at least to share it. Lincoln's second inaugural message suggests the same thought in regard to the origin of Southern property. Probably this belief that the property of the South was due to uncompensated negro labor was held by many Northerners and inclined them to favor a proposition to confiscate the land.*

Stevens, in a speech to his constituents at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in the summer of 1865, declared that each negro family ought to receive forty acres of land, and that sufficient land should be secured by confiscating the estates of those Confederates who had owned over two hundred acres, and by seizing the lands belonging to the Southern States. Of State lands, Texas possessed about 110,000,000 acres, and the other Southern States

* In 1871 the Republican majority of the Ku-Klux committee stated that "the negroes heard and were inclined to believe [those reports] by their sense of justice which suggested that as their labor had produced the greater part of the property, they should have a portion. Hence the idea was widespread and common among them that each head of a family would have 'forty acres and a mule.'"—Ku-Klux Report, p. 217.

about 50,000,000 acres. In December, 1865, in Congress, Stevens again expressed himself in favor of giving homes to the negroes, and as time went on he was more and more strongly in favor of it. Wendell Phillips, in the "Anti-Slavery Standard," advocated the gift to each negro family of eighty acres of land or "forty acres and a furnished cottage." Other leaders favored confiscation from the whites and provision for the blacks; but, Stevens being the foremost advocate of the policy, his part is emphasized.

At first, the blacks expected an immediate distribution of property, but, when that did not take place, they unanimously decided that the division would take place at the end of the year 1865, either at Christmas or at New-Year's. In the mean time, while awaiting the allotment, thousands crowded into the towns near the army posts and Bureau stations, where congested conditions gave rise to vice and disease. All over the South, the assistant commissioners of the Bureau reported that, in expectation of support by the Government or of distribution of land and stock, the negroes were refusing to make contracts; none would contract beyond the end of the year; few worked steadily at day work in the mean time. This belief grew stronger in the fall and early winter, and the assistant commissioners and higher officials of the Bureau and the army made earnest efforts to disabuse the minds of the freedmen of this impression, but there is no evidence that the inferior officials pursued a like policy.

Andrews, a Northern traveller in the South, stated in the fall of 1865 that the negroes believed firmly in the division of property, and that this belief was causing idleness and discontent. Northern men were besieged by the negroes who wanted information. Andrews was asked: "When is de land goin' fur to be dewided?" Some negroes in South Carolina believed that they would be colonized on the coast, thus showing the influence of Sherman's plan, and in this belief large numbers set out to go to Charleston, Savannah, and other places near the "promised land." They believed that the whites were to be driven out of the low country, which was to be given up to the negroes. In the interior, as a rule, the freedmen believed that they were to be located on the home plantations. Andrews told of one old man who refused to leave home and celebrate freedom, as others were doing, because he feared that the division might take place

in his absence and "de home house might come to me, sah, in de dewision." While waiting for the distribution, the blacks who would not work, and who were not within reach of Bureau supplies, were forced to live by foraging. In the black districts, the corn, fruit, pigs, cows and poultry suffered from the "taking" propensities of the African who believed that he was using what would soon be his own anyway.

The policy of Johnson and the statements of the higher Bureau and army officers reassured most of the whites who had feared confiscation. Estates were gradually restored to the owners. The negroes clung to their old hope, but began to fear that they were being tricked. They had secured arms, and now some of the leaders threatened that, if the division did not occur, they would forcibly seize the land. Among the whites there was a widespread fear of insurrection when the black should be disappointed at New-Year's. Some of the Bureau officials also feared trouble. For defence, the whites organized patrols in each community, and the organizations that preceded the Ku-Klux movement were now formed—notably the "Black Cavalry." The Federal military authorities overlooked this reorganization of the white militia. In Virginia, when the blacks learned that their hopes were vain, they destroyed the fencing and other improvements. But in general they were not inclined to violence, and Christmas and New-Year's passed without the anticipated outbreak. The negroes then settled down somewhat, still hoping, however, for the "forty acres and the mule," now in the far future; ceasing to hope for immediate confiscation, they rather expected the Government to do something for them, to send them to homes in the West or to take them North, but there was now probably little thought that their masters' property would be divided among them.

But in the latter part of 1866 and early in 1867, when it was seen that Congress would probably be victorious over the President and that some form of negro suffrage would be imposed, hopes were again aroused by the activities of those who expected to use the negroes to get into office. The speeches of Stevens in regard to banishment of Confederates and confiscation for the benefit of the "loyal" and black men, and about negro suffrage for the purpose of securing perpetual ascendancy to the "party of the Union," were widely circulated. The tales of "Southern outrages" and the reported rebellious spirit of the ex-Confeder-

ates caused many Northern people to believe that some punishment ought to be inflicted. The negroes were led to believe that their friends in Congress were fighting for their rights, that is, for property and supplies for them. The Reconstruction Acts of March, 1867, which overthrew the "Johnson" State Governments, and provided for negro suffrage to be inaugurated under the superintendence of the army, was to the blacks a sign that they were coming to the long-expected confiscation. To thousands of them, the issue in the elections of 1867 and 1868 was freedom with land on one side, slavery and no property on the other. This feeling in an ignorant and helpless people was strengthened by the circulation in the South of a bill introduced in Congress by Stevens on March 19, 1867, providing for wholesale confiscation and division of lands. By the blacks this measure was considered a part of the Reconstruction, and from their leaders they had learned that Reconstruction was for their good alone. The bill provided for the confiscation of land owned by the Southern States—about 150,000,000 acres—and for the seizure of private property liable under the Confiscation Act of 1862. A commissioner was to be appointed in each Southern State to condemn property for sale or division, and from the land thus obtained each head of a negro family, male or female, and each adult male, was to get a homestead of forty acres. For ten years, this land was to be inalienable, and then an absolute title was to be granted. From the proceeds of the sales of confiscated property, each person who received a homestead was also to get fifty dollars for a building; and $500,000,000 was to be set aside to pay pensions and to pay for the losses of "loyal" persons during the war. The bill further provided that no estate worth less than $5,000 should be confiscated, unless the owner had been an "officer or employee" in the Confederate or State service during the war.

In support of this bill, Stevens said: "We have liberated the slaves. It is our duty to provide for them, and we have the right to take land for homes in order to do it." On the success of the measure depended, he declared, the happiness, respectability, and continued existence of the blacks. They were not capable of caring for themselves, he stated; the Freedmen's Bureau could not much longer protect them; the former slaveholders were hostile, and, if they were not protected, they would become extinct or there would be a civil war. Already, he said, they were

murdered with impunity, and "I doubt not that hundreds of thousands would annually be deposited in secret unknown graves." But if they were rendered independent by the gift of homesteads, the danger would be removed. "They have earned for their masters this very land and more," he said, "and divisions of the plantations into small farms would be good for the South anyway." Stevens was in earnest about the distribution of property, and announced that "to this issue [to punish the Southern whites by confiscation and to provide for the negroes] I desire to devote the small remnant of my life."

As a result of the agitation of the matter of homesteads for the negroes, the latter became a prey to swindlers who traded upon their hopes. They had much faith in Northern men, and sharpers came down and made collections, representing to the negroes that they would secure that land for them. A common method of swindling the negroes was to sell them little striped pegs about the size of the stakes used in the game of croquet. The negro was told that, if he would take four of those stakes and mark off forty acres on his former owner's plantation, the part inclosed by the stakes would then belong to him. An eye-witness has described the sale of stakes that took place in Sumter County, Alabama. The negroes had a political barbecue at Gainesville, and a man appeared with a bundle of red and blue stakes. He declared that he had been to Washington to get them from the Government, which had made them for the express purpose of marking off the "forty acres of land." The instructions given by the seller were to stick a peg at one corner of the desired lot, and then walk a certain distance and stick down another peg, then turn and at a certain distance place another, and so on. The seller advised the buyers not to encroach upon one another's lots in staking out the claim, and not to take a whole lot in wood land or in cleared land, but to select about half in each. The man with the stakes explained that the nominal charge he made—about a dollar a peg—was only for his expenses. The pegs were sold for less if the negro had not a dollar. This peg-selling swindle lasted intermittently for about ten years. The same community was rarely swindled twice, but, sooner or later, every negro settlement suffered. In Georgia especially, the pegs could be seen set up all over the country. Each of Grant's elections served to stimulate the swindlers and to encourage again the blacks who believed

that Grant sent the pegs out for distribution. General Howard was also credited with similar benevolent actions. The pegs were sometimes called "pre-emption rights." A pretended deed for land, given with one set of stakes, was in part as follows:

"Know all men by these presents, that a nought is a nought and a figure is a figure; all for the white man and none for the nigure. And whereas Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so also have I lifted this d——d old nigger out of four dollars and six bits. Amen! Selah!"

Politicians informed their black constituents who complained of delay that the intention of the Government was good, but that the trouble lay in the fact that they had no one at Washington to look after their interests. One man who hailed from Skowhegan, Maine, went to Congress from Alabama in 1868, because the negroes favored him above other carpetbaggers for his promises in regard to the "forty acres." In the campaigns of 1870, in Alabama, the "forty acres" was an issue with the negroes. The speakers told the blacks: "All this property you see here, these lands were cleared by you; you made all these fences; you dug all these ditches; you are the men they belong to." When the Coburn committee was investigating the reason for Alabama's going Democratic in 1874, they were confronted at Opelika by a negro who demanded that something be done for him. In the recent campaign (1874) he had been promised an old mule, forty acres of land and some bacon, in return for voting the Republican ticket. All negroes, he said, had been promised the same. Another negro said that he had been promised "forty acres and an old gray horse." As much as possible, the Republican majorities of the committees of investigation sent South during the later years of Reconstruction endeavored to avoid this particular aspect of the negro problem.

In South Carolina, where Sherman's plan had so much influence and where the negroes were so numerous, the carpetbag State Government undertook to strengthen itself by promising lands to the homeless blacks. More than $700,000 was appropriated for the purchase of lands and homes, but as usual it profited only the rascals. The officials who purchased the land pocketed most of the money. Some tracts of swampy and worn-out lands were purchased—in all worth about $90,000 or $100,000—on which about 100 persons, it is said, found homes. The rest of the money

—more than $600,000—was distributed among the land commissioners and their friends.*

In the later years of Reconstruction, there was a variation in the tale told by the office-seeker in the black counties. The programme now announced was to place heavy taxes on property, especially in the Black Belt, so that the whites would have to leave; and then the land would fall into the hands of the negroes and the Northerners. When the taxpayers in South Carolina in 1870 were complaining about heavy taxation, Senator Beverly Nash, a noted negro politician, said in Columbia to a crowd of several thousand blacks:

"The reformers complain of taxes being too high. I tell you that they are not high enough. I want them taxed until they put these lands back where they belong, into the hands of those who worked for them. You toiled for them, you labored for them, and were sold to pay for them, and you ought to have them."

Judge R. B. Carpenter, a Republican, testified that "that was the key-note of the whole stumping, from the seacoast to the mountains."

Such were the conditions during Reconstruction. After the carpetbag and negro rule was overthrown, the negroes were no longer led by low politicians with tales of "forty acres and a mule," but the credulous were preyed upon by a new species of sharper, one who travelled about the country with what he pretended were the claim papers of negroes entitled to land. From each negro on his list, he would collect a small "attorney's fee," sometimes for several years in succession, always pretending to be working for the negroes' rights. Since this was illegal, it was done in a very quiet way, and the blacks were warned it would be fatal to their prospects if the matter became public. Naturally, they would say little about such a matter to their white neighbors, who had told them that they were foolish to expect anything from the Government; and, after being convinced that they had been swindled, pride would prevent confession and exposure. Many thousands of hard-earned dollars were thus collected from the more ignorant blacks, under the pretence that it was for attorneys' fees. The collection is still to some extent being carried

* The land commissioner spent $802,137.44.— Pike, "Prostrate State," p. 152.

on, principally in remote communities; the educated negro and the city-dweller would rarely be approached by an "agent."

Another and more recent method of swindling, based on negro credulity, is the "slave-pension" scheme. A respectable member of Congress is induced to introduce a measure providing for pensions to ex-slaves. This he does "by request," and then forgets about it. But the damage has been done. Sharpers procure numerous copies of such bills, together with commendatory comments from newspapers and prominent men, and then descend upon the blacks for "attorneys' fees." The matter is made worse for the negroes, and easier for the swindlers, by the fact that a certain sentiment among Southern whites is favorable to pensioning the old negroes. One of the latest manifestations of the working of the "pension scheme" occurred in 1903, after Senator Hanna had "by request" introduced a slave-pension measure. Of course, he believed that the object of those who wanted the measure was good; just as certainly did he know that such a measure would not be seriously considered; but he introduced it and thought that the matter was ended. A camp of Confederate Veterans in Fort Worth, Texas, taking the measure in good faith, passed resolutions asking their representatives in Congress to support the bill. Other camps did the same. Here was good material for the purpose of the swindlers, and within a few weeks they were operating in the South. Arrests were made by State officials in Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and North Carolina. The inference is, then, that the swindling was general.

By the methods detailed above the ignorant and helpless blacks have for forty years been victimized. Perhaps some have been swindled who were not ignorant and helpless; for the blacks had reason to expect something from the Government, and it required no more credulity to believe in the "forty acres and a mule" than to believe in the claims to "Trinity Church property," or the "fortunes in England," so extensively advertised.

WALTER L. FLEMING

# THE SPANISH TREATY CLAIMS.

BY HANNIS TAYLOR, LL.D., SPECIAL COUNSEL FOR THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT BEFORE THE SPANISH TREATY CLAIMS COMMISSION.

In an article which appeared under the above title in this Review, in February, 1905, Mr. Crammond Kennedy, a distinguished jurist of wide experience, who represents large interests now pending before the Spanish Treaty Claims Commission, examined in a censorious rather than a critical spirit the larger aspects of the judicial work so far performed by it. The essence of his contention was that the Commission failed to do its duty, because it has not seen fit to base its judicial action entirely upon certain political declarations made by the Executive at the time the war for intervention was undertaken by the United States against Spain. To state his case in his own language:

> "Whether the war of intervention was justified or not is immaterial, so far as the duty of the United States to pay these claims of her citizens is concerned. It *did* intervene, and, in accordance with the avowed grounds and purposes of its intervention, and in the exercise of the conqueror's right, it exacted indemnity for all those individual claims 'of every kind,' and agreed in the treaty to adjudicate and settle them. Neither the fact of Spain's responsibility, nor the grounds on which the United States held her responsible and expelled her from Cuba, can be questioned by the Commission."

The writer was good enough, however, to concede that the Commission is not entirely an automaton, because, after stating that the claims which have been presented "amount in round figures to sixty million dollars," he frankly admitted that "it is safe to say that the actual and direct damage will not aggregate more than one-half of the amount claimed." His grievance is that, in adjudicating upon the amounts actually due, the Commission is proceeding "according to the merits of the several cases, the

principles of equity and international law"—the rule of action prescribed by the organic act—and not according to certain political declarations made by the Executive just before the war of intervention began. So extreme is that position that it has startled even the Marquis de Olivat, an eminent Spanish publicist, who, in a very calm, critical and judicial spirit, has reviewed Mr. Kennedy's article in "The Review of International Law and Foreign Politics," Madrid, July, 1905. The Marquis says:

"While, as heretofore remarked, we will reserve a more careful opinion until we have studied in its entirety the work of those here accused of *lesa-patria*, in an article which savors strongly of an advocate's plea of consolation for a distressed client, we must admit that the decision and the doctrine which it upholds will receive different treatment, according as they are weighed on their intrinsic merits, or considered as the pronouncement of an American tribunal. It is obvious that, if our Government had been called upon to adjudicate upon these claims, its decisions would have been in accord with that of the Commission, that is, that our Government was not liable for injuries inflicted by those who were not vested with its authority, and were not *de facto* under its control; and that the result of the acts complained of were the unavoidable but not unlawful consequences of the war."

The Spanish jurist reached that obvious conclusion because the essence of the treaty agreement was that the United States should pay only such of the claims in question against Spain as Spain was liable for under the principles of international law. Therefore, the only real question at issue is this: Was that, in fact and in truth, the essence of the treaty agreement?

By Article VII of the Treaty of Peace with Spain, it was provided that:

"The United States and Spain mutually relinquish all claims for indemnity, national and individual, of every kind, of either Government, or of its citizens or subjects, against the other Government, that may have arisen since the beginning of the late insurrection in Cuba and prior to the exchange of ratifications of the present treaty, including all claims for indemnity for the cost of the war. The United States will adjudicate and settle the claims of its citizens against Spain relinquished in this article."

Mr. Kennedy has labored hard to read into the treaty certain expressions made during the preliminary negotiations, in order that it may appear that the cession to the United States was made by

Spain as compensation for the losses and expenses occasioned the United States by the war and for the claims of its citizens by reason of the injuries and damages they may have suffered in their persons and property during the last insurrection in Cuba. After reviewing Mr. Kennedy's attempt in that regard, his Spanish critic's conclusion is that he has entirely failed. The Marquis de Olivat says:

"Nor does he forget to record that in the session of the 30th of October, the President of the American Commission stated that he was not averse that it should appear in the treaty that the cessions of territory were made on account of and as indemnity for the losses and injuries suffered by American citizens. This promise was not carried out, and in its final form the treaty did not even preserve the vague allusion made to this feature of compensation in the form presented by the Secretaries at the meeting of the 30th of November, and which was in these words: 'Spain and the United States, in view of the agreement arrived at by the present Treaty, mutually relinquish all claims,' etc. [Red Book, p. 254.] All that remained was the attenuated phrase bracketed above, 'by the present Treaty,' which conveyed quite a different sense, and was moreover only preserved in the Spanish version."

Thus, even from the Spanish point of view, the treaty, when cast "in its final form," contained no such implied stipulation or understanding as Mr. Kennedy contends for. It follows, therefore, that the real meaning of the treaty must be drawn from its actual provisions, construed in the light of the terms of the organic act creating the Commission, whose duty it is to "adjudicate and settle the claims of its citizens against Spain relinquished in this article." And here should be emphasized the real attitude of the United States to the bulk of these claims at the time the treaty was made. Spain was never called upon to pay, or even to acknowledge obligation to pay, such claims. The American Minister at Madrid was specially instructed not to make demands, but simply to notify the Government of Spain that such claims had been filed in the Department of State at Washington by persons claiming to be American citizens and residing and owning property in the island of Cuba. When Spain's Minister of State, the Duke of Tetuan, made formal denial of liability for such claims under the law of nations, Mr. Olney promptly replied, in a despatch dated December 29th, 1896, as follows:

"As Spain has not been called upon to pay, or to acknowledge obligation to pay, these claims, the general denial of obligation to pay them,

or to inquire into the facts upon which they are based, made by the Duke of Tetuan, is at this stage premature and inadmissible. At the proper time, all the Cuban claims of which Spain has been given notice, but which she has not been called upon to pay, will be examined, each upon its individual merits, and dealt with according to the law and the facts as they appear to this Government."

When the United States, in the treaty in question, released Spain from all liability on account of these claims, it assumed the obligation to pay to its own citizens only such claims as were lawfully and justly due to them from Spain under the law of nations.

In order to carry into effect the stipulations of Article VII of the treaty, Congress, by an act approved March 2nd, 1901, created the Spanish Treaty Claims Commission, composed of five well-known jurists. The functions and powers of the Commission were thus defined:

"Whose duty it shall be, and it shall have jurisdiction, to receive, examine, and adjudicate all claims of citizens of the United States against Spain, which the United States agreed to adjudicate and settle by the seventh article of the treaty concluded between the United States and Spain on the tenth of December, *anno domini* eighteen hundred and ninety-eight. *It shall adjudicate said claims according to the merits of the several cases, the principles of equity, and of international law.*"

That rule thus prescribed by Congress, for the direction of the Commission in its adjudications, is borrowed from a formula, more than a century old, which appears in numerous treaties between the United States and foreign countries creating mixed commissions for the settlement of claims. In the Treaty of 1794 between this country and Great Britain, it was provided that the Commissioners appointed for the adjudication of claims "shall decide the claims in question according to the merits of the several cases, and to justice, equity and the laws of nations." The substance of the rule is found in like treaties between the United States and the following countries: Spain (1795), Mexico (1839), Mexico (1868), France (1880). Under the treaties between the United States and Spain (1819), Spain (1834), Denmark (1830), France (1831), and the two Sicilies (1832), by which this Government relinquished the claims of American citizens against those countries and assumed the payment thereof, or accepted a lump sum therefor, the several domestic commissions were directed, either by an express requirement of the treaty or by subsequent act of Congress, to apply the above-estab-

lished rule of adjudication in the settlement of such claims. In order to determine, upon the threshold of its labors, the precise scope and meaning of that rule, as embodied in the act creating it, the Commission called upon all the learned counsel interested in its proceedings to enlighten it by debate and interpretation. After weeks consumed in discussions of that character, participated in by some of the foremost publicists in this country, the almost unbroken consensus of opinion was that Spain is the real defendant, and that every claimant who calls upon the United States to pay must first establish the fact that Spain is primarily liable under the principles of international law. As Mr. John Bassett Moore well expressed it in his printed argument:

"The Commission is to consider the claims precisely as if they still constituted subsisting demands against the Government of Spain; for, although the United States has undertaken to 'adjudicate and settle' them, they remain in their nature international, and are to be tried by the principles by which the liability of independent nations, one to another, is governed."

Mr. James Russell Soley, in a more extended statement said:

"The statute constituting this tribunal rightly prescribes: 'It shall adjudicate said claims according to the merits of the several cases, the principles of equity and of international law.' But the tribunal, in so passing upon the claims, cannot ignore the fundamental fact that the real controversy here, whatever may be the attitude of the Attorney-General, is a controversy between two states, the United States on the one hand, whose citizens have been injured, and Spain on the other, which is responsible for the injury. The Commission is to determine primarily the question, what amount Spain should have paid to the United States for each of these claims had the United States not assumed their payment. In its technical position of a defendant against these claims, the United States stands in the place of Spain, and no defence is open to this technical defendant that would not have been open to the real defendant in the controversy."

The conclusions thus reached as to the real attitude of the claimants towards Spain and the United States, and as to the duty of the Commission to test, by the rules of international law, the validity of each claim presented, were supported by a consensus of opinion among counsel for the claimants, which would have been practically unbroken if Mr. Kennedy had given his assent. At a later day, he ably presented his contrary view, strongly seconded by the Hon. John G. Carlisle. The Commission, although a tribunal of domestic origin, considers its duty to be to

administer the law of nations just as an admiralty court of domestic origin administers that law. Speaking of the duty of such a court, Lord Stowell said, in the case of the "Maria":

"It is the duty of the person who sits here [at London] to determine this question exactly as he would determine the same question if sitting at Stockholm; to assert no pretensions on the part of Great Britain which he could not allow to Sweden in the same circumstances."

International law has no locality; the method of its administration has nothing whatever to do with the origin of the tribunal by which it is administered.

Charged as it is by the act creating it with the duty of applying the law of nations to the claims pending primarily against Spain, the Spanish Treaty Claims Commission has been forced to formulate, with more precision and exactness of definition than was ever given them before, the international rules regulating the liability of a parent state in the presence of an insurrection which passed, from the very beginning, beyond its control. If the rules as thus formulated stand the test of criticism, if they are accepted generally by publicists as sound expositions of the principles involved, the work of the Commission will become notable in the history of international law. The following is the text of the eleven rules laid down by the Commission, which defy abridgment:

"1. Under Article VII of the treaty of Paris, the United States assumed the payment of all claims of her own citizens for which Spain would have been liable according to the principles of international law. It follows, therefore, that the sole question before this Commission is that of the primary liability of Spain, which is not in any way enlarged by the agreement of the United States to adjudicate and pay such claims.

"2. Although the late insurrection in Cuba assumed great magnitude and lasted for more than three years, yet belligerent rights were never granted to the insurgents by Spain or the United States so as to create a state of war in the international sense which exempted the parent government from liability to foreigners for the acts of the insurgents.

"3. But, where an armed insurrection has gone beyond the control of the parent government, the general rule is that such government is not responsible for damages done to foreigners by the insurgents.

"4. This Commission will take judicial notice that the insurrection in Cuba, which resulted in intervention by the United States and in war between Spain and the United States, passed, from the first, beyond the control of Spain, and so continued until such intervention and war took place.

"If, however, it be alleged and proved in any particular case before this Commission that the Spanish authorities by the exercise of due diligence might have prevented the damages done, Spain will be held liable in that case.

"5. As war between Spain and the insurgents existed in a material sense, although not a state of war in the international sense, Spain was entitled to adopt such war measures for the recovery of her authority as are sanctioned by the rules and usages of international warfare. If, however, it be alleged and proved in any particular case that the acts of the Spanish authorities or soldiers were contrary to such rules and usages, Spain will be held liable in that case.

"6. As this Commission has been directed by Congress to ascertain and apply the principles of international law in the adjudication of claims of neutral foreigners for injuries to their persons and property caused by a parent state while engaged in subduing by war an insurrection which had passed beyond its control, it cannot fail, in determining what are and what are not legitimate war measures, to impose upon the parent state such limitations as the consensus of nations at the present day recognizes as restricting the exercise of the right to remove all the inhabitants of a designated territory and concentrate them in towns and military camps, and to commit to decay and ruin the abandoned real and personal property or destroy such property and devastate such region.

"7. Adopting, therefore, a wide and liberal interpretation of the principle that the destruction of property in war where no military end is served is illegitimate, and that there must be cases in which devastation is not permitted, it should be said that, whenever reconcentration, destruction, or devastation is resorted to as a means of suppressing an insurrection beyond control, the parent state is bound to give the property of neutral foreigners such reasonable protection as the particular circumstances of each case will permit. It must abstain from any unnecessary and wanton destruction of their property by its responsible military officers. When such neutral foreigners are included in the removal or concentration of inhabitants, the government so removing or concentrating them must provide for them food and shelter, guard them from sickness and death, and protect them from cruelty and hardship to the extent which the military exigency will permit. And, finally, as to both property and persons, it may be stated that the parent state is bound to prevent any discrimination in the execution of concentration and devastation orders against any class of neutral foreigners in favor of any other class or in favor of its own citizens.

"8. Subject to the foregoing limitations and restrictions, it is undoubtedly the general rule of international law that concentration and devastation are legitimate war measures. To that rule, aliens as well as subjects must submit and suffer the fortunes of war. The property of alien residents, like that of natives of the country, when 'in the track of war,' is subject to war's casualties, and whatever in front of the advancing forces either impedes them or might give them aid when

appropriated, or if left unmolested in their rear might afford aid and comfort to the enemy, may be taken or destroyed by the armies of either of the belligerents; and no liability whatever is understood to attach to the government of the country whose flag that army bears and whose battles it may be fighting.

"If, in any particular case before this Commission, it is averred and proved that Spain has not fulfilled her obligations as above defined, she will be held liable in that case.

"9. It is the opinion of the Commission that the treaty of 1795 and the protocol of 1877 were in full force and effect during the insurrection in Cuba, and they will be applied in deciding cases properly falling within their provisions.

"10. As to the first clause of Article VII of the said treaty, wherein it is agreed that the subjects and citizens of each nation, their vessels, or effects shall not be liable to any embargo or detention on the part of the other for any military expedition or other public or private purpose whatever, the Commission holds that, whether or not the clause was originally intended to embrace real estate and personal property on land as well as vessels and their cargoes, the same has been so construed by the United States, and this construction has been concurred in by Spain; and, therefore, the Commission will adhere to such construction in making its decisions.

"11. But neither this particular clause nor any other provision of the treaty of 1795 will be so applied as to render either nation, while endeavoring to suppress an insurrection which has gone beyond its control, liable for damages done to the persons or property of the citizens of the other nation when found in the track of war, or for damages resulting from military movements unless the same were unnecessarily and wantonly inflicted."

It is reasonable to say that an application of the foregoing rules to the pending cases will sweep at least three-fourths of them from the docket. Under these rules, it is only in exceptional cases that claimants can hope to recover. Under such circumstances, it is perfectly natural and proper that counsel for claimants should be averse to bringing their cases to final hearing, hoping, as they do, to have the findings of the Commission, as to general principles, reversed upon appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States. That the Commission is far more eager to proceed than counsel for claimants is evident from the fact that, on May 2nd, 1905, the Commission heard motions to dismiss for want of prosecution in 141 cases, the result being that, while there were 33 cases dismissed for that cause, there were 153 extensions of time on written applications of claimants for causes shown, which included 45 cases of extensions where dismissals

had not been asked for. No complaints were made of delay or neglect on the part of the Commission, or of the Assistant Attorney-General and his associates, in the full attendance of counsel present. On January 30th, 1906, the Commission heard 107 claimants who had been ordered by the Commission itself to show cause why their cases should not be dismissed for want of prosecution, and also 50 motions of the Attorney-General to dismiss for the same cause, with the result that, either in writing or orally, all claimants successfully resisted dismissal and insisted upon further time. The reason for this holding back upon the part of claimants is fully explained by Mr. Kennedy, when he says: "Congress should grant an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States, and thus secure a judicial construction of Article VII of the Treaty of Peace, as its importance demands." A bill with that object in view is now pending in Congress, to which the Commission is making no opposition whatever. If the bill passes, as it likely will, the claimants will have the opportunity to have reviewed in the court of last resort principles of international law which interest publicists in every part of the world.

HANNIS TAYLOR.

# SOME RECENT POETRY.

BY LOUISE COLLIER WILLCOX.

It is particularly the function of poetry to elevate and to touch the emotions. Poetry can never strike a low note, or become commonplace and vulgar. It is a different matter with prose. Its traditions may alter and its forms deteriorate, as witness the present development of that fine and solid body of English literature, the novel. Two men still living, but alas! no longer writing novels, have practised the art in the grand style; but otherwise the English novel of to-day is to the real novel as a ballet-girl to a queen.

The English have been fortunate, beyond all rivalry, in their poets, and nowhere else; surely in no other modern literature, can we turn to such a wonder galaxy of names as those singers of our own tongue, from Shakespeare's predecessors to the present day, still crowned by the name of one of the greatest, Swinburne.

There is a lull in the singing just now, and one can turn to no such group of poets as lived in the last half of the nineteenth century, when Tennyson was at Farringford, when Browning dined out in London, when Rossetti and Swinburne and Morris were in full song, and Christina Rossetti was still living in Torrington Square and singing her quiet songs between church offices.

It has been said by an editor of wide experience with men and letters that the day of great men as individuals is past, and that this is the day of great cooperation. If that were so, we might well resignedly fold our hands and admit that poetry is past. For poetry, above all else, is individual, first, and conventional, second. All men, so long as they are mortal, are more or less imprisoned in their subjectivity. Anatole France says:

**"Every time we fail of strength to keep silence, we speak of ourselves; . . . . What would I not give to see for an instant heaven and earth with**

the eyes of a fly, or to understand nature with the brain, rough and simple, of an orang-outang."

But to the end of time our vision of the universe is tinged with our own personality, and our utterance is drenched in our own experience. Poetry, which is always either too elemental or too sublime to assume the disguise of sophistication, which must by the large and serious nature of it deal with such intimate themes as love and grief, hope and death, can least of all attempt to escape the bonds of personality. No dramatic disguise hides the author's self. If at times, as in the case of Shakespeare, it seems impossible to find the man beneath the great body of wide-ranging thought and work, it is only that we are too little to track him through the mazes of so roving and unlimited a curiosity of life. The fact remains that he who writes poetry writes of himself and he who understands it hears his own experience repeated:

> "As if there were no tale but your own tale,
> Worth knitting to a measure of sweet sound."

If the matter of poetry sets different demands, refusing whatever is slight and sophisticated, its manner is avowedly a great art. There can be no confusion on this subject. That high-sounding but easily misconstrued dictum, "that perfect simplicity is the highest art," so frequently brought forth for the uninstructed, cannot hold good here. Even in prose, perfect simplicity is only permissible to those who have attained the heights, and whose simplicity is the rarefied atmosphere above the clouds; but in poetry the great simplicity belongs only to a supreme and final master, to Dante and his kin. It is difficult to find in Shakespeare or in Milton a line which conveys with the same swiftness and simplicity as much as:

> "*In la sua voluntade è nostra pace.*"

The use of rhythm in English calls for a peculiarly sensitive and musically trained ear, and the language requires the subtlest sense for diction and an intimate acquaintance with the associational value of words through the history of literature. It is a lack of just such training which allows the young author to stumble into such a pitfall as to begin a line with "In such a night." Inevitably, the magic words rise to the mind:

> "Stood Dido, with a willow in her hand,
> Upon the wild sea banks, and waved her love
> To come again to Carthage."

And what a shock it is to complete the sentence with: "Men wed and woo"! A more important poet has recently marred a fine scene by a bit of evidently quite unconscious reminiscence in writing:

> "The gentle deed undone, the word unsaid,
> The hand of help withheld, love ungiven,
> Float like mirage above the quivering air,
> Shining and palpable and quickly gone."

It brings up the more beautiful passage from "In Scheria":

> "Ah me, the ways untrod, the words unsaid,
> The gracious memories unremembered,
> The dreadful presence of what might have been,
> And life eternal of things done and dead."

Again, an ode in the rhythm of Keats's "Ode to a Nightingale" lost all its most beautiful stanza by using the sound "painful breath" at exactly the point in which Keats, in his most beautiful stanza, has the rhymed sound "easeful death." So that the mind inevitably wandered from the poem in hand to saying:

> "Darkling I listen and for many a time,
> I have been half in love with easeful death."

So poetry, to be poetry at all, requires a higher endowment than prose: first, depth of original feeling; then, a wide knowledge of literature; and, then, the sympathy that perceives and assents to the convention of art.

The mantle of the Elizabethan era fell unquestionably upon the early Victorian novelists. As the novel deteriorated beyond the point when it could be taken seriously, the question arose as to where we should look for literature. It was some time before any one form seemed to acquire body enough to be considered. Now there is a definite tendency towards the poetically conceived drama. Stephen Phillips has already made a considerable contribution to this *genre* in "Paolo and Francesca" and "Ulysses." In the last two years he has added "The Sin of David" and "Nero."* Both plays have been written with an eye to stage production, and both, it would seem, ought to be successful as plays. The outcome in "The Sin of David" is not dramatic. For a man and his wife, after the death of a child, to walk off the stage with heads bowed, admitting that their union is spirit-

* Stephen Phillips: "The Sin of David." The Macmillan Company, 1904. "Nero." The Macmillan Company, 1906.

ually sealed by sorrow, is not dramatic according to the old tradition. But the laws of dramatic structure are evidently undergoing change, and we cannot build the modern poetic play up into Introduction, Growth of Complication, Crisis, Episodical Interruption of Action and Catastrophe, as we could the Shakespearean drama. It is only necessary to call to mind the slamming of a door, which is the end of one of the most successful of Ibsen's plays; the woman doing sums, which is the closing scene of Shaw's most notorious play; and the slow, philosophic disquisition upon life and time of Merlin, which precedes the dropping of the curtain in Maeterlinck's last play, to realize that the tradition of scattered dead bodies, poison, treason and triumphant entries is no longer the order of the day for the finale.

Whether it be the attempt to meet the public taste, or whether it be the inevitable expression of self, it is certain that Phillips does not delve as deeply into the philosophy of life as do most of the moderns. He is dramatic and frankly obvious. From the beginning, every crisis and temptation is duly heralded by storms, lightning and thunder, in purely melodramatic wise, and this instinct only fails in the final scorn of the unities, when the punishment comes five years after the crime and in so unrelated a manner as the untimely fading of the child of the forbidden union. "Nero" gains in many ways upon "The Sin of David." It is a more dramatic theme, and works up better to a climax in Nero's frenzied address to burning Rome. Moreover, there is philosophic content and some subtlety of insight in his study of the peculiar harshness and cruelty of the æsthetic temperament with its inability to release itself from the dominance of the senses.

There are times when the poet's ear seems to be at fault. The speech of Agrippina—in the scene of the final supper with her son, which is to throw her off her guard and precede her murder, a moment full of moonlight stillness and tenderness, a hush which should surely only be broken by most liquid and flowing syllables, a speech which an artist like Swinburne would surely have managed to put into sounds of v's and m's with predominant long vowels—is marred by lines as hard to utter as:

> "Beautiful night that gently bringest back
> Mother to son, and callest all thy stars
> To watch it. Quiet sea that bringest peace

Between us two. Hast thou not thought how still
The air is with silent pleasure?"

In the five lines the hard *th* sound occurs eight times; *st* or *ts*, only second in harshness, occurs ten times; there are twenty *t* sounds, twelve *s* sounds, and only five long vowel sounds.

In this matter of a fine ear, we have a greater poet on this side the Atlantic in William Vaughn Moody.* It is difficult to say by what magic we know the born poet when he speaks. The sudden indrawn breath, the shivering thrill, when we hear his song, these proclaim him though there is little to be said about it. The most beautiful and touching things remain ever a little vague, a little mysterious, ever beyond our grasp. Beauty, virtue and genius keep their secret, and no man ever dissects them or plucks out the heart of their mystery. Of all the recent poets, it is Mr. Moody who gives us this thrill. Try as we will, we cannot say wherein his whole excellence lies, although there is much, doubtless, in his wide roving, quickly fired imagination that moves easily amongst "heirlooms of dynasties of buried kings," or

"Old alphabets and faded lore,
Fallen from ecstatic mouths before the flood,
Or gathered by the daughters when they walked
Eastward in Eden with the sons of God,
Whom love and the deep moon made garrulous."

Much, too, in the lilt and buoyancy of his use of the iambic tetrameter, the most perfect of all lines for the short lyric, the quick, sudden dropping to a trimeter couplet in the latter half of the stanza; more, too, in that depth of feeling, that touch of the universal, which pierces to the very centre of us and makes the whole world kin, just such a touch as comes out in "The Daguerreotype." At any rate, he knows little of poetry who ran across the first volume of Moody's poems and failed to recognize one of the elect. It is a book with which one can still contentedly pass the afternoon, reading it over, pointing out fine lines and unexpected touches of genius:

"O hark how it blooms in the falling dark,
That flower of mystical, yearning song,
Sad as a hermit-thrush, as a lark
Uplifted, glad and strong.
Heart, we have chosen the better part,

* William Vaughn Moody, "Poems." Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1901.

Save sacred love and sacred art,
Nothing is good for long."

Mr. Moody has made his contribution to the poetic drama in "The Firebringer,"* the first member of a poetic trilogy on the Prometheus theme. Unlike Shelley's "Prometheus," the drama of "The Firebringer" plays amongst men and does not portray the battle between Zeus and Prometheus. It is much more allegorically and lyrically than dramatically conceived. The imagery is full of beauty. Indeed, Mr. Moody shows that quick and delicate sensibility to nature, that close relation to the visible world, which is one of the hall-marks of true genius.

"Then for an endless season sat she there,
Her head between her knees, and all her hair
*Spread like a night pool in the autumn woods.*

"Trust not the sea! *Look where the frothing lip*
*Curls off the giant fang.*"

There is an anecdote of Flaubert that, during de Maupassant's term of tutelage, he instructed him to look at an object until it looked to him just as it looked to all men, and then to look at it until it looked as it never had looked to any other man. This is to write with the eye on the object, but it is also to write with that magical glamour which is only born of the dreamer's vision.

The creative power of poetry is ever and ever a new marvel. To rewrite "Prometheus," to write it with a glowing visible world, a hopeless humanity, a bold, fate-defying saviour and a profound philosophy of life, and to do this within an hundred years of Shelley's masterpiece, might seem a bold undertaking; but, as Shelley himself said, "poetical abstractions are beautiful and new, not because the portions of which they are composed had no previous existence in the mind of man or in nature, but because the whole produced by their combination has some intelligible and beautiful analogy with those sources of emotion and thought and with the contemporary condition of them." So in Moody's representation there is no reminiscence. There is fine philosophy of doubt, despair and resignation in Deukalion's first utterance. Pyrrha has dreamt of seeing fire and he answers:

"Dreams: we are old. The green heart and the sear
He feeds with dreams having some purpose in it:—
Or else his idleness."

* William Vaughn Moody, "The Firebringer." Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1904.

The despair of humanity comes out in the man's voice who gives that lyric cry:

> "My soul is among lions! God, my God!
> Thou seest my quivering spirit what it is!
> Oh, lay not life upon it! We not knew
> The thing we asked for! We had all forgot
> How cruel was Thy splendour in the house
> Of sense, how awful in the house of thought,
> How far, unbearable in the wild house
> That Thou hast cast and builded for the heart."

There are two points that we look at in judging a new poet, imagery and diction, and in these two points only one poet of late years, Francis Thompson, and he already a classic, stands higher than Moody.

Still another poetic drama which attempts, like "The Fire-bringer," the justification of the ways of God to man, is Percy Mackaye's "Fenris, the Wolf."* The theme is drawn from Scandinavian mythology. Fenris is primitive man, who, in the course of the drama, is trained by art and love, Baldur and Freya, to be true man and capable of renunciation. Certainly, Mackaye has individuality almost to the point of being fantastic. Individuality is a necessary part of the poet's make-up, but convention is equally necessary. By convention he enters into the sympathies of his readers and avoids giving shock and repulsion. Mackaye impresses one as a poet with growth ahead of him, with many large ideas still partially in embryo and with some roughnesses to smooth. The alliteration of all Fenris's early speeches is overdone. A little more hesitation about extravagance, a little more classical restraint would add distinction to the undeniable originality and power.

If these men have given us philosophy of life, the three women poets who have dealt with the same form have given us theories of love.

Mrs. Drummond† has chosen the "Alcestis," that beautiful story of woman's courage in love and death, and it is very interesting, after reading the tale as told by one of the most masculine of poets, Browning, to hear it again from one of the most

* Percy Mackaye: "Fenris, the Wolf." The Macmillan Company, 1905.

† Sara King Wiley: "Alcestis." The Macmillan Company, 1905.

exquisite and delicate of women poets. Mrs. Drummond had already published a play called "Cromwell" and a volume of lyrics. The "Alcestis" is carefully built on a Greek model, opening with a fine hymn to Apollo, with strophe, antistrophe, epode and full chorus. There is something Greek, too, in the cheerful love of man and of life, in the restraint and marble purity of the form of the poem. There is something truly American in the tenderness with which she cloaks the cowardice of the old father and mother, and with which she hardly gives Admetus time to realize the sacrifice which is being made for him until it is done; with which, too, she entirely does away with Herakles's revels, so thoroughly enjoyed by Euripides and Browning. The lament of Admetus after the death, the sudden sense of emptiness and void, is very finely done, for Mrs. Drummond has an almost Keatsian power over the fine and memory-haunting phrase:

"My kingdom is no more than parcelled earth."

"She cast a radiance round her like the moon,
Gentling the rough, dark world with silver rays."

Mrs. Drummond's volume is the most exquisite blossom of a delicately nurtured womanhood and a high and effective culture. The conception of love is nobly spiritual, and the description of grief restrained and reticent.

It is interesting to turn from this volume to the Princess Troubetzkoy's "Seléné."* The impression of far vision and clear whiteness which Mrs. Drummond's play gives is changed in "Seléné" to a prism of brightness with yellow for the main color. There is saffron-colored hair, a crown of jonquils and stars—a wonderfully charming bit of vision this is, too—a boat of thinnest ivory tipped with golden wings; there is sunlight and golden moonlight, fire in the jewels and blue in the blossom and deep-colored flowers everywhere. The play, though a Greek myth, is a highly modern, romantic, temperamental study of passion. The visual sense is predominant, the sense for color almost obliterating line. We trace the same personality in this poet which produced those striking and romantic tales of the time of Shakespeare, a personality exuberant, intense, highly endowed, imaginative and undisciplined. There is one very lovely bit of sound in the poem:

* Amélie Rives: "Seléné." Harper & Brothers, 1905.

"Anon came bubblings soft, and limpid gush
Of music, airy, lorn, mysterious,
Like that which fluctuates on stilly nights
About the hollow silence of a ship,
Wherein a poet lies awake for love."

The play is a play to read—to read at leisure, never hurrying from one bright-colored picture to the next, but letting the prismatic visions sink into the mind one by one. Mrs. Drummond's play, on the contrary, would permit of production, and, as a matter of fact, was written as the libretto to an opera, and has already been set to music and given once or twice to selected audiences.

We turn from these two dramas to one called "Tristram and Isoult," by Martha W. Austin.*

If Mrs. Drummond followed in the steps of Browning in choice of subject and the Princess Troubetzkoy in those of Keats, Miss Austin by her choice invites reminiscence of Tennyson, Swinburne and Arnold. She claims in her preface to have kept her story as close as possible to the Malory version. The play opens with a dialogue between Guinevere and Isoult after the tournament in which Tristram has won the carcanet. There are frankly human and modern touches in the talk, as far removed from Mrs. Drummond's pure whiteness and marble calm as from the Princess Troubetzkoy's sunset-colored vision. The queens compare their guilty loves. Isoult says:

"I put my love on like a crown,
To wear it in men's sight. 'Tis Tristram makes
Me queen—not Mark."

And Guinevere, all doubt and pain, says:

"Love has no peace.
I dread that Launcelot of straining up
May tire, to reach the joys forever out
Of reach, and take some nestling happiness,
That is not noble, that is near."

The author is full of feeling for the beauty of nature, and the play is replete with fine bits of description, allying nature to the moods and passions of man. There is one fine outcry upon life:

"What are we but a column of towering dust,
Raised by a breath of passion in the waste,
And when the wind hath passed we fall to dust."

* Martha W. Austin: "Tristram and Isoult." The Poet-Lore Company, 1905.

This is not quite so fine as the laconic reply of Canton's beggar, who, being asked who he was, replied:

> "Sire, a little dust that life blows up and down
> And death will lay."

"Tristram and Isoult" is dramatic; it has movement and passion, especially real passion in the last scene and the final speech of Isoult, but it lacks elevation of thought and feeling and technique in the management of run-on lines.

To turn from this to the lyric pure and simple, that form in which the mass of modern poetry is composed, we find two masters, one of whom has given us a new volume and one a collected edition of his works. The edition of 1898 of William Watson's Poems* made too many omissions. An artist in the highest sense, fastidious and severe, Watson is not a poet of whose production we can afford to lose a line. Chiselled and polished, finished as a gem-worker's cameo, everything he has written is of value, and the fuller collected edition of his work of 1905 is therefore warmly welcome. It is futile to mention that Watson is not of the warm, impulsive, quick-producing temperament. He is austere, restrained and of a somewhat insular patriotism for this cosmopolitan age. He has the critical temperament and the poetical medium. His elegiac poems, the sonnets and the epigrams, contain perhaps as fine a body of critical work as any poet has ever produced. The lyrics are meditative and descriptive. He is akin to Arnold on the one hand and to Wordsworth on the other, although he offers no such philosophy of life as the great philosopher poet, who found a remedy for all ills in the simple life of union with the whole of nature. Unlike the mass of modern poetry, Mr. Watson's is sculpturesque in its incisive outline, its aversion to whatever is perfervid, colored and hazy. In "A Prelude," he himself sets his limit:

> "Not mine the rich and showering hand that strews
> The facile largess of a stintless muse."

But at least there can be little dissension when we say that, of living poets, there is but one name to place before his.

It is pleasant to note that the master who has given us a new volume is one of the first to have hailed Watson, and that in these volumes they have addressed congratulatory and admiring

* William Watson: "Poems." John Lane Co., 1905.

poems to each other. Richard Watson Gilder's "Impromptu to William Watson on his Coronation Ode"* is fine, but may we not also apply "To a New Poet" to the same inspiring source?

"Friends, beware!
A sound of singing in the air!
The love song of a man who loves his fellow men,
Mother love and country love, and a love of sea and fen.
Lovely thoughts and mighty thoughts and thoughts that linger long,
There has come to the old world's singing the thrill of a brave new song."

Among the loveliest of these new lyrics by Mr. Gilder is that sad and perfect little gem, "The Light Lies on the Farther Hills." There is something in the tone of it which turns us back to Watson's "Blind Summit," with its refrain of:

"'Tis cold and clouds shut out the view."

To this delicate and noble singer, truly, his own words shall some day apply:

"This is the poet's triumph, this his doom!
After life's stress,
For him the silent, dark, o'ershadowing tomb
Is shadowless.

"And this the miracle, the mystery:
In that he gives
His soul away, magnificently free,
By this he lives."

A. E. Housman's† "A Shropshire Lad" gives the lyric in its purest form. There is not a poem of over seventy-six lines in the tiny volume, and many of them consist simply of two quatrains. These little lyrics are forceful, pointed and cynical, having a romantic feeling for despair and a Greek preoccupation with death as the end of all things.

"You smile upon your friend to-day,
To-day his ills are over;
You hearken to the lover's say,
And happy is the lover.

"'Tis late to hearken, late to smile,
But better late than never;
I shall have lived a little while
Before I die forever."

* Richard Watson Gilder: "In the Heights." The Century Co., 1905.
† A. E. Housman: "A Shropshire Lad." McClure, Phillips & Co., 1904.

This is the simplest singing quality. There is poetry in everything, everywhere, if a man has a heart to see it and the gift of rhyme. There is a true Heinesque quality in this gift of singing the simplest of chance thoughts in the most every-day words. Perhaps the finest poem in the collection is the one so full of yearning for rest, beginning,

> "Be still, my soul, be still; the arms you bear are brittle,
> Earth and high heaven are fixed of old and founded strong;
> Think rather—call to thought if now you breathe a little
> The days when we had rest, O soul, for they were long."

The Celtic renascence has made a large contribution to literature in the last years, and given nothing more exquisitely rare than Mr. George Russel's three published volumes. Real poets have, somehow, the instinct of hiding, and it is not every day that we run across a volume of such transcendent charm as "The Divine Vision."* It is a book that lifts us from the hubbub of daily active life into the thought-swept regions of the dreamer's loneliness. Its spirit throughout is one of ethereal loveliness, and its forms hold a level of fine unwontedness. It abounds in single lines of haunting perfection and large melody:

> "The stars drop down in their blue dominions,
> To hymn together their choral song."

> "While we are in the calm and proud procession of eternal things."

> "Her nest of primroses within her breast,
> Twilight hath folded up."

In this small volume of fifty-five lyrics, the poet has strode across two worlds; he has moved from the early Celt mythology to the disembodied future; he has dealt with the beauty of the universe, with the reconciliation of God and man, with love and knowledge and renunciation, with grief and hope and resignation. When the particular gift of the poet is perfection of finish, a choice amongst his poems is but little more than an expression of temperamental bias, but it is difficult to close the book without mentioning "Reconciliation" and "A Midnight Meditation," as containing the quintessence of this poet's charm.

William Butler Yeats's "In the Seven Woods"† is also a volume of Celtic verse. Yeats is a better-known poet and a

* A. E.: "The Divine Vision." The Macmillan Company, 1905.
† William Butler Yeats: "In the Seven Woods." The Macmillan Co., 1903.

much more copious writer than A. E. This latter poet, in dealing with Celtic romance, has used only the universal symbols, so that one never feels the need of adjustment to a foreign atmosphere. With Yeats one does feel this. He gets fine effects from strange names and alien sounds, but he continually introduces restricted symbols that mean nothing to those outside the special cult. There are many lines that will not scan in the book, there are paragraphs that need only the dropping of a capital letter to make them excellent prose, but despite this there is true poetry in the perception of beauty in nature, in conduct and in feeling.

"The Great Adventure"* is a volume of seventy-eight rarely fine sonnets. The sonnet must be:

> "Of its own arduous fullness, reverent,"

said the greatest of modern sonneteers, and to this Mr. Lodge's sonnets attain. "The Great Adventure" is the spiritual venture of life, going forward to death's inscrutable, divine event.

> "He said: 'We are the great adventurers,
> 'This is the great adventure: thus to be
> 'Alive and on the universal sea
> 'Of being, lone yet dauntless mariners.
> 'In the rapt outlook of astronomers,
> 'To rise through constellated gyres of thought;
> 'To fall with shattered pinions overwrought
> 'With flight, like unrecorded Lucifers;—
> 'Thus to receive identity, and thus
> 'Return at last to the great element,—
> 'This is the great adventure!' All of us
> Who saw his dead, deep visioned eyes could see,
> After the great adventure immanent,
> Splendid and strange, The Great Discovery."

Certainly this is the finest collection of sonnets since Rossetti's "House of Life." If one hesitates to say the word "great" of them, the fault lies rather with the theme than with the execution. It is almost too abstract for form, and from time to time, in reading them as a connected whole, one has that sense of barrenness which results from the lack of all concrete images. The verbal power and felicity are very great, and so also is the application of that principle,—an art in which Rossetti has excelled all other sonnet writers,—the working up of the sonnet to a climax and ending on a line of high, resonant, fine-sounding words:

* George Cabot Lodge: "The Great Adventure." Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1905.

"And saw strange splendours in the abyssmal air."

"The inveterate taciturnity of Death."

"The graves of the interminable hours."

"Quarried in dim, deep strata of the soul."

As science transforms force into what is useful, so art transforms feeling into what is ennobling. Poetry appeals only to a certain depth of nature and a certain height of culture. It requires some effort to penetrate into its secret and to live with its habitual temper of exaltation. It is the output of serious and lonely minds and makes appeal to the serious and lonely moments of its audience. It is to be hoped that every man saves himself some of these, for in them lie the true pulse and savour of being.

LOUISE COLLIER WILLCOX.

# SCIONS OF ARISTOCRACY IN AMERICA.

BY HESTER DORSEY RICHARDSON, PRESIDENT OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS COMMISSION OF MARYLAND.

THE sentiment of American equality was an outgrowth of the Revolutionary War and the patriotic spirit of frowning down all that smattered of Kings and coronets. Men who had worn the silk coat, satin breeches, jewelled buckles and curled wig of the Court Gentleman, donned homespun, flouted the wig, and discarded the use of the signet ring on legal documents. Jeffersonian simplicity was the first orchid that bloomed on the tree of American Independence.

The same spirit that caused our great-grandsires to erase the family arms from the ancestral plate, and throw the escutcheon in the fire, was responsible for the suppression of family history, since family history was regarded as tending to foster aristocratic ideas; for it must be remembered that, to be loyal to America, these old patriots denounced and renounced the King—and with him all things English—and, as their ancestors were loyal British subjects, *they* were given up with the allegiance.

As a result of this ruthless snapping of the ancestral chain which must forever bind Americans to the mother country, the nineteenth-century gentleman was far more interested in the pedigree of his horse or dog than in that of his children, and he knew much more about the age of his wine than of his family.

With the declaration of American equality the scramble for the American dollar began, which resulted in the supremacy of the successful rich; and as wealth is not always to the fit, we as a nation have lived to suffer to the third and fourth generations of those who tabooed pride of birth and laid upon us the stigma of an aristocracy of money. I say "stigma," for pride of birth is justifiable, since it is always based upon some service to King

or country which presupposes self-sacrifice or heroism, while pride of wealth is ignoble, since it is many times a monument to avarice or shrewdness, if not to chicanery.

With increased facilities for travel, rich Americans became globe-trotters, and soon began the international marriages between the beautiful American heiresses and the foreign nobility, in which all the world believed that the lovely Americans had only their wealth and beauty to barter for a title, and that *ancient lineage* was the one thing they lacked.

Whether or not it was because of the assumption by foreigners of social superiority, based upon descent from old and honorable families, or because of the natural swinging back of the pendulum which had gone too far in the universal ignorance of our progenitors, certain it is that Americans have at last stopped long enough in the struggle for pelf to learn if they are really so new as they have been painted.

That age has always been as desirable for family as for wine is too well known to need emphasis, and it is a happy sign of the times that Americans have swung away from the old idea that to be interested in one's ancestors was contrary to the spirit of American equality, for ignorance of our origin has not kept down inequalities in our social life, in which classes have always really been as distinctly marked as in any monarchy. In every State in the Union, a few families possessing wealth and influence have always been recognized as the "first families." Local historians have emphasized the official services of their forebears, until in each community a few names stand out as the peers of that especial realm.

Since the organization of the various patriotic societies, it has been found, through the original research which they have initiated, that no half-dozen men settled the country, served the King, fought against him, and founded the nation! The patriotic societies have, in breaking down the narrow worshipping of a few names, been in fact great levellers, and have opened the door to investigations which have been much further-reaching than their own.

The Colonial and Revolutionary organizations end their researches with the official services of early settlers in the formative period of our national life, or with the part taken in the War of Independence by the descendants of these first-comers. But the

same spirit which prompts the archæologist to dig at Assos, Babylon or Nineveh, that moves the scientist to search through the various strata of the earth until he finds the fossils of the eocene period, has compelled the student of American history to grope through fading parchments in dim-lit vaults for light upon the *origin* of the Colonial settlers of America.

The American Historical Research Society, under the encouragement of the Carnegie Institute, has had its representatives in England, digging out from the unpublished British archives sources of American Colonial history. State legislation has taken up the question of the preservation of the Colonial records, and Commissions have been created to pass upon their condition and to recommend means of preserving them. All of which goes to show that the question of her early history has become a vital one to America.

It is with this same interest in our national history, based upon belief that in the lives of the people is written the history of the nation, that the writer turned her particular attention to the *origin* of our early settlers, her field of investigations to the present time having been mainly confined to original resources in Maryland and Virginia, the results of which have proven beyond peradventure that America has an aristocracy based upon lineage as ancient and honorable as any in Great Britain, because it is in many instances of the same blood as the English aristocracy itself. The finding of hundreds of original seals, bearing heraldic devices, attached to legal documents in the Colonial period has fixed the status of these early settlers as gentlemen of quality.

Being familiar with the evidences of an early aristocracy in this country, in the survivals of old mansions and ancient manor houses—of the great hereditary estates which have preserved family names in certain localities as inseparable from the land as in feudal England—the writer has for years been convinced that it was simply lack of investigation which kept us in ignorance of a past history as full of interest and renown as that enjoyed by our British cousins. Tombstones in isolated family burying-grounds on remotely situated estates have, with their coats of arms and memorial inscriptions, told of the honorable lineage of some early Cavalier in Maryland or Virginia. Book-plates and silver, bearing family arms, when such had not been ruthlessly

destroyed, have been the evidences of claims to ancient lineage in many families; but the *proof* of descent from definite English houses had been long since lost; and tradition without verification, other than circumstantial evidence of decayed relics of Colonial affluence, was all that remained to give us a clue in our investigations. Legal evidence alone can bear the test of authority. The English standard must be the American standard in a matter of this kind.

Therefore we must turn to Sir William Dugdale, Garter Principal King of Arms, who, in the middle of the seventeenth century, set a rule by which armorial bearings were confirmed. In the Lansdowne Manuscript we find, under date of June 15th, 1668, this Sir Knight declaring:

"It is incumbent that a man doe look over his own evidences for some seals of armes, for perhaps it appears in them, and if soe and they have used it from the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reigne, or about that time, I shall allow thereof, for our directions are limiting us soe to doe and not a shorter prescription of usage."

Realizing then that arms borne in the American Colonies by British subjects after that date could only be legitimately used, as Dugdale's *dictum* was in force on both sides of the water, I turned my attention to the search for such legal evidences in Maryland and Virginia.

From one ancient depository to another I went, and, in damp old vaults, mouldering and mildewed and falling into rapid decay, I have found the legally used seals of hundreds of the early families of Maryland and Virginia. The use of the signet ring in Colonial America has, therefore, happily forever sealed the status of those early adventurers who brought with them these evidences of their descent.

Lest some question might arise as to the value of these seals as proofs of descent from families of the same names bearing the identical arms in England, I laid the evidences before Sir Edward Maunde Thompson, K.C.B., Director-General of the British Museum, with the request that he submit it to the best authority in England. Promptly the response came back: "I beg to say that I think you may accept the arms and crests used by persons in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as authentic." This, added to the opinion of one high in authority at Washington, that "the King himself will no doubt be highly interested in the dis-

covery of these heraldic seals of the English settlers," has lent a definitely international interest to this find so valuable to thousands of Americans who directly descend from these Colonial gentlemen.

It will soon be three hundred years since the earliest settlers stepped with adventurous foot from the staunch little ships that first touched our shores, and therefore it is only the antiquarian who has kept informed about the things of that far-off time. Burke has even forgotten us, and it is in the extinct and dormant Peerages and the sources known only to the student of English records, and from which Burke draws the information for his purposes, that we have found the identity of our gentlemen adventurers in the family lineages. Indeed, while the writer has gone, seal in hand, to the English records and proven the identity of many of the Colonial settlers, not more than one or two appear in Burke, who is therefore shown to deal with the present aristocracy, which, in a surprisingly large number of cases, is recorded as "created" in the nineteenth century.

Therefore, adding the three hundred years of our American descent to the families of ancient lineage which were flourishing during the reigns of King James, and of Charles I and Charles II, we may claim that American aristocracy is more ancient than the present British aristocracy in many cases.

Americans, however, have no desire to set up an hereditary aristocracy, even though they are pleased to use the coat armor of their ancient forebears. My observation convinces me that the average well-balanced American hangs his ancestral arms in his hall as an object-lesson to his children, just as he hangs the Revolutionary sword or medal of his great-grandsire as evidence of patriotic service at a later date than that for which the coat of arms stands. Both to his mind are emblems of achievement. Therefore, not having a Norroy to see that arms are properly used, every descendant of the parent stem, with true American independence, preserves the family coat armor as best pleases him.

It is the right of Americans, however, to have the truth known about those who founded the nation, and to be content no longer to occupy a position of inferiority in any particular in the mind of the world, either at home or abroad. The finding of these heraldic seals establishes the position of over five hundred of the early families of Colonial Maryland and Virginia, added

to which are the other evidences of the use of arms in these sections, the least of which are the mention of "escutcheons" in wills and inventories, "silver seals," "seal rings" and "plate" described as "marked with the family arms," increasing the number by many hundreds in the two colonies.

While this new find will prove a revelation to English-speaking people on both sides of the ocean, it should not really be surprising to those who have ever gone very deeply into our early history. The cause of such general ignorance regarding the status of the men who came into Maryland and Virginia is the fact that the mistakes of the ignorant early writers were repeated by the later pseudo-historians, who have taken statements at second hand and have written history without ever having given a day to original research.

The truth is that, during the turbulent reigns of Charles I and Charles II, England was much impoverished by her internal wars and political malversations, and expansion was her only salvation; and, while many emigrated in the name of religion to escape the persecutions which stalked broadcast in the mother country, hundreds came to the American colonies to better their temporal fortunes. Families were large three hundred years ago, and race suicide a crime unknown on either side of the ocean.

The law of primogeniture left the younger sons unprovided for; and hence hundreds of the representatives of Great Britain's best blood welcomed the chance to acquire estates in the new world. The "Conditions of Plantation," published by Cecilius Calvert at London, were particularly attractive to the land-hungry young gentlemen of the "Three Kingdoms," who eagerly availed themselves of the opportunity of founding great manors not unlike those enjoyed by the heir-at-law in England. The Virginia Company, including over two hundred and thirty titled gentlemen of the Court of King James and later of Charles I, had attracted much attention to the advantages of Virginia. Most of these courtiers, who had adventured money in the American enterprise, received patents for large tracts of land in the new country, and, while all did not come out, many came and others sent their sons over to "seat and plant."

These younger offshoots of great English families, like those in Maryland, transplanted into a new and virgin soil, grew in strength and virility, and became the progenitors of many of our

greatest statesmen, generals and jurists. This is particularly pleasing to the writer, because it bears out her theory that blood tells in a nation no less than in a species. A thoroughbred horse or dog does not spring from a mongrel, and a nation that attains greatness through achievement is but a fulfilling of the law that like produces like; and we are now proving, what we have always believed, that America the Great sprang from the best of a great parent stock, that the seed from which she grew was the seed of greatness.

This brings us to the question of classes in America, of which there are distinctly two—the first, the descendants of the Colonial settlers whose origin has been established, or can be, by the arms used by them in the Colonial period, from whom we claim our American aristocracy of birth and lineage, differing in no particular from that of England prior to the Revolution, when our ancestors on this side of the water were still loyal subjects of the King; and, second, the modern American descendants of the later-day immigrants, all sorts and conditions of men who have come from all parts of the world in search of American liberty, equality and gold.

When King Charles I gave the Charter of Maryland to Cecilius Calvert in the year 1632, he gave him royal rights and privileges, and encouraged him and many gentlemen of very good fashion to lay the foundation for a transplanted nobility across the sea, for he incorporated in the Charter the following:

"Now that the aforesaid region thus described may be *eminently* distinguished above all other regions of that territory, and decorated with more ample titles, know ye that we, of our special grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, have thought fit that the said regions and islands be erected into a Province, out of the plenitude of our royal power and prerogative, we do for us, our heirs and successors erect and incorporate the same into a Province, and nominate the same Maryland, by which name we will that it shall hereafter be called.

"Moreover, lest in so remote and far-distant region every access to honors and dignities may seem to be precluded and utterly debarred *to men well born, who are preparing to engage in the present expedition,* and desirous of deserving well both in peace and war of us and our Kingdom, for this cause for us, our heirs and successors, we do give full and plenary powers to the aforesaid now Baron of Baltimore, and to his heirs and assigns, to confer favors, rewards, honors upon such subjects inhabiting within the Province aforesaid as shall be well deserving, and to adorn them with whatsoever titles and dignities they shall appoint

(so that they be not such as are now used in England). We also by these presents do give and grant license to the Baron of Baltimore, and to his heirs, to erect any parcels of land within the Province aforesaid into Manors—to have and to hold court-baron and all things to which a court-baron do belong—and to have and to keep frank-pledge for the conservation of the peace and better government of those parts—by themselves and their stewards or by the Lords for the time being to be deputed of others of those manors when they shall be constituted, and in the same to exercise all things to the view of frank-pledge belonging."

It is shown by the above that Maryland was not a colony of England, but a Province in which the Barons of Baltimore were absolute Lords and Proprietaries, "saving always the faith and allegiance and sovereign dominion due to us, to have and to hold of us, our heirs and successors, Kings of England, as of our Castle at Windsor, in our county of Berks, in free and common socage by fealty only, for all services and not *in capite* nor by knights' service yielding therefor unto our heirs," *et cetera,* "two Indian arrows of those parts to be delivered at the said Castle of Windsor every year on Tuesday in Easter week."

That this tribute was paid for many years we have evidence, as receipts dated at Windsor Castle have recently been found and are now preserved in Maryland.

In his Palatinate, therefore, we find that Lord Baltimore had royal rights and privileges, license to erect courts, create judges, bestow titles and parcel lands into manors after the feudal custom.

As the land is the basis of aristocracy in all monarchical countries, it naturally became so here, as the King distinctly encouraged a transplanted nobility based on the English law of primogeniture and the bestowal of titles upon the deserving and well-born. Class distinctions were at once recognized in Maryland, and gentlemen were recorded as such. They were entitled to be addressed as "Esquire," and with their large estates corresponded to the gentry of England.

So much for the ancient régime which the renaissance of family history is now revealing at the hands of the original investigator, facts which have long been lost are being discovered, and their real value given to things which have been passed over as insignificant.

The social revolution which the legal proofs of an American aristocracy, founded on ancient lineage, will finally institute, is

not likely to be one of bloodshed, but one which will unite more firmly the feelings of kinship and affection toward which England and America have been steadily progressing for years. And, while the positive proofs exist that there are hundreds, aye thousands, of Americans who are descendants of the royal blood of England, none is likely to contest the claims of the throne with His Majesty King Edward VII. But such American descendants of noble British houses as can prove their lineage and show the requisite number of quarterings which would admit them to equal social rank with their titled foreign husbands, should not be deprived of this recognition of their aristocratic origin.

It is the American way to have the best of everything, and Americans have been accused of buying titles and even ancestors! But in the light of the original research which has for the first time directed attention to the *quality* of the Colonial settlers of America *as a class,* none need hope to assume forebears to whom they are not entitled, while others may find themselves with a lineage beyond the limits of their imagination.

In every Colonial State, there are no doubt as rich finds, in the way of legal evidences of noble British origin, as those which have rewarded the writer for her labors. The work of investigation must be carried on by the seeker after truth in every ancient capital, both North and South, before the whole story of our American Aristocracy can be told.

No higher tribute can be paid the men who, in settling this country, laid the foundation of the nation, than a rational investigation of their origin, and nothing can be more gratifying to the delver than to find the glint of good blood rather than the sombre marks of inferiority.

HESTER DORSEY RICHARDSON.

# THE ASPHODEL.

BY AGNES LEE.

---

## I.

### *THE MOTHER.*

Now all the skill in Honolulu fails
  To keep my English motherhood from loss,
While every hour upon my threshold nails
  The deepening shadow of a tiny cross.

He is so small to go alone, to live
  Alone. He never was alone before!
He is so loving, quivering, sensitive,
  Viable with the breath of beauty, sore
And struck discordant by what is not fair;
  So loving, too, so tender; and, whereas
His years are seven, he never could outwear
  The dear appealing ways a baby has.
Yet when I sorrow, then, oh, very close,
  His cheek against my cheek, he often seems
The mother, I the child, so deep he knows,
  Like a still meadow where the starlight dreams.

The priest was with me, when the word was cast,
  To tell of parting since the world began.
He bade me think on one who, cycles past,
  Renounced her Flower. Oh, but she gave a Man;
While, in my thought's recurrence, I must view
  The daily crucifixion of a child,
Ever in some new grief, some horror new,
  Until I faint for him, my undefiled!

To linger on the isle of leper men,
Bare Molokai, where sickly noondays burn,
Himself a little blighted citizen;
From heartbreak morn till heartbreak eve to turn
From its foul company to fix his eyes
Upon a distant sail, a floating leaf;
To hear at bedtime for his lullabies
The strokes of the Pacific on the reef,
And, in the dark, without a kindly kiss,
To sob his soul out! Dawn the doom destroy!
For I shall seek a softer way than this
For my sweet love, my little leper boy.

To guide his steps! What holier joy could be?
And with him in his alien path to go!
But the home voices would be haunting me!
Then shall he forth, a little outcast? No!
Silence, my tongue! O speak the terror not!
I know another way. The cure thereof
May for eternal tears be had. Forgot
Be now the creed that I was taught, and love
Be stronger than Jerusalem's high town!
Though anguish of my penance never cease,
Look, Lord of Hosts, look, holy angels, down!
I give my soul forever for his peace!

## II.

### *THE CHILDREN.*

*Stephana.* Our house has grown so large and still, as though
Sweet music had just died in all the rooms.
*David.* And in the garden, where he loves to go,
There is a hush beneath the heavy blooms.
*Stephana.* Why has he been three days a prisoner?
Why does she keep him ever from us all?
We saw him from the window look with her,
But come he will not, though we call and call.
*David.* She said our brother wearied at his play,
That he must rest; and one night more, she said,

She keeps him in her room. Let us away
To find him gifts while yet the sun is red!
*Louise.* Now pleasant lie the shallows, where the gold
Green ripple shakes afar the diamond bells.
I'll fill a basket high as it will hold
With charms and pebbles and the fairy shells!
*Hugh.* In the full stream, like strands of drowning hair,
The silken rushes bend them to the shore.
I'll braid them to a banner he shall bear,
When he is captain of his troop once more!
*Stephana.* Down in the grove a bird has dropped a plume
Of dazzling snow. I'll run, before the star,
And find it, and I'll make him in his room
A bonny hat as white as white clouds are!
*David.* How sad our mother called: "Good-by, good-by,
Dear David and Louise, and darling Hugh,
Stephana sweet,—good-by! The day must die.
To-morrow come. I shall have need of you!"
*Louise.* O hurry, let us down to grove and shore!
For soon the dark will touch the dial's hour.
Oh, we shall bring him back to us once more
With little gifts, and with each gift a flower!

## III.

### *MOTHER AND CHILD.*

*The Child.* What makes the world so beautiful, so still?
*The Mother.* Love makes it so.
*The Child.* Is love in everything?
*The Mother.* Oh, that I do believe! Though hide it will,
Somewhere at every depth its wonders cling.
*The Child.* The world seems very beautiful . . . and yet. . .
*The Mother.* What yet? What thought is with you, little son?
*The Child.* I heard the story of a banished set
Packed close upon a ship—the lepers!—One
Stood out from all the others, lean and bold,
Scaly, with eyes that pierced the twilight through.
And those on whom he looked would horror hold.
O mother, tell me that it was not true!

*The Mother.* It was not true.
*The Child.* Say no such beings are!
*The Mother.* And no such beings are. It is a sad,
False picture. Put the ugly story far.
The world is beautiful, my lovely lad.
*The Child.* Yet when alone I shut my eyes, sometimes
I see him gaze at me from out the dark.
*The Mother.* I'll go and bring a lamp, and sing you rhymes,
To chase the sorry vision as you hark.
*The Child.* Mother, come back, O hurry close to me!
Mother, I saw him once again!
*The Mother.* Saw whom?
*The Child.* Oh, him of whom we spoke! Oh, steadily
He fixed me with his glances through the gloom!
*The Mother.* Be still, my child. No harm shall come. Flower-bells
Are closing. Nested are the birdlings wise.
Dear speeding rain the misty moon foretells.
The world is beautiful. How fresh it lies!
*The Child.* Mother, then, mother, go and light the lamp.
Stay not too long. And I shall truly try
To think of birds and flowers, and the sweet damp
That through the window comes, and you close by.
*The Mother.* I call to you close by, one door between!
*(Now strike, O trembling fingers, I command,*
*The match for me!)* . . . His cry! Ah, sudden, keen!
*The Child.* The leper! Help! He has me by the hand!
*The Mother.* I come, O darling! Look, the room is bright.
And how I love you, love you! Dear, lie still,
Lie very still. Love holds you safe to-night.
*(And shall I dare the dreaded cup to fill?)*
Here is a drink, my thirsty love, for you.
It is a drink more sweet than water is.
Raise your dear golden head, and sip the brew!
*The Child.* Another sip! Now tell me, what is this?
*The Mother.* It is a human soul. Now drink again!
*The Child.* I never knew a soul could taste so sweet!
*The Mother.* My darling! It shall take away all pain.
Now quiet lie.
*The Child.* I hear strange footsteps beat.

*The Mother.* You hear the children in the garden come.
They speak of you upon the terrace now.
I'll sing you what they waft to you therefrom.
*(O Sleep, come not too swiftly to his brow!)*

*She Sings.* Now all within love's garden-light
*(Gates of a dreamland town!)*
Upon your bed of damask white
A pearly dove lit down.

A dove lit down with kisses four,—
Fair English flowers were they,—
And left them with the love it bore,
And flew again away.

Louise's was a lily-kiss
Upon your shining hair.
When I put up my hand, like this,
I feel it resting there.

On one the dew was glistening yet
*(Oh, gates of slumberland!)*
Hugh gave his dearest violet
To blossom in your hand.

David a yellow daffodil
Bade the dove bear aloft.
It lieth on your forehead still,
Fragrant and fond and soft.

And all within love's garden-close
*(The little daylight slips!)*
Stephana sent a sweet wild rose
To lie upon your lips.

*The Child.* Dear little greetings! How I love them all!
The dove goes winging to the moon's high tower. . .

There is another kiss. . . I felt it fall. . .
And the dove brought it not . . . a stranger-flower.

*The Mother Sings.*

And all within love's garden-spell
*(The mother watched, apart)*
An angel brought an asphodel,
And laid it on your heart.

*The Child.* Oh, I am half asleep! But sing, but sing!
I like to enter dreamland on your voice.
*The Mother.* You almost fell asleep while listening.
I'll sing another song, some drowsy choice.

*She Sings.* My little one is quiet now.
The dream shall nestle on his brow.
O Fairer than the Things We Dream,
O Something Greater than We Seem,
And Tenderer than the Earth and Sea,
Mother my little one for me!

The lamp is bright. Yet through the door
Comes dark as never dark before.
Now unto her be sorrow's strife,
Who lifts the pain with his young life.
He sleeps. O Love's Infinity,
Mother my little one for me!

## IV.

*THE CHILDREN. THE MOTHER.*

*David.* At last it is to-morrow! All night long
Pounded a deafening rain. But morning came,
And swept the beauty of a breeze, like song,
That seemed to say through all the house his name.
*Louise.* All night I dreamed about my treasures small,
Pebbles and charms and shells of magic rare.
And in my dream I heard them one and all
Like fairy bells go chiming on the air.

*David.* The rain upon the roof! You heard the rain.
*Louise.* It was no rain. They chimed, clear gem on gem,
And laughed his laughter. And I dreamed again:
The bells were gone! Some hand had stolen them!
*Hugh.* I dreamed that all my rushes I had bound
Beside the stream, and that I hurried there
At dawn. No rushes could I find. I found
Upon their place a strand of golden hair.
*Stephana.* I made a hat as white as cloud. Then look,
With earliest sleep my endless dream began:
The plume-gay hat my little brother took,
And set it on his head, and off he ran,
I knew not whither. And I wept, because
All night I searched the world, but found him not.
*Hugh.* Where is our little brother? Nearer draws
The noon. She bade us come. Has she forgot?
*David.* See! She is standing in the doorway dim.
Mother! Your eyes are strange, your face is white.
Mother! Where is he? We have come for him.

*The Mother.* Children, your little brother died last night.

AGNES LEE.

# WORLD-POLITICS.

LONDON: ST. PETERSBURG: PARIS: WASHINGTON.

*April, 1906.*

THE "*Frankfurter Zeitung*," a Radical journal, remarked a few weeks ago that South Africa is destined to be the grave of Liberal prospects. The prophecy is, perhaps, a little premature, but it is certain that British South Africa, since I last wrote, has been wrought up into a white heat of resentment against Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's Government, and that Liberalism is showing what is supposed to be its familiar incapacity for Imperial rule.

Three times already has the present Government found itself in opposition to the best Imperial sentiment in reference to South Africa. The problems presented by the subcontinent are grave and manifold, and not all of them, by any means, are of the Liberals' own making. They are the legacy of the war and of the introduction of Chinese labor, under conditions that have shocked the moral sense of England, to work the Transvaal mines. The Liberals have decided to give the Transvaal at the earliest possible moment full responsible government, without the intermediate stage of what is called representative government designed by their predecessors. They have also appointed a commission to inquire into the electoral basis of the future Transvaal Constitution, and to settle whether it is to be on a population or a "one vote one value" foundation. The danger hidden in both these questions is that the Boers may outvote the British, and that the very hand that drafted the ultimatum of October, 1899, may within a year be drafting Ministers' minutes for submission to a British Governor who would have no option but to sign them. In regard to Chinese labor, the Liberals have stopped the further importation of coolies, have agreed to repatriate at the Imperial expense such of them as wish to return to China, and have an-

nounced that, before responsible government is granted, the Labor Ordinance will be wiped off the statute-book and the whole question left to the people of the Transvaal to discuss and settle as they please—subject to the inherent right of the Crown to veto any legislation that is inconsistent with British ideas of liberty. These decisions have raised a violent uproar in the Transvaal; but how far the agitation is genuine and how far manufactured, whether it proceeds from the people or only from the mine-owners, it is exceedingly difficult to say. My own conviction is that the Liberals have acted wisely as well as boldly in deciding to grant responsible government and in their treatment of the Chinese labor question, and I firmly believe that time will justify them. In particular, their warning that any measure on the lines of the present Labor Ordinance, even though passed by a responsible Transvaal legislature, will be disallowed by the Imperial Government seems to me wholly justifiable. It has created intense resentment in the Transvaal, where the interference of Downing Street in the internal affairs of the colony has rarely worked for good and is at all times looked upon with the utmost suspicion; and, as a general principle, it is of course right and necessary that the Imperial veto should be rarely invoked. But, unless the British Empire is nothing more than a splendid chaos, the power of vetoing measures that are inimical to the welfare of the Imperial Union or to any of the essential principles of freedom or morality with which the British name is associated, must reside in, and must at times be exercised by, the Imperial Government in Great Britain. Nevertheless, though the Government, as I think, has right and reason on its side, the South-African situation is full of perils; and not the least of those perils is the possibility that the Boers, who still desire independence, and the mine-owners whose sole concern is to obtain cheap Chinese labor and plenty of it, may join forces in an effort to cut the painter.

But the Liberals have only themselves to blame if a situation, already acute, has been needlessly intensified. In a debate that took place in the House of Lords, Lord Milner chivalrously assumed all the responsibility for sanctioning the flogging of Chinese laborers who had been convicted of certain offences. His responsibility, as a matter of fact, was merely nominal and official, but to shield a subordinate he came forward voluntarily and took it upon himself. In view of his splendid services to the Empire,

this small error of judgment might well have been overlooked. But the Radicals, who detest Lord Milner as at once the instrument and the instigator of the policy that provoked the Boer war, seized upon their chance to pillory him. A vote of censure upon him was moved in the House of Commons on March 21st, and the Government, instead of meeting it, as it should have done, with a direct negative, proposed and carried an amendment which condemned the flogging of coolies without mentioning individuals and was aimed at Lord Milner without naming him. In thus refusing to stand by the pilot who weathered the storm, and who won for himself the all but unanimous confidence of the average Englishman, whether at home or in South Africa, the Liberals committed an act which, unjust and treacherous in itself, was peculiarly calculated to inflame South-African sentiment. How little the majority in the House of Commons represented the majority in the nation was shown a week later, when the House of Lords, against the wishes of the Government, but with the entire approval of the man in the street, passed by 170 votes to 35 a resolution expressing "its high appreciation of the services rendered by Lord Milner in South Africa to the Crown and the Empire." A national testimonial to Lord Milner was at once set on foot, and from the character and size of the support that has gathered around it the Liberals may learn how unshakable is the hold of the great pro-consul upon the masses of his countrymen and how deeply his betrayal by the Government is resented.

Simultaneously the Liberals were guilty of an even more serious error. There have of late been several risings among the natives of Natal, and a rising among the natives of Natal means all and more than all that an Indian rising meant in America a hundred and fifty years ago. Natal has a white population of little over eighty thousand, scattered among nearly a million blacks. The disturbances had led to the colony's being placed under martial law. On February 8th, a party of police engaged in the collection of the poll-tax was ambushed by natives and two of them were killed. Twenty-four natives were arrested and brought to trial under martial law. They were legally represented, evidence was heard from twelve Europeans and twenty-one blacks, and the court martial, after sitting for eight days, passed sentence of death upon twelve of the twenty-four accused. On Wednesday, March 28th, the British Government was informed by telegram

of what had occurred, and at once ordered the death sentence to be suspended pending further information. From every point of view, that was a most unfortunate proceeding. It threw doubt upon the good faith and honesty of the Natal Government, and the mere postponement of the sentence was bound to prejudice the authority of colonial justice in native eyes and to create that impression of uncertainty and weakness in the ruling powers which, of all impressions, is one that whites who are outnumbered by blacks in the ratio of one to twelve can least afford to inspire. The Natal Premier at once resigned, accompanied by all his colleagues, and supported by the practically unanimous feeling of all South Africa, British and Boer, and, I may add, by the not less unanimous feeling of other colonies. When fuller information reached London, it was seen that the British Government had no warrant, either in law, policy or the circumstances of the case, for its interference. The natives were accordingly executed on April 2nd, but not until many harsh things had been said about courts martial and the Natal colonists by Radical sentimentalists in the House of Commons. An appeal was even made to the Privy Council to save the condemned men, but the Lord Chancellor in delivering judgment made it perfectly clear that the case was not one of appeal from a colonial court, but from an executive act with which the Privy Council had no right to interfere. A righteous anxiety to protect the native races was, of course, the motive of the Government's action, but it was led thereby into an act of overprecipitancy of a peculiarly injurious character.

Nor have the Liberals been very much happier in their dealings with domestic questions. Goethe long ago noted that "every large assembly, no matter what may be the quality of the individuals composing it, is essentially a mob." The Liberals in the House of Commons are a very large assembly, and I am afraid they partake somewhat of the essence of a mob, and a Radical mob at that. The Labor members are already making their mark on English politics, and from neither side of the House have they yet met with any determined resistance. The Government is not yet sure enough of itself to withstand their importunities, and the Opposition appears to have forgotten that it was ever a party of Conservatism. The situation, indeed, is full of heart-rending anomalies. The Protectionists are making it one of the main objects of their tactics to win the good-will of the Labor men.

They hope ultimately to convert them to Tariff Reform, either by direct argument or by letting it be seen that their hopes of constructive social reform cannot be realized so long as England clings to her present fiscal system. They cannot be realized for the simple reason that there is not money enough. But Tariff Reform, whatever else it may or may not do, will at least fill the national exchequer and provide the indispensable funds for a programme of social betterment. In other countries, Protection has produced extravagance. Mr. Chamberlain hopes that in England extravagance may produce Protection. Every proposal that the Labor men put forward meets, therefore, with the willing support of the party that once called itself Conservative. There is thus generated a sort of competition between the Liberals and the Opposition to forward Labor measures. That is why, within the past few weeks, the House of Commons has been found voting in favor of free meals for the children in the public schools, of the payment of Members, and of throwing the expenses of elections upon the rates. That is also why it will probably and before long be found voting in favor of some great housing scheme, or of old-age pensions, or of national works for the unemployed. All these proposals are expensive, yet the Liberals do not care to hold out against them because of their "Progressive" character, and the Protectionists welcome them in the belief that the burden they will throw upon the national finances will be so intolerable as to force the adoption of a Protective tariff.

Nothing could show the power of the Labor men, and the timidity of both the historic parties before it, better than the history of the Government's Trade Disputes Bill. This was the Bill to which every trade-unionist in the country had been looking forward since the House of Lords in the Taff Vale case decided that a union was suable and that its funds could be mulcted in damages. It was because the late Government somewhat contemptuously refused to reverse that decision that the trade-union vote at the recent election went either to the Liberals or to the direct Labor representatives; and there was undoubtedly a strong obligation on the new Cabinet to take a long step in the direction of trade-union wishes. The Bill brought forward at the end of March took that long step. It laid down the principle that any act lawful in the eye of the civil and criminal codes if done by an individual is not unlawful if done by a combination. Second-

ly, the Bill legalized peaceful picketing. Thirdly, it altered the law of agency on behalf of the trade-unions. It proposed that each union should appoint an executive committee for the conduct of strikes, and should be bound only by the acts of that committee or their formally appointed agents. Each agent, on appointment, was to have the scope of his authority strictly defined, and no acts of his that exceeded that authority should be binding on the union. Finally, if any self-constituted agent purported to act with the authority of the union, his acts should not bind it if immediately repudiated by the executive. Taken together, these provisions amounted to conferring upon trade-unions a position of privilege such as belongs to no other corporate bodies in the kingdom. But they were very far from satisfying the Labor men. What the Labor men demanded was a reversion to the *status quo* that obtained before the Taff Vale decision. They insisted, in other words, upon the principle of entire immunity for all trade-union funds. A Bill to this effect was introduced by a Labor member immediately after the Government's Bill, and to the amazement of Parliament and the country the Cabinet threw their own measure overboard and adopted the Labor Bill. But, if their action was astounding, the attitude of the Opposition was not less unprincipled. Five years ago, the whole of the Conservative party would have fought to the last ditch sooner than place trade-unions outside and above the common law. To-day, hardly a whisper of protest is heard except privately, and there are even Conservative journals already imploring the House of Lords not to jeopardize the prospects of Tariff Reform by such an alienation of the Labor party as would follow on the Upper Chamber's rejection of the proposal to exempt trade-unions from all financial liability for illegal acts. Whether the House of Lords will heed this timid advice I do not know; but I believe that, if it were to make a resolute stand and insist that trade-unions should be treated justly but without subserviency, the common sense of the country would be found on its side. The whole incident is typical of the invertebrate chaos to which Mr. Chamberlain's plunge into Protection has reduced English politics. It is a condition that cannot last; and, in the vigor and earnestness with which the Education Bill, introduced by Mr. Birrell on April 9th, has thus far been attacked and defended, there are the tokens of a much-needed convalescence.

ST. PETERSBURG, *April, 1906.*

BEFORE this number of the REVIEW is in the hands of its readers, the Russian people will have entered upon a new era of their history. The project of the Duma, which was vague and shadowy a few weeks ago, is now rapidly assuming concrete form. The elections are in full swing, and popular excitement—far less intense than it would be in the United States or any other constitutional country—is at its highest pitch. At the meetings which are being held in the cities, the speakers become rhapsodical and the hearers ecstatic.

But outside the cities the people are calm, one might even say indifferent. And it would be a miracle were they otherwise. For they have no adequate idea of the Duma, of representative government or of the delegation of powers; indeed, many of them are literally incapable of grasping these conceptions. What else is to be expected of a peasantry who live like animals and think like children, of a peasantry who believed that the Japanese were invisible insects that crept into the Russian soldiers' top-boots and killed them infallibly? The Duma has in most cases no more meaning for the peasant than the word "hypothenuse" or "isosceles triangle." Why, therefore, should he worry about it?

The wonder, indeed, is not that only twenty-five, twenty or even ten per cent. of the voters went to the poll, but that such a large percentage as even that gave themselves the trouble to go and choose electors. In many districts, no peasants would have discharged their civic duties had it not been for the priests who exhorted them to come and choose the most suitable men. This action of the priests was largely the result of the intervention of the Procurator of the Holy Synod, Prince Obolensky, who sent a circular to the clergy of the Empire enjoining them to explain the *rôle* of the Duma, and the importance of the elections, to their flocks, and to exhort them to vote for the best men irrespective of political parties. His predecessor, Pobiedonostseff, would certainly never have done anything so reasonable.

But, in spite of explanations and exhortations, the peasants remained largely incorrigible. And their methods generally smacked of dovelike simplicity rather than of the wisdom of the serpent. For instance, in the province of Tula, when told by the Marshal of the Nobility that they ought to pick the most helpful man to look after their needs in the Duma, they ac-

quiesced, saying: "Very well, in God's name let us do it. Get all the names down, put them into a pot and shake them up, and . . ." "Ah, no," cried the Marshal, "that is not what we mean by election. You are yourselves to choose a man whom you know to be good, not to trust to chance, which may be favorable to a fellow who is downright bad." But the peasantry were obstinate. The matter had to be thoroughly threshed out, and in the course of the arguments some of them urged that, by drawing lots, God's will would be fulfilled, whereas deliberate choice would mean the sinful will of man. After much parleying, they still objected: "But we cannot vote for anybody. We don't know each other." Finally, it was arranged that, as they had come from the north, south, east and west, they should form into four groups and each one set up a candidate. The result, however, was that each group secretly turned against its own candidate, who had only one vote in his favor—doubtless his own.

In another place, where there were no balls available to serve for voting purposes, nuts were used instead; but, in the course of the preliminary discussion, the peasants, who love to munch nuts and sunflower seeds, mechanically ate up the nuts, and then had to put off the election until a fresh supply was fetched. In the village of Troitsky, the elder of the canton was a candidate, and, rumor says, not a very popular one. However this may have been, he was elected by a big majority, and this is how it was unwittingly obtained. The man standing at the urn, who was put there to give explanations to his fellow peasants, cried out: "Electors to the right." He meant that they were to stand on the right, whereas they all imagined that he was ordering them to put the balls into the right section of the urn. It was only towards the end that their mistake was discovered, and then it was deemed improper to begin the voting over again. When the votes were counted, the elder had a big majority, but three balls were lacking. On inquiry, it was found that the individuals who had them, not knowing what to do with them, simply put them in their pockets.

The stories told of the less unsophisticated inhabitants of the enlightened cities of the Empire are equally characteristic, showing the depth of individual ignorance and the intensity of the general fear of meddling in politics. For example, the Moscow State Government Board sent out a number of controllers to ascer-

tain whether the registered voters were really qualified, and to inform those who were that they were expected to fill up a form and exercise their rights. Among the people thus visited were heads of industrial firms, merchants, owners of house property, tradesmen and others. This is the narrative of one of the controllers:

"'Ivanoff,' I exclaimed to a salesman in the principal goods store, 'you are qualified to become an elector for the Imperial Duma.' Ivanoff grows as white as a sheet, straightens himself out, and, in a faltering voice, scarcely audible, says: 'I have never been accused of meddling in politics, never. . .' Five or six other salesmen draw near, and make a circle round him in a twinkling. Some of them are maliciously grinning: 'Well, at last you are caught, eh? Ha! ha! Now you'll be taught a lesson.' Others look serious, gloomy, and obviously sympathize with Ivanoff. 'What makes you do it?' asks the lady proprietor. 'Why are you wrecking a young life? See what is happening in other cities. Here's the paper; read. They write about Warsaw to-day. How can any one allow his name to be put down as an elector under such conditions? It would be to seek destruction!' Ivanoff, dismayed, excited, does not know what to do, and looks interrogatively up at his comrades. At long last, after much deliberation, they decided to advise him to return the paper without filling it up. But he glanced at me as he did so, and asked: 'Will nothing befall me for this?' I assured him he could return the blank form with impunity; but mistrustfully he shook his head, crying: 'I've got caught! Oh, I've got caught!'"

If, in spite of their preternatural ignorance and irrational fear, the people are now coming forward to vote, it is a healthy sign for which patriotic Russians are thankful. That they should elect so many members of the Constitutional Democratic Party is at once a symptom of the progress made by reform agitation, and of the relative liberty of choice allowed by the authorities. Pressure, of course, there has been from above, brutal pressure, which eschews all forms; but then it is only local, emanating from this man or that, not exercised by orders from the Government. Thus in one place, to my knowledge, the immediate superior of the peasants, the Zemsky-Nachalnik, exclaimed: "Vote for X., because he is the Tsar's man. If you vote for Y. you shall go to Archangel, every man Jack of you!" And they accordingly voted for X. There can be no doubt that, if the Government really wished to engineer the elections, they could readily hinder the return of so many aggressive enemies of their own *régime*. In the first Russian Duma, then, there will be a solid,

well-disciplined Opposition, which will give the friends of Tsardom work and worry without end.

When the Imperial Duma meets, as it assuredly will meet in a few weeks, what course are events likely to take? That is the question which is now exercising the sagacity of Russians of all parties. Will the Opposition turn the Government out and take over the reins of power? And, if it cannot effect this, will it at least compel the Ministers to make a compromise on pain of suffering from a complete deadlock which would render all legislation impossible? In order to answer this question, one must bear in mind the functions of the Duma. Count Witté foreseeing the fire and audacity with which the nation's representatives might be expected to act, heedless of rules and regulations, gave them a counterpoise in the members of the Upper Chamber, half of whom are appointed by the Government. The two Chambers possess the same functions and rights; neither can make a law without the consent of the other, and the Tsar's sanction. This is the view the Liberals take of what can and will be done. If the Duma be composed on the one hand of a strong single-minded Opposition, and on the other of a number of fractions which cannot combine and are made up chiefly of peasants, the Liberal Opposition will try first to win over a sufficient body of these and then block the progress of all legislation, unless . . . And there the negotiations with the Government will begin.

For parliamentary obstruction on these lines is possible, the Democrats affirm. And they illustrate the way in which it would work by considering the bills drawn up by the Finance Minister, which, they say, are urgent, if anything is.

The Empire is in need of money—of a vast sum of money. To make the nation help find this sum, the Minister proposes to levy a tax upon all private incomes, upon gas, electricity, and paper. That bill will be thrown out by the Duma, the Liberals say, unless the Government strikes a compromise with the Opposition, and yields a portion of its just demands. What can the Ministers do but yield? That argument is more specious than convincing. Suppose the *quid pro quo* demanded by the Opposition is more than the authorities are willing to concede and that they refuse it, what then? Suppose the Opposition manages to get a majority against the financial schemes of M. Shipoff, and that the forty or fifty million dollars on which he

counted are kept out of the imperial coffers? What then? Nothing. The Government, if it have meanwhile raised a loan abroad, may readily dispense with the proceeds of Shipoff's taxes, and it can block reform measures brought in by the Opposition.

But it is to be hoped that the new assembly will look upon things as they really are, and endeavor to make the best of them. In that case, it will certainly have ample scope for beneficent action. There is, for instance, the all-important question of the lot of the peasantry to be solved, whose benighted mental state and wretched condition call for immediate betterment. Yearly there are local famines in the Empire, now in one place, now in another, which, in nine cases out of ten, might be warded off or greatly alleviated by legislation. Thus, if the peasantry were sufficiently well instructed to grasp the advantages of intensive land culture, of artificial manure, the produce of the soil and their annual income might be quadrupled, while the vain cry for more land would grow weaker.

If the Duma meets, however, it will not be without considerable opposition on the part of the revolutionists, who are still to the fore and ever on the war-path. Of late they have altered their tactics but not their aims, which are purely destructive. Resolved to allow nobody to enjoy half a loaf because they themselves prefer a whole one, they pursue their own objects without bestowing much thought upon the well-being of the community at large. And, as they cannot repeat the Moscow experiment, throw up barricades and cause all trade and industry to cease, they confine themselves to murder, arson, and train-wrecking—crimes which, they hold, are turned into patriotic deeds by the circumstance that the motive is politically good.

There is no Government in Russia at present worthy of the name. The so-called "Cabinet" is a house divided against itself, and is therefore bound soon to fall. The Prime Minister is never consulted by the Minister of the Interior, who makes life a burden to thousands of the Tsar's subjects and fills the prisons with men and women, some of whom are obviously innocent of political crimes or misdemeanors, and have never been charged with any. Very often, indeed, the penal measures to which M. Durnovo has recourse are not even communicated to the other Ministers, who hear of them casually or not at all. "It is better that a thousand innocent persons should suffer than that one

guilty man should escape," would seem to be the maxim followed by the Minister of the Interior. It is, of course, meet that apostles of violence should be rendered harmless and murderers be condignly punished; but it is dangerous, as well as immoral, to condemn innocent people to undergo the fate of heinous criminals. And that is what M. Durnovo is doing almost every day. Moreover, he seems constitutionally unable to sign an order for the release of any person behind whom the heavy prison doors have once shut. In vain do petitions come in, accompanied by proofs of the arrested man's innocence; the presumption is against the prisoner, and efforts to disprove the charge are disregarded.

The result of this game of equilibristics is that there is at present no Cabinet, no solidarity among the Ministers, no concerted action against the enemy, and no man who can speak to the Tsar's subjects in the name of the Russian nation. The nation, like many other nations, is divided on almost every political question; but, unlike all others, it appears to be united on only one point—hatred of Count Witté, whose crime is that he built upon circumstance, resigned himself to the inevitable and refused to throw away half a loaf because he failed to get a whole one. There is not a single man sufficiently beloved, nor any political ideal or principle sufficiently appreciated, to unite the Russian population, who are unanimous only in disliking the one man to whom they owe peace abroad and representative government at home.

One Minister seeking to trip up another is among the salient characteristics of latter-day Russian Government;—Durnovo *versus* Witté and the Jews. A violent and vile appeal to the murderous instincts of the masses, holding up to their execrations Count Witté, his wife (the *Countess*), the Jews, the English and the German peoples, was printed in the office of the police prefect and approved and stamped by an official of the Ministry of the Interior. One can hardly believe it possible, yet there is no doubt whatever that it is a fact. The matter has been officially brought to the notice of the Russian Government by foreign diplomats, after which apologies and explanations were tendered and accepted.

When the leaders of a nation are guilty of such excesses, one cannot affect surprise that the criminal elements of the population should show themselves peculiarly perverse. The general bent towards the employment of violence against life and property, even when no benefit can be reaped from it, is appalling.

Killing might be said without exaggeration to have become a pleasure in many parts of Russia. Well-dressed persons walking down the streets in Riga, in Moscow, in Odessa, have been deliberately stabbed in the back, because they had not humble raiment on. Travellers by rail are still in danger of being wrecked and killed under horrible conditions, because the revolutionists would like to frighten the Government. Every week, railway bridges over ravines and rivers are destroyed in the dead of the night, in the hope that the next train will drop down there. Bombs are being manufactured to be thrown from the visitors' gallery on to the floor of the Duma. The property of men of all shades of political opinion and of none at all is unsafe, and may be seized at any moment by fellows who come armed with bombs to private or State banks, and threaten to blow up the officials. And, bad as that is, there is still worse: society, or at all events a considerable section of it, appears to approve these deeds. Youths of the grammar-schools, fired by this perverse public opinion, are burning to emulate the achievements of the gang who robbed the Mutual Credit Society in Moscow of nearly half a million dollars. Several schoolboys attempted it in one of the principal banks of Kharkoff a few days ago, and severely wounded a policeman who sought to capture them. The people who approve this crime and call it a patriotic deed are many, whereas those who raise their voice against it are few. Doubtless, a powerful movement will be got up in favor of the boys already in custody, for the purpose of screening them from punishment—and then other lads will go and do likewise.

But the assassination of Durnovo is the next item in the revolutionary programme. And the Minister knows it. Witté's life is also threatened, and both men have been warned by the police to stay within doors. But Durnovo alone acts upon the advice, while Witté runs the risk. The plot has been discovered only in part; the majority of the conspirators are still at liberty; and the manufactory where the bombs are being prepared has not yet been found.

But the predicted railway and general strike has not come off. The conditions are no longer propitious. In truth, there can be no general strike in Russia, no armed rising, no ruinous paralysis of trade and industry, such as the Government had to cope with last November. For the workmen are disillusioned and ex-

hausted, the troops are numerous and loyal, the police is adequate and ready and the country is relatively quiet. Thus, despite isolated cases of robbery and murder, Poland is more tranquil to-day than for several years past. The rising in the Baltic Provinces is virtually quelled. The civil war in the Caucasus has burned out. The trade returns are improving rapidly. The railway takings are much better than could have been reasonably expected. The savings-banks have got their deposits back again. In a word, in spite of disquieting surface manifestations, the general state of the country is vastly improved; and, if the Government succeeds in raising the loan it is negotiating, the meeting of the Duma may indeed mark the beginning of a new and prosperous era for Holy Russia.

---

PARIS, *April, 1906.*

THE first event of consequence since my last letter was the Presidential election. It came off with incredible smoothness. There were only two candidates: M. Fallières and M. Doumer. The latter was, as I pointed out at the time, personally far superior to his rival. No individuality can be more strongly marked than that of a man who has risen from the situation of an engraver's apprentice to the Presidency of the Chamber of Deputies, and who professes to set his face against anticlerical excesses whilst refusing to have his children baptized.

The former is only a lucky politician, whose integrity, coupled with industry and staunch loyalty to republican institutions, brought him gradually, and without either scandal or glory, to the first offices in the State. It can hardly be doubted that the very reason of M. Fallières's success and M. Doumer's failure lies in the notion, prevalent in this democracy, that the Chief Executive should only be the agent of Parliament, and that he becomes dangerous the moment he betrays any inclination to preserve ever so little political influence.

At the time of M. Fallières's election, the situation was as follows: Algeciras was still a source of anxiety, but every day lessened the chances of a war, for which, on the other hand, France was every day better prepared; the army felt stronger; the Socialist Minister of War, Berteaux, had been compelled to make room for M. Etienne, a man of moderate views; the Cabinet was, at last, homogeneous, and M. Rouvier seemed pretty sure of re-

maining in office until the general election in May. On the whole, the political situation was excellent, and nobody dreamt that the little black cloud caused by the separation of Church and State would bring such a terrible storm.

For a hundred years, the situation of the Catholic Church in France was regulated by the Concordat passed between Pius VI and Napoleon, then First Consul. The broad lines of this agreement were: on the part of the Church, the abandonment of most of the ecclesiastical property confiscated or sold during the Revolution, and the recognition of the right of the State to appoint the Bishops and other dignitaries; on the part of the State, the payment of a yearly salary to the clergy, the Bishops receiving 2,000 dollars, the Canons 400 dollars and the parish priests 180 dollars. This arrangement, in spite of occasional rubs, worked, on the whole, satisfactorily.

What, then, may have been the causes of the severance we have just witnessed, and who is responsible for the breach between the two powers, civil and religious? The answer is plain: there is no spirit of tolerance in this country. Tolerance is based on the idea that religion should be an individual affair, for which the individual ought never to be molested. Now, it is a fact that a certain portion of the French clergy look upon this modern idea of tolerance as a heresy, and view the Church as a sort of mould, shaping and encompassing the State. On the other hand, the anticlerical politician is no less violently opposed, not only to the Church, but even to the Christian ideal, and maintains that the belief in God and the soul stands in the way of all progress. M. Combes, when at the height of his power, was hooted from the tribune for saying he believed in the soul; and, a year ago, M. Brunetière, who confessedly has no rival as a professor of French literature, was, by an official decision and in spite of an unanimous vote, kept out of the Collége de France, exclusively on the score of his religious opinions. This spirit creates a state of tension which results, on the one side, in anticlerical laws, and, on the other, in a bitter feeling on the part of Catholics. The minor causes are many. Suffice it to say that, for more than thirty years, M. Clémenceau won adhesions to the principle of separation by pointing out the absurdity of Catholics contributing towards the maintenance of Protestant ministers and Jewish rabbis, and of free-thinkers supporting priests whom they hated.

As to the final rupture, it was occasioned by the visit made in 1903 to the King of Italy by President Loubet. The Pope expressed his discontent at having been ignored in a confidential circular which found its way from the Prince of Monaco's archives into the columns of Jaurès's newspaper, and, from that day, Disestablishment was only a question of months. The Bill was passed by the Chamber in June, 1905, and by the Senate in December, without a single modification.

The new state of things brought about by the Separation Law can be described clearly and briefly enough. In the first place, the Churches,—Catholic, Protestant and Jewish—are henceforward to be regarded as mere Associations, and dealt with according to the Law of 1901 on Associations. Consequently, the Pope, Bishops and priests will be ignored as spiritual leaders, and recognized only as belonging to, or presiding over, Associations of a certain character. These Associations are to consist—according to the population of the parish they represent—of seven, fifteen or twenty-five members. With these alone will the civil authorities have any intercourse. If these Associations are legally established within six months of the promulgation of the law, they will be entitled (*a*) to the possession of the churches and synagogues for an unlimited period, (*b*) to the use of the seminaries and presbyteries for five years, (*c*) to pensions of between 100 and 120 dollars to be paid to priests, ministers and rabbis upwards of fifty-five years of age, (*d*) to civil personality—*i. e.*, the power to own property, which, however, is qualified by rather stringent regulations, for the Associations will be bound to submit their accounts to the State inspectors, to invest all their property in stocks, and the said property must in no case be such as to bring in more than the income necessary for a year's expenditure *plus* a small reserve.

The reader must see at once that this system cannot be said to be altogether liberal, yet it is comparatively so. Some Catholics were immediately for accepting it; others remembering the use made by M. Combes of M. Waldeck-Rousseau's law on Associations, and hearing the same M. Combes, M. Sembat, and numbers of Socialists bluntly say that the present Disestablishment Act was only a stepping-stone to further measures, betrayed considerable diffidence. All were agreed that no decision could be come to until the *règlement d'administration* (*i. e.*, regulations

drawn up by the Council of State for the use of tribunals) was published.

In January, the "Gazette" printed the first instalment of these regulations dealing with the inventory of Church property. This inventory was the first step towards the transfer of Church property to the new Associations. It was an indispensable process, and nobody would have objected to it, had the Government waited to begin it until the *règlement* was complete. Unfortunately, M. Rouvier ordered the inventory to be taken at once in all churches, and, by an even more unfortunate error, a Ministerial circular was issued stating that in cases of resistance, the churches, sacristies, and even the tabernacles (in which the sacred vessels are kept) should be broken open. The Minister explained in a few days that the part of the circular concerning the tabernacles was an unaccountable mistake, but the impression left was that the Government was going to carry on by force an operation which was to have been peaceable.

The Royalist and Nationalist press could not lose such an opportunity. They spread the rumor that the inventory was the first stage of confiscation, and the result was the sudden agitation which began in Paris and reached its climax in Auvergne and Brittany. Rowdy scenes took place in thousands of churches when the Government officials attempted to take the inventory, and two deaths were recorded. Another, quite unexpected, result was the fall of M. Rouvier. The Premier had always been a very lukewarm partisan of Separation and was glad to leave the uncongenial work to another.

M. Fallières entrusted the thankless task of forming a cabinet to M. Sarrien. This gentleman is no orator, but he has considerable authority, and he has succeeded in persuading a dozen men from every point of the political horizon to join him in a risky venture. The characteristic of the new cabinet is its motley aspect. Its chief members are M. Leygues and M. Barthou, both moderates, M. Léon Bourgeois, the well-known radical, and at last MM. Clémenceau and Briand. Nobody could have dreamt that the last two named would ever sit together on the same bench. M. Briand is Jaurès's lieutenant, and, during the last six months, M. Clémenceau had waged merciless war against the Socialists. The dreaded ironist seemed farther than ever from accepting office; yet there he is, cheek by jowl with M. Briand,

while the latter cannot but see sticking out of M. Barthou's pocket the counter-project destined to throw out his own fondest plan for the legal, and supremely dangerous, recognition of trades-unions for State functionaries. To make matters look worse for M. Fallières's first government, M. Clémenceau had insisted that the Home Office should be entrusted to him, and this meant nothing if not that he wanted to carry on the Church inventories by a violent method.

So the situation offered, when the new Government first appeared before the Chamber, a dismal picture of terrible difficulties at home, coupled with no less terrible difficulties at Algeciras, and, to cope with them, one saw the least homogeneous cabinet that ever was, with M. Clémenceau, the most explosive of men, as a leader.

In spite of this dark horizon, we passed from one Government to the other without feeling any oscillation. The German diplomats at Algeciras hove to for a while, waiting for the wind, but they soon saw that only a man was changed. For a few days, M. Léon Bourgeois had long conversations with M. Rouvier—does the reader know that even M. Delcassé comes to the Foreign Office almost every day?—firmness remained the word, and things went on at the Conference as if nothing had happened in Paris. As M. Bourgeois had taken the watchword from M. Rouvier, so M. Clémenceau consented to take it from M. Dubief. The day after entering office, the fire-eater gave orders that no inventory should be taken where the least resistance was offered, and, by the time the Conference came to a happy termination, order was at least apparently restored in the country.

Are these happy symptoms a sign that the future is clear for the new cabinet? The reader will judge for himself when I have stated a few points of fact.

France has certainly been a gainer in the Moroccan affair. I do not mean that the outlook in Morocco is, from a colonial point of view, very bright. The German press talks, indeed, of a preponderating French influence; but it seems clear that the arrangements made at Algeciras leave the Republic less free than she was. The benefit France has derived from a year's contest with Germany is exclusively a moral one. The country has recovered from the panic which attended M. Delcassé's resignation, the army is in better training, the German bugbear is reduced to

its true proportions of a bugbear, and the *entente cordiale* which had left many a Frenchman sceptical is at present a fact beyond doubt. The Russian alliance, too, thanks to the success of the Russian loan in February, is evidently reviving.

This is the cheerful aspect of things. Unfortunately, there is another. The religious difficulty is only apparently at rest. On July 1st, the law has to be enforced, and if no Associations appear to claim the churches, the churches shall be closed. Now the question is: Will the Pope allow or prohibit the establishment of Associations? Twenty-three eminent laymen have recently, in a letter drawn up by M. Brunetiere, advised the Bishops to submit, but the letter was coldly received in Rome. On the other hand, a violent article in which M. de Mun advocates resistance seems to have been approved. If this course should be adopted, the scenes which have followed on the attempts to take inventories would become little short of a civil war when the churches were closed.

Then there are the social and economic difficulties. Socialist proselytizing has been continuously increasing, and with such efficiency that the group will probably rise to about ninety members in the next Chamber. The organization of the party is extremely strong. The trades-unions have established no less than 110 Labor Exchanges at which thousands of syndicates are entered, enjoying legal privileges and possessing large reserves. During the last two years, there has been a wide-spread agitation in favor of extension to the State servants of the right of forming syndicates and trades-unions. I pointed out above that the leader of this agitation is no less a person than M. Briand, at present Minister of Education, and its chief opponent, M. Clémenceau, Minister of the Interior. The catastrophe in the Courrières coal-pits has caused a miners' strike, which, if the Socialist leaders do not change their minds, will develop, on May 1st, into a *general strike*. The violence of the Socialist papers is now at its height, and the coincidence of the general election (May 6th and 20th) with the date of the strike only makes them the more ardent for action. What will M. Briand do, bound as he is by his theories and promises, and what will M. Clémenceau do? An awkward note of interrogation, indeed.

Of the election, the reader must not be surprised that I say nothing. Prophesying is childish, and changes are improbable.

No French election will be comparable to, for instance, the English election, until this country reaches a political stage which may not be far off, and becomes sharply divided into Socialists and Anti-Socialists.

---

WASHINGTON, *April, 1906.*

DURING this month, President Roosevelt has again played the star part on the national stage. By two speeches and a Special Message to Congress, he has riveted popular attention on his personality. The address delivered at the White House to a body of German veterans was generally regarded as significant, and was of especial interest to the diplomatic corps, because it indicated a distinct change of attitude toward Germany since the control of our State Department passed from the late John Hay to Elihu Root. During the whole of the tenure of the Secretaryship of State by Mr. Hay, our Government had visibly striven to bring about a union of hearts between the English-speaking peoples. It was almost inevitable that, with such a purpose in mind, our State Department should evince more and more coldness toward Germany, the relations between which and Great Britain have for some time been strained. Ultimately an understanding between Great Britain, France and the United States, which, while not embodied in any formal treaty, might prove in practice equally effective, was earnestly advocated by some influential newspapers, and was believed to have Mr. Hay's hearty approval. It must, however, be acknowledged that this departure from our traditional policy of aloofness was eyed askance, not only by millions of American citizens of German birth or descent, but also by many of those so-called "native Americans" who can trace their lineage to Colonial forefathers, and who still find it hard to forget the War of the Revolution and the War of 1812. Mr. Root is no more biassed by Anglophilism than by Anglophobia. Faithful to the traditions of the Republic, he desires friendship with all foreign Powers, but entangling alliances with none. Under the changed circumstances, conciliatory overtures from the German sovereign have met with a sympathetic reception, with the result that, while our relations with Great Britain have been in no wise chilled, our relations to Germany are now more cordial than they have been for years. The words spoken by the President to the German veterans were fitted, and doubtless

calculated, to draw the two peoples more closely together, and they have naturally called forth many expressions of gratification on the part of the German press. It is also recognized in Berlin that American esteem for Germany has been attested by deeds as well as words, our representative in the Morocco Conference having evidently been instructed not to give indiscriminate support to the proposals put forward by Great Britain and France, but rather to play the part of mediator and compromiser between those Powers and Germany.

By the remarkable speech which he delivered on April 14th, on the occasion of laying the cornerstone of the office-building of the House of Representatives, Mr. Roosevelt succeeded in offending many of his political opponents, and in alarming many of his friends. So far, indeed, as the speech dealt with its ostensible subject, "The Man with the Muck-rake," it must have commended itself strongly to the Federal Senate, which has been of late subjected to wholesale vilification, and has been ridiculously accused of "treason." The President, on his part, did not deny that, when there is filth on the floor, it must be scraped up with the muck-rake, but he expressed the conviction that the man who never does anything else—who never thinks or speaks or writes save of his feats with the muck-rake—speedily becomes, not a help to society, not an incitement to good, but one of the most potent forces for evil. Mr. Roosevelt recognized that there ought to be relentless exposure of, and attack upon, every evil man, whether politician or man of affairs, and every evil practice, whether in politics, business or social life. He would hail, he says, as a benefactor every writer or speaker who, on the platform or in book, magazine or newspaper, makes such an attack with merciless severity, *provided only,* however, that the assailant, in his turn, remembers that the attack is never of use unless it is absolutely truthful. In the President's judgment, the liar is no better than the thief, and, if the liar's mendacity takes the form of slander or libel, he may be worse than most thieves. An epidemic of indiscriminate and hysterical assault on character does no good, but very great harm. The soul of every scoundrel is gladdened whenever an honest man is assailed, or even when a scoundrel is untruthfully assailed. The President showed himself an adept in that political philosophy of which Burke is the exemplar, when he pointed out, with reference to the campaign

of wholesale and extravagant vilification now going on in the United States, that any excess is almost sure to invite a reaction, and, unfortunately, the reaction, instead of taking the form of punishment of those guilty of the excess, is very apt to take the form either of punishment of the unoffending, or of giving immunity to the offenders. The difficulty which he himself has experienced in getting the right type of men to dig the Panama Canal has given convincing proof of the fact that gross and reckless assaults on reputation, whether on the stump or in newspapers and magazines, create a morbid and vicious public sentiment, and, at the same time, act as an almost insuperable deterrent to able men of normal sensitiveness, and tend to prevent them from entering the public service at any price.

The President's auditors, who for months have been deafened with a storm of objurgations, must have drawn a deep breath of satisfaction when he testified to what he and they well know, to wit, that there is a vast amount of good in the world, and that there never was a time when loftier and more disinterested work for the betterment of mankind was being done than now. Undoubtedly, the forces that make for evil are great and terrible, but the forces of truth, and love, and courage, and honesty, and generosity, and sympathy are also mightier than they ever were before. Wild sensationalism was stigmatized as the very poorest weapon wherewith to fight for lasting righteousness. Men who with stern sobriety and truth assail the many evils of our time, whether in the public press or on the platform, were acclaimed by Mr. Roosevelt as the leaders and allies of all engaged in the work for social and political amelioration. He did not fail, however, to point out that, if agitators give good reasons for distrust of what they say, they thereby play into the hands of the very men against whom they are ostensibly at war.

The worst about indiscriminate and hysterical assaults upon public men is that it is, unfortunately, easy to persuade the mass of a people that it is improperly governed. The reason was pointed out more than three centuries ago by Hooker, the eminent Elizabethan divine, from whom Mr. Roosevelt quoted a pertinent passage, to the effect that "he who goeth about to persuade a multitude that they are not so well governed as they ought to be, will never lack attentive and favorable hearers, because the hearers can perceive the manifold defects whereunto every kind

of regimen is subject; whereas the secret hindrances and difficulties which, in public proceedings, are innumerable and inevitable, the masses have not ordinarily the wit to consider or even to guess."

Elsewhere, in this memorable speech, Mr. Roosevelt adverted to the iniquitous warping of the public mind, produced by those magazines and newspapers which confine their indictments to the derelictions of the rich. He solemnly warned his auditors that no good whatever can come from the twisted and mock morality which denounces the misdeeds of men of wealth, and overlooks the misdeeds practised at their expense; which fulminates against bribery, but blinds itself to blackmail; which foams with rage if a corporation secures favors by improper methods, and merely leers with hideous mirth if the corporation is itself wronged. There are those who think that Mr. Roosevelt had in mind the ideal which he himself has tried to realize, when he said that the only public servant who can be trusted honestly to protect the rights of the public against the misdeeds of a corporation is that public man who will just as surely protect the corporation itself from wrongful aggression. It is certainly true that, if a public man is willing to yield to popular clamor and do wrong to men of wealth or to rich corporations, there is reason to fear that, whenever the opportunity comes, he will do wrong secretly and furtively to the public in the interest of a corporation.

That part of the speech delivered by Mr. Roosevelt on April 14th which dealt with "The Man with the Muck-rake" was adapted, as we have said, to exasperate not a few of his political opponents. He injected, however, a paragraph which has undoubtedly frightened many of his friends. Having in mind the possible use which might be made of stupendous accumulations by ambitious or vicious heirs of very wealthy men, Mr. Roosevelt avowed that, as a matter of personal conviction, and without pretending to discuss details, or formulate a system, he felt that we in the United States shall ultimately have to consider the adoption of some such scheme as that of a progressive tax on all fortunes beyond a certain amount, whether transferred by gift during the owner's life, or devised or bequeathed by him, to any single individual. The purpose, of course, of such a tax as Mr. Roosevelt contemplates is to put it out of the power of the owner of an enormous fortune to hand over more than a

certain fraction of it to any one person. Whether the imposition of a progressive inheritance tax by the Federal Government would be constitutional is doubtful, and a preponderance of authority favors the opinion that a constitutional amendment for the purpose would be required. Such a constitutional amendment might not be easily secured, because the States which now monopolize the right of levying an inheritance tax might resent the intrusion of the Federal Government on that field. The fact that a progressive inheritance tax exists in Great Britain proves nothing, because that country possesses no written Constitution, and every Act of Parliament is valid. Apparently, Mr. Roosevelt would go further than British legislation has gone. We infer from his words that, after a certain limit had been reached, the decedent's power to devise or bequeath property would cease, and all the rest of his estate would be escheated to the Commonwealth. In Great Britain, the legislator has not put any limit on the amount which may be left by a decedent to any single individual. He merely says that the larger the amount inherited by a single person the higher shall be the rate of the legacy duty which that person must pay. We incline to think, as we have said, that, if the transmission of colossal fortunes by inheritance is prevented in this country, it will not be by Federal, but by State, legislation. It may be remembered that a resolute attempt in this direction was made some years ago in the State of New York, but, although the bill to that end passed both the Senate and the Assembly, it was vetoed by Governor Black.

As for the Special Message which President Roosevelt sent to Congress on April 18th, it would have attracted more notice, had not the awful seismic catastrophe which laid waste San Francisco occurred on the same day. In the Message, the President recommended the passage of legislation giving such a construction to the laws under which the beef-packers were lately tried in Chicago, as to render it impossible hereafter for defendants who give information in Federal antitrust cases to claim immunity from prosecution, an immunity which District-Judge Humphrey has upheld. The latter's interpretation of the existing statutes is described by Mr. Roosevelt as coming measurably near to making the law a farce, and for that reason he urges Congress to pass a declaratory act defining its real intention. We, doubtless, may take it for granted that this suggestion will be heeded.

## CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER.

X

is the most profound philosopher living in the United States to-day.

Wayne MacVeagh

has been for many years a conspicuous figure in American public life. In 1863, he was chairman of the Republican State Committee of Pennsylvania, his native State. In 1870-71, he represented the United States at Constantinople, and in 1872 he was appointed a member of the Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention. He presided over the commission which was sent to Louisiana by President Hayes in 1877 for the purpose of amicably adjusting the disputes of the contending parties there. He sat in the Cabinet of President Garfield as Attorney-General, but on the accession of President Arthur he resigned his portfolio and resumed his law practice in Philadelphia. Mr. MacVeagh was United States Ambassador to Italy from 1893 to 1897, and he was one of the counsel who contested the claims of the Allied Powers before the Hague Tribunal in the Venezuelan arbitration.

Dr. G. Woodruff Johnston

retired from medical practice in 1899. After graduating in Arts at Princeton, he took his professional degree at the University of Pennsylvania in 1882. For a year thereafter, he was resident physician in the hospital of the University of Pennsylvania, whence he went as surgeon to the Woman's Hospital in New York City. He is Professor of Gynecology in the Medical Department of Columbian University in Washington, D.C., and attached in different capacities to various hospitals in that city.

Charles Waldstein

has won an enviable reputation by the work which he has accomplished in America and Europe as an academical

teacher, an excavator and an author. In 1880 he was appointed University Lecturer on Classical Archæology in Cambridge University; from 1883 to 1889 he was director of the Fitzwilliam Museum; and from 1895 to 1901, he was Slade Professor of the Fine Arts in King's College, Cambridge. He has written extensively on art subjects. Among his books are "Art in the Nineteenth Century," "Essays on the Art of Phidias," "The Work of John Ruskin" and "The Balance of Emotion and Intellect."

F. B. Thurber

is President of the Civic Association of New York. He was formerly a merchant, but he is now a member of the Bar. He is a student of, and writer on, politico-economic subjects.

The Rev. Professor Charles A. Briggs, D.D.,

whose fame as a profound theologian and a conscientious thinker is world-wide, is a native of New York. He studied at the University of Virginia, the Union Theological Seminary in New York and the University of Berlin. From 1869 to 1874, he was pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Roselle, N. J.; from 1874 to 1891, he was Professor of Hebrew, and since 1891 Professor of Biblical Theology, in the Union Theological Seminary. In 1892, he was tried for heresy and acquitted by the Presbytery of New York, but in 1893 he was suspended by the General Assembly. In 1898, he was ordained a priest in the Protestant Episcopal Church. Among his published works are "Biblical Study," "Messianic Prophecy," "The Authority of Holy Scripture," "The Bible, the Church and the Reason" and "The Incarnation of the Lord." His great attainments and services to scholarship have been recognized, through honorary degrees, by a number of institutions on both sides of the Atlantic, including Princeton University and Williams College in the United States, Edinburgh and Glasgow Universities in Scotland, and Oxford University in England.

Rear-Admiral S. Eardley-Wilmot, R. N.,

entered the British Navy in 1860, serving successively on the "Emerald" and "Duncan." He became Lieutenant in 1869 and Gunnery Lieutenant in 1876. He commanded H. M. S. "Dolphin" in the Red Sea in 1885-86, assisted

in the defence of Suakin, and was promoted Captain in 1886. From 1887 to 1890, he was attached to the Intelligence Department of the Admiralty. He has written "The Life of Vice-Admiral Lyons," "Our Navy for a Thousand Years," "Our Fleet To-day and its Development during the Last Half Century," and other works on naval topics.

Richard Weightman

is a native of Washington, D. C. He served in the Confederate Army from 1861 to 1865. Paroled at Shreveport, Louisiana, he entered journalism, and joined the staff of the "New Orleans Times" in 1872. For the past ten years, he has been an editorial writer on the "Washington Post." In 1898, he was appointed by President McKinley secretary to the War Investigation Committee.

Archibald Colquhoun

has travelled in almost every quarter of the globe and given to the world the results of his observations and reflections in a goodly library of most interesting and instructive volumes. He is an acknowledged authority on the Far East, foreign affairs, and Colonial questions. In 1871 he obtained an appointment in India, and in 1879 he became secretary and second-in-command of the Government Mission to Siam and the Shan States. In 1881-82 he explored the region between Canton and Bhamo with a view to determining the best route for connecting Burmah and China by railway, and he was correspondent for "The Times" in the Far East in 1883-84. From 1885 to 1889 he was Deputy-Commissioner of Upper Burmah, and in 1890 became Administrator of Mashonaland. In 1894 he retired from Government service. In 1895, he visited Central America to examine the Nicaragua and Panama canal routes, and he went to China in the following year in connection with negotiations for railways. In 1898-99, he travelled through Siberia, Eastern Mongolia, and China from north to south, and a year later he journeyed through the Dutch East Indies, Borneo, the Philippines and Japan, returning to England by way of Siberia. In 1902-03 he travelled in the Caribbean, Central America and the United States. In 1904-05 he revisited South Africa. Among Mr. Colqu-

houn's writings are "China in Transformation," "The Overland to China," "The Mastery of the Pacific," "Greater America," "The Africander Land."

LOUISE COLLIER WILLCOX

was born in Chicago. She is the daughter of a Unitarian minister, and was educated in France, Germany and England. Later, she studied for two years at the Conservatory of Leipzig, and for two years in Birmingham, England. She has lived in Virginia since 1887, and has been a contributor to "East and West," "The Chap-Book," "The Century," "The Outlook," "Poet-Lore," "The Times-Democrat" of New Orleans, "The Boston Transcript" and "The Evening Post" of New York. For several years, she has been a reader and adviser of one of the leading publishing houses, and has regularly contributed editorials to "Harper's Weekly."

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

No. DXCV.

JUNE, 1906.

# AN APPEAL TO OUR MILLIONAIRES.

BY X.

THE American people, like most other peoples of which we have knowledge, may be roughly divided into three classes—those who have much more money than is good for them, those who have perhaps as much money as is good for them, and those who have much less money than would be good for them. The first class is numerically small; the second class is larger but still small; and the third class is vastly larger than both the others together. As each voter in this country at this time has exactly the same voice in the government as every other voter, the laws regulating the acquisition and descent of property must sooner or later conform to the views of the voters of the third class,—that is to say, the voters who actually earn the bread they eat by the labor of their own hands, and whose lives are passed in that unceasing circulation of sorrow, where hard, daily toil sometimes provides, and sometimes fails to provide, the necessities of life for the toiler and those dependent upon him.

As the object of this article is to endeavor to persuade the possessors of "surplus wealth" to assist those of us who desire, as they desire, a conservative administration of our common government to secure, if possible, a continuance of such administration, it may be useful to preface the consideration of the subject

with the opinion of one of the wisest and most conservative members of the illustrious company of great American statesmen. Daniel Webster, with unerring sagacity, foresaw the marvellous era of material prosperity which awaited this country, owing to the beneficent gifts of Providence to it, when we entered into effective possession of the illimitable resources of the entire continent, and, after forecasting such great wealth for us, he added:

"The freest government, if it could exist, would not be long acceptable if the tendency of the laws was to create a rapid accumulation of property in a few hands. In the nature of things, those who have not property and see their neighbors possessed of much more than they think them to need cannot be favorable to laws made for the protection of such property. When this class becomes numerous, it grows clamorous. It looks on property as its prey and plunder, and is naturally ready at all times for violence and revolution. It would seem, then, to be the part of political wisdom to found government on property, but to establish such distribution of property, by the laws which regulate its transmission and alienation, as to interest the great majority of society in the support of the government."

The exact condition mentioned by Mr. Webster is the condition which confronts the American people to-day—that of "a rapid accumulation of property in a few hands"; and it ought to be possible for us to agree to follow his advice, and at least to endeavor to establish such distribution of property, by the laws which regulate its transmission and alienation, as to interest the great majority of society in the support of the government. That, indeed, would seem to be, in view of the existing and ever-increasing hostility to "surplus wealth," the one question now of supreme importance for discussion and decision. By its side, all the other questions under public discussion are of little or no importance.

The working-man—who constitutes a great majority—really does not much care whether New Mexico and Arizona are linked together or not; nor whether the sugar and tobacco of the Philippines pay one rate of duty or another; nor whether the rates on railways shall be regulated by a commission or by the courts; nor whether hides shall come in free or pay a duty; nor whether some Jew bankers in Europe shall rob the poverty-stricken inhabitants of Santo Domingo; nor whether the canal at Panama shall be at sea-level or with locks; nor whether a few thousand more or less undesirable immigrants shall be excluded; nor

whether a dozen more or less incompetent consuls shall be supplanted. All these are admirable subjects for academic discussion by the President and Congress, but they interest hardly anybody outside of Washington, unless his pecuniary interests may be affected by their decision; whereas, the working-man all over the land is every day being told that the great fortunes of our millionaires have been dishonestly accumulated and are for him a constant menace and oppression.

The evil effects of billions of money in a few hands upon the masses of the people, as foretold by Mr. Webster, are therefore gravely aggravated, it must always be remembered, by the general belief that "the rapid accumulation of property in a few hands" has been the result of immoral and illegal practices on the part of its possessors. They are assured, in season and out of season, that its possessors have organized trusts to crush competition; that they have corrupted traffic-managers of railways to secure rebates; and that they have corrupted Congressmen to secure tariff schedules for their advantage; while other millionaires are pointed out as having corrupted aldermen to give them for nothing franchises in the streets belonging to the people; and other equally abhorrent ways are stated as having been the means for the acquisition of these disproportionate fortunes. For the purpose of this argument, it may be taken for granted that these accusations are not all well founded; but they all have secured a lodgment in the minds of many good people, and whoever doubts this fact can readily satisfy himself of it by looking at random at half a dozen of our leading newspapers or half a dozen of our most widely circulated magazines, not to speak of many speeches in both Houses of Congress and some suggestive allusions to the subject by President Roosevelt. A writer of established reputation is just reported as declaring that many of our millionaires are corruptionists, contributors to campaign funds to buy betrayals of public trusts, and "worse than any pirate flying the black flag on the high seas."

Perhaps the most important fact about these accusations is that they have now permeated what, in the matter of wealth, may be called our middle class, composed of those who are not rich enough to be envied and yet who are not poor enough to be pitied. A significant illustration of the extension of this prejudice to this class is found in an illuminating cartoon recently published in

a certain weekly periodical whose circulation is limited, alike by its price and its contents, to well-to-do and cultivated people. In sarcastic allusion to the changes which have come over us since Washington was born, it gave a picture of a dinner in honor of his birthday, of which the unctuous host was labelled "Trust" and his dozen dropsical and unattractive guests were labelled with the actual names of our leading capitalists. Almost at the same time, twelve American citizens, presumably also of the middle class, and sworn jurors in a court of justice, declared by their verdict that the odious offence of kidnapping an innocent child was not to be regarded as a crime if the victim of it was the child of a millionaire; and, about the same time, a telegram appeared stating that a learned gentleman had addressed so conservative a body as a club composed of members of the Presbyterian Church upon the subject: "Why Great Fortunes in America Are a Positive Menace to the Public Welfare."

Innumerable other instances could be given, but surely these are sufficient, to show that the persons to whom this appeal is addressed ought, without delay, to take into thoughtful and careful consideration the question, whether it is not now to their own true interest to join such of their fellow citizens as are absolutely free from envy of their wealth, and absolutely devoid of unkind feelings towards them, in trying to discover whether there is any practical method of alleviating, and, if possible, removing, the rapidly growing dissatisfaction with their continued possession of the vast sums of money which they have either themselves abstracted from the common store of all the people or which they have inherited from ancestors who had so abstracted them. For all the property of a free nation belongs to its inhabitants, and whoever abstracts anything from it must, when challenged, prove his right to what he has taken.

Of course, our millionaires share with the rest of us a natural dislike for unsolicited advice, nor are they very likely to regard as of any great importance opinions of themselves, their doings and their duties, expressed by anybody who is not of their own class, and particularly by a person who is not a "captain" of some kind of honest or dishonest industry or of some kind of honest or dishonest finance, and who is therefore incapable of ever becoming one of their class; and suggestions to them, as to how best to treat any dangers which seem to be threatening our

political and social system from their great possessions, might well appear to them an impertinence when offered by an outsider studying such subjects in a detached and disinterested manner, "far from the madding crowd" where, while you wait, trusts are formed, railroads are bought and sold, and bonds and stocks of water are ladled out to a thirsty public.

And yet if such suggestions are absolutely free from any taint of selfishness and are the result of careful study of "the condition, not the theory," which is soon again to confront the country as it did in 1896, and possibly, indeed, with far greater chances of success; and if the conclusions forced upon such a student of the incongruous elements of our political, industrial and social life are honestly reached, without uncharitableness, they may well be worthy of thoughtful consideration. For, while our millionaires are a small fraction of our population, they constitute just now "the storm centre" of it, and for this simple reason,—that, whether truly or untruly, they are believed to have managed, in more or less forbidden ways, to withdraw from their fellow countrymen much more of the common property of the nation than is really good for them, or for their children, and these vast accumulations of money in a few hands are thought to be of very evil import for our country.

Now, if it is really true that the holding of such vast sums of wealth, without any generally recognized moral title to them, by a comparatively small number of persons is of evil omen for our political and social peace, nobody is so deeply interested in knowing the fact as our millionaires themselves, nor is there good reason for supposing that they would be less willing than any equal number of their countrymen to take whatever steps they were convinced were necessary on their part to advance the general welfare.

If it should clearly appear to them that, alike as good men and as good citizens, they ought to disencumber themselves of a goodly portion of the wealth they or their ancestors have accumulated, no doubt ought to be entertained that they would so disencumber themselves; nor can there be any doubt that with their great practical sagacity they would find the least objectionable and most effective method of doing so. They are, indeed, only the children of their epoch,—they are only what we and the times in which we live have assisted to make them. They

sometimes wander so far astray as to come under the observation of those who have little in common with them, and such slight and casual contact often satisfies observers of honest minds that they compare very favorably, as true lovers of their kind and their country, with those of us whose lot is of plainer living; and it is with such favorable opinions of the class under consideration, though with no concealment of their grave responsibilities for the dangers which seem now to threaten them and us, that the subject will be pursued.

We must also always remember that we have treated our millionaires, young and old and of both sexes, most unfairly. For a long while we unduly flattered them, and now we have suddenly relapsed into bitter hostility to them. It is not long since the entire class were fully justified in the insolent cynicism which led them to believe themselves objects of general admiration, simply because they had "money to burn." Newspapers printed their photographs and chronicled their movements, treating them, and even their children, as semi-official or semi-royal personages. Elaborate descriptions were published of their gorgeous homes in town and country; their castles in Europe; the gowns and jewels of their wives and daughters, their yachts, their four-in-hands, their monster motor-cars; the wasteful extravagance of their entertainments; and even the fabulous prices they paid for music to entertain empty-headed guests. A periodical actually flourished, and to it they gave large sums of money, which was largely devoted to silly flattery or salacious gossip about them and their doings, including their real and supposed violations of the Seventh Commandment.

This admiration was freely extended even to those members of the class who expended their money in mere silly indulgence of themselves and their poorer satellites in luxury and public ostentation, while those of them who made contributions to libraries or universities, or any other public object, were praised as if they were giving at some real sacrifice to themselves and were benefactors of mankind.

It is quite true that ordinary wisdom ought to have warned our millionaires that this state of mind could not long continue, and that they should use their "surplus wealth" so as not to unnecessarily inflame the minds of their less fortunate fellow citizens.

One does not wave a red flag in the face of a bull unless he has good reasons for wishing to inflame the bull; but, unfortunately, our millionaires, and especially their idle and degenerate children, have been flaunting their money in the faces of the poor as if actually wishing to provoke them to that insensate rage which is akin to madness, and leads "to murder and the breaking up of laws." In the sweep of a great current, it is foolish to exaggerate the influence of a small rivulet which joins it, but let us consider for a moment one matter of very minor importance, except as showing an apparent actual desire on the part of the rich to draw upon themselves the hatred of the poor. The motor-engine is not only a most valuable invention for many purposes, but it offers those rich enough to afford it a very attractive mode of travel, and has undoubtedly not only come to stay, but to increase rapidly in use, as it ought. When cars are of a size proportioned to the width of the highway on which they run and are propelled at moderate speed, they are used without serious danger or discomfort to any other person using the highway or living beside it. Nobody has ever been hurt or seriously annoyed by an automobile of proportionate size going at ten miles an hour. But the rich prefer to buy immense cars which take almost all of a narrow street or road, and to drive them on all streets and roads, narrow or wide, at such speed as imperils the lives and limbs of everybody in their path; and merely for their own selfish pleasure they afflict the poor and their children, well or ill, in their wayside homes, with offensive noise and clatter and more offensive odor, and cover them with thick layers of dust, as they do all the travellers they pass; and they actually kill other people on the highway if they are not able to run fast enough to escape them,—and then the great car speeds away. "The Sun" of New York reported the other day the killing of two aged women and one child; on another day two children were killed; on another day one child was killed and a laboring man with his dinner-pail on his arm. The newspapers this morning report the running down of two working-men on their way to work and a Catholic priest on his way to church. Since New-Year's Day these great cars, simply for the pleasure of their occupants, have killed more people on the public highways than were killed in the war with Spain.

Of course, there is nothing novel in this form of showing con-

tempt by the rich for the rights of the poor on the public highways. Here is a sketch, by a master hand, of a parallel scene in Paris, just before France was drenched in the blood of her "wealthy classes":

"With a wild rattle and clatter the carriage dashed through the streets and swept round corners with women screaming before it, and men clutching each other and clutching children out of its way. At last, swooping by a street corner, at a fountain, one of its wheels came to a sickening little jolt, and there was a loud cry and the horses reared and plunged. But for this the carriage probably would not have stopped, for carriages often drove on and left their wounded or killed behind them. 'What has gone wrong?' asked the Marquis, calmly looking out. 'A child has been killed,' was the answer, and he replied: 'It is extraordinary to me that you people cannot take care of yourselves and your children. One or the other of you is forever in the way!' and then the Marquis drove on to his grand château. But in the morning he was dead with the knife of the dead child's father in his heart."

Changing "carriage" to "motor-car," how much all this reads like an incident of to-day,—except that here, fortunately, we are in no danger of the taking of life for life.

While, therefore, our millionaires and their children may be justly blamed for their part in causing this change in the public attitude towards them, causing them to be objects of ever-increasing hatred to great numbers of the people, we must also take upon ourselves a very considerable portion of the blame for it. It was our plain duty to have warned them, and especially the young degenerates of the class, that the newly rich have in all ages, by their vulgar ostentation of their wealth, made themselves not only the shining mark of the satirist, but also sooner or later objects of general dislike. We should have told them that the sudden possession of unearned millions of money had always exercised a most disastrous effect upon weak minds. It had done so in Athens and in Rome, and it was certain to have the same disastrous effect upon weak minds here.

We did nothing of the kind, however, but sat idly by, apparently expecting that they would possess American common sense and be restrained by it from such follies in this country and at this age of the world.

The most important fact, indeed, about the possession of private property to-day, is that the world has moved "out of night into

light," away from the days of despotism and privilege, and that it is now securely anchored in the democratic ages. Let us seriously consider what this means; and, above all, do not let any of our millionaires suppose that he can escape from the democratic ages by migrating to any other civilized country. The sudden appearance of over fifty Labor members in the British House of Commons clearly shows that the men who labor with their hands will at no distant day be in practical possession of the government of that country, while the rapid growth of Socialism in Germany indicates the approach of the same great change there, and it has already arrived in all the Latin countries.

Now, what are the bulwarks of private property in the imperial commonwealth of New York, where so much of it is situated? As to incomes, nobody will have the effrontery to deny that, if the majority of the voters choose to elect a Governor of their own way of thinking and a majority in both houses of the Legislature, they can readily enact a progressive taxation of incomes which will limit every citizen of New York State to such income as the majority of the voters consider sufficient for him.

It is, if possible, even less likely that anybody will deny that, in order to effectually turn every dollar of the property of every decedent into the public treasury at his death, no affirmative legislation is necessary. It is only necessary to repeal the statutes now authorizing the descent of such property to the heirs and legatees of the decedent. It is perfectly apparent, therefore, that there is no ultimate security for a single dollar of private property in New York, and precisely the same statement is true of all other American States, except such as a majority of the voters may decide to be just and wise, both to the possessors of such property and to the community at large. Nor, for reasons which there is not room now to detail, can any substantial protection be obtained from the National Government. Even if any constitutional provision stood in the way, it could be removed by the same majority of voters whenever they chose to do so.

If an agitation was started for such legislation, there would be at least a serious probability that it would succeed, for the dissatisfaction with great fortunes seems to be rapidly increasing, both in extent and in intensity. To prove this it is unnecessary

to have recourse to what might be regarded as the wild and reckless statements of sensational newspapers or sensational agitators. Such statements ought not, however, to be wholly disregarded, for they now reach vast numbers of working-men, upon whose ballots we must all ultimately depend for the safety of whatever amount of property we possess.

Here is a typical quotation from a widely circulated newspaper:

> "The persons who are disliked and now even scorned openly are those who have secured by crooked means what in fact belongs to other people. Slowly but surely, in obedience to the immovable instinct of justice, the American people, always wise and reasonable, have concluded that these men have grown rich by manipulation and sharp practices, and are simply thieves. Thieves they are, if they have not given services for their dollars,—if their wealth represents simply a dextrous shuffling of the cards,—and to be a pariah in the secret or openly expressed opinion of millions of one's fellow countrymen is a doom hardly less dreadful than an ignominious death."

These may be dismissed as "wild and whirling words," but they are the counterpart of hundreds of such utterances reaching millions of American voters, and it is sheer folly to close our eyes longer to that grave and momentous fact. So far from frankness being at all incompatible with kindness, it is often the best possible expression of it; and it certainly is so in treating of the very unfortunate situation now occupied by those of our fellow citizens who possess great fortunes. They have come to be regarded, no doubt often most unjustly, as "enemies of the republic,"—men engaged in corrupting our politics, degrading our business, and for their own profits forming illegal trusts and combinations, and thereby robbing the poorer classes of their countrymen of part of the meagre pittance they receive for their hard and irksome toil. Their "surplus wealth," which only a year ago was not only gladly accepted but eagerly solicited, is now in many respectable quarters flouted as "tainted money," that is, money dishonestly obtained, and which no institution or person can accept without sharing in the wrongs by which it was obtained. The common mind seems suddenly to have jumped, so to speak, to the conclusion that these billions of money could not have been honestly earned, and therefore that they have been dishonestly abstracted, in one improper way or another, from the poor. Happily, under

our system of government, even if all this were true, there is not the slightest pretence for resorting to violent methods, because, as has already been shown, lawful methods are ample and can readily and quickly reach any result which the majority of the voters think desirable.

Nor must we be led away by our prejudices as possessors of property, great or small, to consider as novel, and therefore as alarming, the idea of submitting to the majority of the voters the decision as to what laws shall regulate the acquisition and disposal of private property; for, if there was an authority to which a conservative inquirer upon the subject could safely appeal in this matter, it certainly would be to that of a Chief Justice of England, yet here is what Lord Coleridge said:

"In the present day, there is nothing perhaps as to which confusion of thought is greater and more mischievous than as to property itself —the idea, the principle of property, and as to the laws of property, the rules by which the practical enjoyment of property is to be regulated. Now, what is the right of property? The end of property is subsistence, by which end nature has bounded our pretensions to it; hence, in a state of nature, we cannot take more than we use nor hold it longer than we live and are capable of using it. The manner of acquiring property in a state of nature is by occupancy—all other modes of transmitting or acquiring property are acts of positive and civil law, which laws prevent the property of the dead from reverting, as it otherwise would do in a state of nature, to the common stock.

"All the complicated and conflicting systems by which in various civilized countries the powers of the possessors of property, even in various ways, are now narrowed and now enlarged, are systems of positive law, and the right of property has never existed, even in its most absolute form, without some restriction. The right of inheritance, a purely artificial right, has been at different times and in different countries very variously dealt with.

"The same power which prescribes rules for the possession and descent of property can of course alter them, for plain absurdities would follow if this were not so; and the consent of nations and the practice of ages have long since established this simple truth. It has been shown from reason and upon authority that the great and beneficent institution of private property rests only upon the general advantage. The particular rules by which the enjoyment of property is regulated differ in every country in the world and must rest at last upon one and the same foundation, the general advantage; and the defence of any such law of property must ultimately rest on this, that it inures to the general advantage; and in free countries, indeed, I cannot conceive any law standing on any other basis. The object of the restrictions placed in England

for many centuries upon powers of settlement and devise is invariably stated to have been to prevent mischievous accumulations of property in a few hands. It seems, indeed, an elementary proposition that a free people can deal as it thinks fit with its common stock of property, and can prescribe to its citizens such rules as it sees fit for its enjoyment, alienation and transmission.

"A very large coal-owner, some years ago, interfered, with a high hand, in one of the coal strikes. He sent for the workmen. He declined to argue, but he said, stamping his foot upon the ground, 'All the coal within so many square miles is mine, and if you do not instantly come to terms not a hundredweight of it shall be brought to the surface and it shall remain unworked.' This utterance of his was much discussed at the time. By some it was held up as a subject of panegyric and a model for imitation; the manly utterance of one who would stand no nonsense and who was determined to assert his rights of property and to tolerate no interference with them. By others he was denounced as insolent and brutal, and it was suggested that, if a few more men said such things and a few men acted on them, it would very probably result in the coal-owners having not much right of property left to be interfered with. I should myself deny that the mineral treasures placed by Providence under the soil of a country belong to a handful of surface proprietors in the sense in which this gentleman appeared to think that they did. That a few persons would have a right to agree to shut the coal-mines of Great Britain seems to me, I must frankly say, unspeakably absurd.

"The general advantage was in former days absolutely and avowedly regarded, and when rights of private property interfered with them such rights were summarily set aside; and, while property itself was acknowledged, the laws of its enjoyment were regulated according to what was thought to be the general advantage. All laws of property must stand upon the foot of the general advantage, for a country belongs to its inhabitants; and in what proportions and by what rules its inhabitants are to own its property must be settled by the law; and the moment a fragment of the people set up rights as inherent in them and not founded upon the public good, plain absurdities follow, for laws of property are like all other laws, to be changed when the public good requires it. It would be well, indeed, that the owners of property in land or money, from the largest to the smallest, should recognize that their title to the enjoyment of it must rest upon the same foundation, and that the mode and measure of their enjoyment of the common stock of the state, if it injures the state, can no more be defended and will no more be endured by a free people than any other public mischief or nuisance."

We have now heard from two great conservative authorities on the subject of private property, Daniel Webster speaking to an assemblage of conservative New England citizens met to celebrate

the two-hundredth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims, and Chief-Justice Coleridge addressing an assemblage of conservative lawyers in conservative Scotland.

The Chief Justice tells us that the laws of property "must stand upon the foot of the general advantage," because a country belongs to its inhabitants; and in what proportions and by what rules its inhabitants are to own its property must be settled by the law,—that is, under the free government we enjoy, by a majority of the voters. Mr. Webster tells us that, when we approach the majority of the voters on this subject, we will find that, "in the nature of things, those who have not property and see their neighbors possessed of much more than they think them to need cannot be favorable to laws made for the protection of such property," and he therefore advises us to establish such distribution of property, by the laws which regulate its transmission and alienation, as to interest the great majority of society in the support of the government. The problem before us seems, therefore, to resolve itself into this: Given the existing dissatisfaction of what is presumably a majority of the voters with the vast fortunes which have recently been accumulated, what is the best method of assuaging that discontent and of placing the laws for the enjoyment and inheritance of property upon such reasonable bases as will commend themselves to the majority of the American electorate?

The thing most to be desired in political evolution is that any radical changes which are to be introduced under the forms of law should be introduced gradually, instead of being the result of any sudden access of popular wrath. All students of comparative politics will agree that such sudden access of popular wrath is always to be apprehended in a "top-heavy" society,—that is, a society where a small proportion of the population have, by fair means or foul, appropriated to themselves an undue proportion of the material luxury and prosperity of their epoch, leaving the great toiling masses to become thoroughly permeated with the conviction, not only that they are unjustly treated, but that it has become their sacred duty to terminate such injustice by what Mr. Webster calls "violence and revolution." The suddenness of such revolutions, and their unexpectedness by the victims of them, is one of the commonplaces of history. The small minority at the top, accustomed to enjoy themselves as they please and to

regard those beneath them as permanent mudsills doomed by Providence to work and suffer, in order that they themselves may be idle and luxurious, never seem to have sufficient intelligence to realize the dangers which threaten their privileges and themselves, even when such dangers are close at hand and ought to have been clearly perceived. This was notably the case just before the French Revolution, when not only Arthur Young, whose sympathies were rather with the oppressed and tortured peasantry than with their oppressors, but even Lord Chesterfield, whose sympathies were naturally with the governing class to which he belonged, coming from another country, were able to see the perilous condition in which the royalty and aristocracy of France were then standing, and they substantially agreed that the signs of a great revolution were then to be seen by anybody who had eyes to see them.

As we know, the wealthy classes of France believed themselves to be entirely secure in the possession of all their properties and privileges and could not see their danger. This same story has just been repeated in the Russian Revolution. The Russian autocracy a year ago believed themselves to be in secure possession of all their properties and privileges, and they fully expected that the Russian workmen and peasants would continue contentedly to labor for future generations, in order that they should continue to enjoy themselves as they pleased; and yet we have all seen to what a sudden and terrible awakening their blindness subjected them. Many unkind observers insist that our millionaires have been stricken with just such blindness; but it must be remembered that, this being actually a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people," ballots will here prove far more effective in reaching any result the majority of the voters may desire as to the possession and distribution of property, than could possibly be secured by any number of dynamite bombs; so that the danger confronting us is that the majority of American voters will effect their wishes by very extreme and and very dangerous legislation, unless they are guided in safer paths.

As this article is being written the American Federation of Labor announces that it is about to enter politics, showing that here, as in most other countries, the laboring classes are taking their place in practical politics with leaders who believe in their

cause and who have a devoted and enthusiastic following. Such being the case, it is apparent that the important middle class of the American people, who possess only a moderate amount of property, will find it quite impossible to stem the advancing tide demanding a radical readjustment of the distribution of property, unless our millionaires promptly and efficiently come to their assistance. It has, indeed, become the duty of every true lover of his country, to whatever class he belongs, to look the existing situation of American politics frankly and courageously in the face, and to be prepared to make whatever sacrifices are needful to find, if possible, some common basis of a sane agreement upon the subject. Such an agreement must offer every proper inducement to the capacity and the energy of every American citizen, to exert himself and all his abilities to the utmost degree consistent with the general welfare; and he should be encouraged to believe that the acquisition and descent of such reasonable accumulations of private property as his energies and ability can honestly secure will remain perfectly safe, under the protecting ægis of the law.

These considerations naturally bring us to the *crux* of the situation, which is, as has been stated, the popular estimation of the absence of any moral title of our millionaires to the billions of money they have either themselves succeeded in abstracting from the common store or have inherited from ancestors who had so abstracted it. It must always be remembered that it is naturally very difficult for the owners of "surplus wealth" to recognize that any ethical basis whatever for their alleged ownership of their property can be necessary. To their minds, it represents what they call "vested interests," and the world has so long lived and prospered upon this theory that it seems equally startling and inadmissible to demand now that a man possessing millions of money should be called upon to show that his ownership of them is rightful, not only in his own view, but in the view of the majority of his fellow men. In all the past ages, such basis was so far from being demanded that the exact contrary gave a perfectly defensible title. A king's mistress could not only confer such a title to a vast extent of lands, but she could also introduce her complaisant family into the inner circles of the land's nobility. A king's friendship was a satisfactory basis, as is easily shown in many cases, by tracing titles to land and rank back to

their sources. A courtier's subservience in evil ways to the court was such a basis. A soldier's courage on the field of battle gave a far better title, though still a title based upon the will of a master and not upon the consent of the people. Those were the days when each man was avowedly for himself, seizing all he could extort from others, and the devil was solicited to take the hindmost.

But we have now changed all that, and no title to property or privilege of any kind can to-day have any other sufficient basis than that named by Lord Coleridge—that such title is "consonant with the general advantage,"—all other sources of title to property and privilege having disappeared before the growth of the modern idea of equality of rights, as the mists of the morning before the sun. The virile, growing, controlling nations of the earth have all practically accepted manhood suffrage, and on that basis their governments rest. Each man, by reason of his manhood alone and without the slightest reference to the amount of property he possesses, has an equal voice with every other man in making the laws governing their common country and regulating the distribution of the common property. Such a consummation was devoutly to be wished; but all desirable situations of every kind are liable to present some undesirable aspects, and one of the undesirable aspects of a situation conferring absolute equality of political rights upon every man in the community is the danger that it will be supposed by thoughtless and ill-regulated minds that equality of political rights necessarily involves equality in the possession of property. This is the underlying and attractive idea of Socialism, but such an assumption, as is well known, violates one of the primal facts in the history of man—the immense and incalculable differences which exist in men's natural capacities for rendering honest service to society. Encouragement should be given, in the interest of society itself, to every man to use all the gifts he possesses to the fullest extent possible, in every channel of usefulness, so far as such use is compatible with the welfare of the majority of his fellow men. To each of us is now being repeated the fateful question which Cain asked: "Am I my brother's keeper?" and each of us must answer: "Yes, I am my brother's keeper, to the extent that I am not at liberty to take a dollar unjustly from him, nor to accumulate a dollar of property for myself ex-

cept with full, careful and generous consideration of what is due to him."

Such an admission as this by our millionaires, and consistent action upon it, would do much, even at this late day, to assist in preventing the success of wild schemes of confiscation, although unhappily the protection of private property in America no longer rests upon voters born here and bred in our atmosphere of conservatism, where respect for private property was a part of the breath of their lives. Our millionaires are accused, among other things, of not being contented with the great gains they were making from their railways, their mines and their manufactories when relying upon the labor of American voters, and of degrading our suffrage yearly by deluging us with hundreds of thousands of laborers, whom they persuade to come here from the least desirable classes of Europe, and who, only too soon after their arrival, secure for themselves the right of suffrage, thus distinctly lowering the political intelligence and the political sobriety of our electorate and distinctly and swiftly impairing the security of all private possessions.

They are also accused of dealing another blow at the security of private property. Such security must finally rest upon respect for law, and such respect, if it had not been impaired, would have furnished a very valuable bulwark against every form of Socialism and civil anarchy, however disguised. It is said that our millionaires have initiated and for many years maintained a regular and growing system of political corruption, taking no other interest in our politics than that of drawing checks for the avowed purpose of debasing and degrading the voters, and teaching them that their votes ought to bring them plunder in some form or other. No worse training in evil could possibly have been devised; but it is very unfair to blame our millionaires too severely for this unwise and wicked use of their "surplus wealth," as we all encouraged such contributions, even from the sacred funds of life-insurance companies. Such contributions are now claimed to have hypnotized Presidents and Cabinet members and Congressmen, thereby securing protection for illegal trusts and monopolies and maintaining such a tariff as enables our millionaires to raise the prices of the articles they sell as high as they choose, while they also obtain absolute free trade in labor, so that they can always flood the labor market, as they have done in

the anthracite-coal regions, with a supply far beyond any reasonable demand and thus keep the wages of labor as low as they choose.

Now, as long as no complaints were heard, and the laboring people had no leaders and above all no literature, questioning the wisdom and the justice of allowing great fortunes to be thus acquired, it was possible to go on living as we have been doing, repeating to each other that everything was for the best in this best of all possible worlds, and that there was no need for any change whatever; but, as we have seen, this halcyon situation has suddenly changed and this serene sky is filled with threatening clouds.

It is certainly timely, therefore, to consider whether we cannot find some basis for private property, which ought, and might even yet, receive the approval of a majority of the American electorate. Suppose we should try the harmless experiment of applying some practical ethical test whereby the rightfulness of each man's possessions could be somewhat fairly, even if roughly, judged on moral grounds or grounds of "the general advantage." If honestly desiring such a test, we would probably find it in a fair and reasonable equivalent of service to the people for the money withdrawn from the people; and for the purpose of suggestion only an illustration of this ethical proposition might be found in the amount of the salary of the President of the United States. He is supposed to be a person of the very first order, alike in character and in capacity, and equal in both respects to the ablest of our millionaires; and he is charged with as grave, multiform and onerous duties as can fall to the lot of any living man. Now, for a man of that high order and for his exclusive devotion to such engrossing and far-reaching duties as the office entails the American people, by their chosen representatives, have adjudged fifty thousand dollars a year, and the defraying of certain expenses incident to the office, to be a fair and reasonable compensation for his best service. In other words, such a man and such services would be treated in an algebraic formula as equal to fifty thousand dollars a year and the outlays already mentioned; and the American people have decided that, in Lord Coleridge's words, it is for "the general advantage" that such should be the compensation of the President of the United States. Why should any other citizen either wish or be permitted to

withdraw from the common store a larger annual sum? A man gifted with exceptional ability, who has devoted many years of his life to perfecting a most useful invention, comes to the American people and says: "I have discovered something which will be greatly to your advantage. What compensation ought I fairly to receive for it?" And the chosen representatives of the people, speaking for them, answer: "It is for 'the general advantage' to encourage useful inventions, and therefore if we find your invention useful we will give you the exclusive right to the profits of it for fourteen years, at the end of which time it shall become public property." A person with very unusual ability for initiating and managing a great industrial enterprise, or a great banking house, or a great system of transportation, or a great department store, comes to the American people and says: "I wish to devote myself to your service. What will you allow me to withdraw from the common property for such service?" For the sake of argument only, suppose the American people in their generosity answer each of these able men: "Well, we will give you as much as we give the President of the United States; and, while we only give him that compensation at most for eight years, we will give it to you for all the active years of your life, so that if you live fairly long and are a good husbandman of your means you ought to be able, besides living luxuriously, to leave a million dollars at your death."

If a manager of an industrial enterprise should say: "But I have other abilities besides those you have considered—I have ability to corrupt the traffic-managers of great railways and thus secure rebates for my enterprise," the answer would have to be that securing rebates is a public wrong. If a banker said: "I have a great talent for combining different corporations into one mass, thus creating a monopoly for the new enterprise and trebling its capitalization," the answer would have to be that monopolies have always been odious even at the common law and are expressly forbidden by our statute law. If the proprietor of a department store should say: "My ability will enable me to drive thousands of independent shopkeepers and tradesmen out of business and compel them to enter the ranks of those who work for wages," the answer must be that such conduct, so far from being a public advantage, is a public disadvantage; and so throughout the long list of able, agile and more or less unscrupulous captains

of one kind of industry or another, or one kind of finance or another, who offer their services to the American people. They ought to be fully compensated for everything they do which is, in the words of Lord Coleridge, "for the general advantage," and it is undoubtedly for the general advantage that their unusual abilities should be utilized, just so far as the utilization of them is compatible with the general welfare; but the use of their abilities ought to be sternly and rigorously prohibited whenever they exercise them to the general disadvantage and abstract money not morally due from the people to put into their own pockets.

A man presents himself and says: "I have discovered a place down in the earth where Providence has made a deposit of coal or iron or precious metals—what will you give me for my services in superintending the bringing of them to market?" Another man presents himself and says: "I have traversed a region which Providence has blessed with a fertile soil and other sources of traffic for a railway—what will you give me for persuading capital to enable me to build the railway and for managing it after it is built?" As neither has anything to offer but his services, might not the annual compensation of the President of the United States be a generous annual compensation for each of them? And if that would be a generous compensation, certainly neither of them can possess any moral title to more.

It is difficult to see how any real injustice would be done to any honest member of society, or how undue restraint would be put upon any ability or energy of a beneficent character, if the law encouraged every man to earn for himself, say, a yearly income of fifty thousand dollars and to acquire a solid fortune of a million dollars. Such sums would allow not only an ample but a very generous provision for everybody dependent upon him while he lived and after he was dead; and it is difficult to realize what more the heart of any man could desire, who recognizes that he is a part of a Christian society and not a pirate on the Barbary coast.

If that view should be ever accepted, there will be no practical difficulty in framing laws, either State or Federal, which would impose such a scale of progressive taxation on both incomes and inheritances as would discourage the appropriation by any man, by one evil device or another, of unearned millions of money from the common property of the community; and, so

far from such laws operating unkindly or harshly upon our millionaires themselves, they might be found to confer upon them the greatest possible benefit, and to give them such peace and happiness as they can never enjoy while holding fast to fortunes which the majority of their fellow men have come to believe to be "tainted money."

A great deal of utter nonsense has been talked about the necessity of allowing predatory persons of a burglarious disposition to take from society whatever sums they can, "by hook or by crook," secure, as otherwise it is said their astounding abilities would not be put to use. It is a strange and indeed a degrading delusion to suppose that, judged by any moral standard, either the desire or the capacity to amass a large fortune can be anything but a public calamity. On all ethical subjects the great poets are singularly gifted in seeing the truth and singularly brave in speaking it. Virgil wrathfully exclaims:

> "Accursed thirst for wealth, to what do you not drive the minds of men!"

and centuries later Tennyson wrathfully exclaims:

> "Pickpockets, each hand lusting for all that is not its own,
> And lust of gain in the spirit of Cain!"

The truth is that no genuine service in any department of human effort has ever been conferred upon mankind merely for the sake of money, nor is any person who is desirous of having "money to burn" capable of rendering any really valuable service. The two qualities of mind always have been and always will be incompatible. The good work of the world has never been done from such an incentive. The good men of the world have never done any work from such an incentive. Excessive gains, like excessive salaries, are inherently dishonest, and the men who seek them cannot possibly be of any genuine value to the American people. The less temptation, therefore, we offer men to work merely to amass great fortunes the better for them and for us, and the more sternly we confine everybody to honest returns for honest service the better for them and for us. Whoever has a dollar for which a dollar's worth, in property or service, has not been given, has a dishonest dollar, and if he keeps it, he is a dishonest man, no matter by what fine phrases he seeks to cover such dishonesty.

And a dishonest man can confer no real benefit upon an honest community.

The time, indeed, is perhaps not distant when everybody possessing private property will be required to answer these two plain questions: "How much have you withdrawn from the common store?" and "What service did you give in return for it?" An honest man who has given an honest equivalent for the money he has received can readily answer both these questions, and in all the diversified ranks of American energy and industry there are great multitudes of men who can promptly and satisfactorily show a dollar's worth of honest service for every dollar they have received; and doubtless some of the possessors of great fortunes can render such an accounting for a part of the "surplus wealth" they possess; but to do so they must rigidly eliminate all illegal, corrupt, immoral or demoralizing activities in which they have engaged. If the elimination of all accretions to their fortunes by such means reduces their millions to reasonable limits, they ought in justice to themselves to make the necessary sacrifice involved in such reduction. If they would do so, there is no doubt they would be met in a corresponding spirit by all classes of their fellow citizens, and an enduring basis would be secured for the honest exercise of individualism in all departments of activity, and for the placing of all the rewards thus earned upon a basis of enduring security.

If, however, our millionaires prefer to remain as they have hitherto chosen to remain, outside the current of the national life, leaving its politics to take care of themselves except when they draw checks, and cherishing the fond delusion which the possessors of unearned wealth have so often cherished, that the growing dissatisfaction with them and their possessions, and the methods by which they were acquired, is merely a temporary excitement and in their favorite phrase "will soon blow over,"—then it may be stated, with entire confidence and without the slightest exaggeration, that they are destined to a very early and unwelcome awakening, when they will find themselves confronted with the transfer of the government with all its great powers for good and for evil into the hands of men of a very limited conception of "vested interests," and whose minds will be inflamed with a wrath which they will consider righteous and a hostility which may prove to be implacable. Unless, therefore,

some moral basis for what the majority of voters believe to be the present grossly unjust inequality in the distribution of property in this country is soon found,—a moral basis which will prove acceptable to the majority of American voters,—we may encounter in the coming Presidential election a situation infinitely more disturbing and infinitely more dangerous than has ever before been encountered. It seems the dictate alike of interest and of patriotism for each of us, whatever his class, to do all in his power to prevent such a calamity; and, even should our united efforts ultimately fail to check the advancing tide of Socialism and to place the right of individual citizens to acquire and retain all property honestly earned by them upon an impregnable legal basis, it would surely always be a consoling reflection to have borne a part in so good a fight for so good a purpose. Such an opportunity if now rejected may never return for:

> "The moving finger writes, and having writ
> Moves on."

X.

# THE GRADUATED TAXATION OF INCOMES AND INHERITANCES.

BY WAYNE MAC VEAGH.

It ought to be confessed, on the threshold of the discussion of this subject, that it is somewhat disconcerting for one who has for some years been proposing, with very indifferent success, a particular extension of the principles of taxation, to find that such extension has attained a sudden and wholly unexpected importance, having become in a single day a question justifying immediate and earnest consideration.

For, whatever opinion may be entertained of the propriety or wisdom of President Roosevelt's recent expression in favor of graduated taxation, no sensible person can doubt that what he said to the Senators and Representatives assembled before him on the occasion of the laying of the cornerstone of the new Congressional building at Washington at once removed the question of such taxation from the realm of academic discussion, and brought it into the domain of practical politics and legislative enactment. It is, therefore, a dictate of "saving common sense," for all who sincerely desire that such taxation should be kept within safe and conservative bounds, to look the question thus suddenly presented by the President calmly and quietly in the face, to confront without alarm any dangers it may be supposed to bring in its train and to thresh thoroughly out the problems the proposition suggests.

Such problems must finally be passed upon by the public opinion of the country; and it is indispensable that such opinion should be enlightened by a full and free discussion before it is called upon for a decision. It can be readily shown, if a proper effort is made to do so, that it is for the general public welfare, for the true welfare of every class in the community, that any

scheme of graduated taxation should be framed upon such a moderate basis as will leave room for the freest possible play and the fullest possible exercise of the energy, industry and ability of every American citizen, by offering, to his praiseworthy ambition to acquire property, all such rewards in money as are compatible with even-handed justice to his fellows. He must not only be permitted, but encouraged, to labor for his own advantage, so long as his advantage is consistent with the advantage of the community, as honest thrift always is.

It was, however, astonishing to observe that President Roosevelt's mild words caused something resembling consternation, even in intelligent quarters. This attitude towards his suggestion is the more surprising because the writer of this article succeeded eight years ago in persuading the late Senator Wolcott of Colorado that graduated taxation was a beneficent form of imposing taxes, and in inducing him to propose such taxation of inheritances as part of the War Revenue Act then pending in Congress. It was presented by him, accepted by both Houses, and approved by President McKinley on June 13th, 1898.

As it was a tentative measure, its terms were purposely made very moderate; but it distinctly affirmed the principle of graduated taxation by steadily increasing the rate to be levied as the amount of the inheritance increased. It was modelled in this respect upon the Act by which the Parliament of Great Britain had, four years before, imposed a graduated tax, but at a heavier rate, upon inheritances. This law remained in force for four years, and was only repealed with the other war taxes.

It is hardly necessary to say that it had in the mean time been vigorously assailed as unconstitutional. Capitalists exhibit a singular stupidity in resisting every attempt to impose upon them their proper share of the public burdens; and, as they had succeeded in annulling the law imposing a very modest proportional tax upon their incomes, they assumed they would easily annul a law imposing a graduated tax upon their inheritances. Twenty leading members of the bar appeared in the attack upon the law and only one in defence of it—the then Solicitor-General. The result was that the constitutionality of such method of taxation by Congress was conclusively established in a masterly opinion by Mr. Justice White, in the course of which he used this suggestive language:

"The review which we have made exhibits the fact that taxes imposed with reference to the ability of the person on whom the burden is placed to bear the same have been levied since the foundation of the Government. So, also, some authoritative thinkers and a number of economic writers contend that a progressive tax is more just and equal than a proportional one. In the absence of constitutional limitation, the question whether it is or is not is legislative and not judicial. The grave consequences which, it is asserted, must arise in the future, if the right to lay a progressive tax be recognized, involves in its ultimate aspect the mere assertion that free and representative government is a failure."

This weighty utterance is not only illuminating, as disposing of all question as to the right of Congress to impose a system of graduated taxation, but its concluding words make a serious appeal to all American citizens who, so far from believing that free and representative government is a failure, believe, with a faith which can never be shaken, that it is, with all its drawbacks, the best form of government ever vouchsafed to the children of men. They fully recognize that eternal vigilance is the price which must be paid for its blessings,—that all good citizens must become "practical politicians," sometimes turning their backs upon what Lord Bacon calls "the idols of the market-place," and turning their faces towards political meetings and the polling-booths. They must labor to make the public service a service pure and undefiled, worthy of the best efforts of the best men. When this is done, our form of government will abundantly justify itself. If the rich will honestly attend to their political duties, all will go well.

The question now under consideration ought to be, indeed must be, if private property is to be safe, discussed fully and thoroughly, and all classes of voters must be shown what are the proper bases of the graduated taxation of "surplus wealth," whether as income or as inheritance. There is no use in pretending that the proposal to establish such a system of taxation is of a radical, much less of a revolutionary, character, or in attempting to persuade the American electorate that it is a wicked attack upon private property to ask Congress to adopt a system of taxation which has been accepted by the most aristocratic and conservative legislative assemblage in the world—the House of Lords of Great Britain. After twelve years' experience of it, the graduated taxation of inheritances is now firmly established

as part of the permanent financial policy of the United Kingdom.

It is also an interesting coincidence that, while President Roosevelt limited himself, at least for the present, to the graduated taxation of inheritances, Mr. Asquith, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, within a fortnight afterwards was telling the House of Commons that "the time has arrived for an inquiry into the practicability of a graduated tax upon incomes." Surely, if the time has arrived for the legislature of Great Britain, composed of King, Lords and Commons, to take the subject into consideration, it cannot be too early for our own Congress to do so; and it must be expected that, at its next session, bills will probably be introduced imposing graduated taxes upon both incomes and inheritances, notwithstanding the decision by a divided court against the recent proportional income tax. It is, indeed, believed by many persons that, when the question is again presented, an income tax will be upheld. If so, no time ought to be lost in endeavoring to impress upon the public mind the necessity of proper limits upon such taxation.

But it will be utterly useless in any such discussion to pretend that there is anything new or startling in proposing, in the apt words of Mr. Justice White, to impose taxes "with reference to the ability of the person upon whom the burden is placed to bear the same,"—that is, increasing the rate of taxation to keep pace with the wealth of the persons taxed. Indeed, it is a hundred and thirty years since Adam Smith announced that "the subjects of every State ought to contribute towards the support of its government as nearly as possible in proportion to their respective abilities"; and John Stuart Mill, at a later day, declared with even greater emphasis: "Equality of taxation, as a maxim of politics, means equality of sacrifice. It means the apportioning the contribution of each person towards the expenses of the government, so that he shall feel neither more nor less inconvenience from his share of the payment than every other person experiences from his." Professor Nicholson adds: "It is admitted that this standard cannot be completely realized; but it is thought to furnish a proper foundation for remission in some cases and for proportional increase of taxation in others." Complete realization in political economy of any standard of abstract justice is still far to seek; but there

must be a reasonable and just basis for at least an approach to equality of sacrifice in the imposition of the taxes in question.

The sociological question ought also to be freely discussed,—that is: Ought there to be a limit fixed beyond which, for the public welfare, the further accumulation of surplus wealth should be discouraged? If so, where should the limit be placed and the discouragement begin, and at what ratio should the discouragement proceed? And if there is to be such discouragement, is a system of graduated taxation the most effective and least objectionable method of applying it? The suggestions formerly made in reference to such a system were concerned with apportioning the inevitable burdens of taxation. These latter suggestions relate themselves to the welfare of society, and raise the question whether gigantic fortunes are in themselves, or in the methods of their acquisition, such serious obstacles to the contentment, the peace, and the healthy growth of the community as to call for their abatement. We are to-day face to face with these grave and far-reaching problems. It is impossible either to avoid them or to postpone them. All that is left for us is to discuss them and to endeavor to settle them upon some sane and rational basis. It is equally futile and cowardly to pretend that they do not exist or that we need not bother ourselves about them. President Roosevelt having "set the ball rolling," it will roll on until a solution is found, fairly satisfactory to the majority of the voters,—some workable basis of agreement between those who have good reason to be contented with their generous share of the common property of the nation and those who, perhaps, have as good reason to be discontented with their meagre share of it. It is surely the part of wisdom and of patriotism to hasten the finding of such a workable basis of agreement—before it is too late.

WAYNE MAC VEAGH.

# THE EFFECTS OF SCHOOL LIFE UPON THE HEALTH OF CHILDREN.

BY GEORGE WOODRUFF JOHNSTON, M.D.

ACCORDING to the report of the Commissioner of Education for the fiscal year ending June 30th, 1903, there were in the United States at that time 22,655,001 children between the ages of five and eighteen, of whom 18,187,918 were enrolled in public or private schools or colleges, or in special institutions of a more or less educational character. Thus, during the period mentioned, more than twenty-two per cent. of our entire people were at school or college, and their education cost for that one year $251,457,625, or $3.15 *per capita* of population. To-day, our educational system is even larger, and the expense of maintaining it greater still.

Are these enormous sums spent wisely? Does the institution, private, municipal or State, realize that the most priceless possession of this vast multitude of boys and girls is not learning, but health; and does it so guard them during the most plastic stage of their lives that, when their school-days are over, they may enter the world well, and strong, and properly equipped physically to engage in the struggle for existence, and to become the most effective economic units possible in the community?

We do not know. Investigations touching the health of school children in the United States have been so few, superficial and fruitless that the superintendent of physical training in the Boston public schools was able, at the beginning of the present decade, to state without fear of contradiction that "it is scarcely too much to say that it would be easier under present conditions to estimate the losses entailed by hog-cholera or cattle-plague throughout the Union, than to determine the number of school children who succumb annually to school diseases in the United States." The same may be said now with almost equal truth.

But, by reviewing the examinations made in Europe (where the subject under discussion has received the attention it deserves), and by comparing the results obtained with those to be derived from our own scattered and inconclusive inquiries, we may seek, and perhaps find, answers to our question.

As education became widely disseminated and the standard in all grades of every kind of institution of learning was raised, the demands upon pupils became more and more exacting, until physicians began to note the constant recurrence of a series of morbid phenomena which appeared to be due to the conditions of school life. To determine the precise nature, extent and cause of these phenomena, more or less searching and comprehensive inquiries were undertaken by European investigators—by Hertel in Denmark (1881), by a Danish commission (1882), by a Swedish commission under Axel Key (1883), by a British Parliamentary commission under Crichton-Browne (1884), and by Warner, also in Great Britain (1892)—which inquiries taken together furnish information concerning the health of 104,629 school children, urban and rural, of both sexes, of different ages, and of all social conditions. To these may be added, for each has some feature of interest, the report of Zahor as to the physical condition of 4,892 pupils in the schools of Prague (1888-1890); of Nesterov, 216 pupils in the Moscow schools (1890); of Combe, 3,650 in Lausanne (1892); of Wirenius, 367 in St. Petersburg (1897); of Chalmers and others regarding the health of all the scholars in the Glasgow schools (1904-5), and of a number of special investigations referred to later on.

The methods pursued and the care exercised in these inquiries varied. Some lacked thoroughness; none was, however, wholly slipshod. In many instances, the subjects of scrutiny were examined closely and repeatedly by trained observers, and not only the child and the child's teacher, but certain features of the former's home life, were brought under investigation. In Denmark and Sweden, printed questions as to the pupil's health, the amount of home study, the character and duration of sleep, etc., were given the parents to answer. The information so obtained was submitted first to the family physician and then to the teacher for criticism, correction and amplification, and afterward the child itself was examined, weighed and its eyesight tested. In doubtful cases, the subject was called "well", and ac-

cidental injuries, acute or incidental illnesses, and abnormal conditions attributable to causes lying outside the school were not considered.

All the investigations enumerated, and others not herein specified, disclosed an astonishing amount of ill health among school children; and, though the variations from the norm were found to differ in degree, they were on every hand alike in kind, in nearly every instance more pronounced in girls than boys, and often most manifest in scholars of the better social classes. Thus, there were discovered the following percentages of morbidity ("morbid quality; disease; sickness") among schoolboys—in Great Britain, 20; in Denmark, 29; in Germany, 30; in Copenhagen, 31; and in Sweden, 37: the percentages noted among girls were, in Great Britain, 16; in Copenhagen, 39; in Denmark, 41; in Lausanne, 43: in Germany, 50; and in Stockholm, 62—an average morbidity for boys of 29, and for girls of 42 per cent.

This sum total of ill health was made up of a number of chronic conditions, among which may be mentioned anemia and chlorosis; lack of appetite, indigestion and impaired nutrition; relaxed skin and muscles, and muscular twitching; headache, broken sleep, neuralgia (especially of the intercostal nerves), nervousness, nerve instability, nerve exhaustion, chorea; chest pains, cardiac irritability and palpitation, nosebleed; lateral curvature of the spine, and near-sight, though the latter was not included in many of the percentages above quoted. Further, it was noted that the amount and degree of ill health increased, not with age as years are counted, but rather in direct proportion to the number of work hours, and to the increased burden of studies, as progress was made upward from grade to grade. A greater morbidity of about 6 per cent. was found to exist among pupils who worked more than the average number of hours; and in certain classes and schools, particularly in Stockholm, where the standard was exceptionally high, the average morbidity of neighboring schools was exceeded by from 3 to 10 per cent. The disparity, evident in the statistics of general morbidity above quoted, between countries so nearly alike in all respects as Sweden and Denmark, is explained in the same way—a greater number of working-hours having been required in Sweden at the time these inquiries were made.

The same conditions, doubtless, obtain in this country.

Competent medical men brought to light the fact that special organs and sets of organs, as well as the general health of those attending the high schools of Cleveland, Ohio, suffered in direct ratio to the amount of study in hours; and, in twelve of our best-known colleges for women, there was a gain of 6 per cent. over the average morbidity among those who studied severely.

Thus, it may be said that:

1. At the time these inquiries were undertaken, there was a surprising amount of ill health among school children;

2. Though varying in degree, from slight functional disturbances to actual illness, the same morbid conditions were found wherever and whenever investigations were made; and

3. The percentage of morbidity rose with progress from grade to grade.

In view of these facts, the foregoing affections have been termed "school diseases." They are precisely such morbid states as the conditions of school life—especially fatigue pushed to its pathological extreme—might be expected to induce or aggravate; and, although subjects for control are lacking, inasmuch as the vast majority of children of school age go to school, yet many observers have remarked that the overworked scholar, notably in our higher school grades, is of a weaker fibre and has a less well-balanced nervous system than other members of the same family, of approximately the same age, who stay at home. Indeed, an association of collegiate women, anxious, as we might suppose, to prove the contrary, has demonstrated that, while of 705 girl graduates of America's foremost female and coeducational colleges 19.6 per cent. suffered deterioration of health during their student days, only 16.09 per cent. of 1,032 Boston working-girls of the same age had a like misfortune during the period of their greatest activity. But, after all, comparisons are needless. It is the condition itself, not its relative aspects, that is of the greatest interest and importance.

A critical study of each of the so-called school diseases is unnecessary. But it may be proper to examine a little more narrowly into one of them, to ascertain, for instance, to what extent it is met with the world over, to what degree it is influenced by school life—in brief, to discover if, as one school disease, it illustrates the principles above set down as affecting all.

Headache, whether it be due to anemia, eye strain,* bad ventilation, fatigue, nerve exhaustion or what not, is, in its origin, distribution and characteristics, the most typical, perhaps, of all school diseases. Grouping information obtained from France, Germany, Great Britain, Sweden, Denmark and Russia, it is apparent that from 40 to 50 per cent. of all school children suffer from this malady; and, further, that it is commonly habitual, usually frontal in location, and that girls are affected more than boys. Moreover, it was noticed that the number of scholars suffering from habitual headache increased (at a maximum rate of 6 per cent. a year) step by step and grade by grade with advancement through school; and, also, that the headache of schoolgirls began with the term, grew more frequent and intense as it progressed, and disappeared in the holidays, to reappear with the beginning of the next school term. The same effect of alternate work and rest was manifest in the London and Moscow elementary schools, where, in the former, 12 per cent. of the scholars suffered from headache in the morning, 22 per cent. in the afternoon, and in the evening, after a period of rest, only 11 per cent.

Of all the so-called school diseases, however, those affecting the nervous system are of the greatest interest to Americans, and in no other field is the connection between the morbid state, as a result, and school life, as a cause, so clear and intimate, and nowhere else is progressive deterioration so closely related to the demands made upon the scholar.

Wirenius in St. Petersburg, and Nesterov in Moscow, found that 27.5 and 29.25 per cent. of the pupils examined by them, respectively, suffered from disturbances of the nervous system. No distinctive disease marked by typical objective signs was met with by either; but there were headache (constant, or occurring at the end of the day's work), sleeplessness, various neuralgias, neuroses of the heart (palpitation, etc.), rapidly induced mental weariness accompanied by irritability and excitement, and other functional derangements chiefly of a neurasthenic character. Both observers showed also that the disorders named increased in frequency with age and advancement in school grade from a

* For phases of this subject relating to ophthalmology, gynecology, etc., and not considered here, see article by the late Dr. W. W. Johnston and the author of this paper, "Trans. Med. Soc. D. C.," 1897, II, 61.

minimum of 11 per cent. (Wirenius) and 8 per cent. (Nesterov) at ten years of age, to a maximum of 50 per cent. at eighteen years (Wirenius) and 77 per cent. at nineteen (Nesterov).

In the London schools, 11 per cent. of the children examined showed "abnormal nerve signs"—instability in posture and in balance, loss of tone in the muscles encircling the eyes, finger-twitching, stammering, numerous small movements occurring without apparent stimulation, and muscular eccentricity closely bordering on chorea; while 38 per cent. suffered from sleeplessness, with 6 per cent. of sleep-walkers and nearly 34 per cent. of sleep-talkers. The examiner was told that parents often complained that their children talked of lessons in sleep, arithmetical problems appearing to be the chief disturbing element.

In the higher girls' schools of Germany nervous affections were remarked in fully 70 per cent. of the pupils, and in 20 per cent. sleep was irregular and disturbed.

As to the prevalence of nerve disorders in the school children of the United States, we know little. We have graphic word-pictures of the nerve-sick child and abundant generalizations, but facts are few and sometimes confusing. Twenty-one years ago, an enormous increase in nervous diseases was noted in children of school age in Baltimore, and nine years ago school life was held responsible for 21 out of 150 cases of nerve derangement among Boston pupils treated in a certain hospital. Again, of 417 American college girls showing some form of ill health, 7 per cent. were afflicted with "brain troubles," 33 per cent. with nervousness, and 15 per cent. with neuralgia. One physician in New York, however, found headache and disability of the nervous system less common in grammar-schools, where the average age of scholars is twelve, than in primary schools, where the average age is seven years—the exact opposite of what has invariably been present elsewhere.

How many school children in the United States suffer from or succumb to diseases of the nervous system induced or made worse by school life, and what proportion of such affections encountered in adults originate at this earlier period, it is impossible to say. We know that, wherever careful and comprehensive investigations have been undertaken among school girls and boys, disorders of this system have been found to be numerous and of a character actually or potentially grave. We know

that our heredity, ideals, climate, environment and habits of life predispose to such affections. We know also that the experience of one large general Boston hospital, in which 11 per cent. of 2,000 consecutive admissions were due to neurasthenia (or nervous exhaustion) alone, is not a unique, but on the contrary a common, experience. We know likewise that in the practice of every physician such maladies appear to be gaining in frequency and in severity of type, that insanity is multiplying and our asylums are overcrowded, and, finally, that the ratio of deaths from nervous diseases to deaths from all causes is constantly on the increase. These considerations, reinforced by exact data obtained in Europe, where, after all, conditions are not greatly unlike our own, may well lead us to question the influence of our school establishment upon the children committed to its care.

Many of the investigators previously quoted observed that the number of scholars diminished and the curve of morbidity declined in the highest classes of the schools examined by them. A diminution in the size of classes through the departure of those who left school to enter higher educational institutions or business life would have affected the morbidity percentage, if at all, by increasing it, the strong and successful going out, the sickly and backward remaining behind. This, therefore, cannot account for the descending morbidity curve so often noted. The true explanation lies in the fact that the delicate and ill have fallen out, unable to keep up in the race, and the robust and unyielding have remained behind at school.

This process of selection and elimination has been closely studied in Christiania and in many parts of Germany. It is going on everywhere and in every school grade. In one year more than 10 per cent., and in another nearly 20 per cent., of the public-school children examined by health officers in Boston were thus sent home. In Cleveland, 75 per cent. of the girls and 33 per cent. of the boys who left the high schools during a single year, did so because unable to keep up with their studies by reason of ill health; and in the Waltham, Massachusetts, high school, nine of a class of seventeen left in their graduating year for the same reason. One writer asserts that, in five cities of the United States, sixteen thousand children between eight and fourteen years of age were taken out of the public schools within one school term, because of ill health.

In view of the above facts regarding selection and elimination, it would not appear surprising if the girls and young women in our female and coeducational colleges exhibited a full measure of good health. It has been repeatedly maintained that they do so; and this claim is used as the basis of an argument thought to be convincing and unanswerable, namely: If girl graduates of our school system are well and continue healthy and capable, in spite of the additional tasks they are called upon to perform in college, then there is no overpressure in our schools and nothing wrong with our methods of education. This argument is fallacious. The girls here spoken of are not types of the American schoolgirl; they are the fittest who have survived.

And, again, it has not been satisfactorily proven that the picked college girl is better off physically than the ordinary schoolgirl. Her burdens rest, proportionately, as heavily upon her as those imposed upon her more plastic and less resistant sister in school, and she bends under them in precisely the same way. Of 705 graduates of twelve of our best-known institutions, including Vassar, Smith, Cornell, etc., 19.6 per cent. lost health during their college days, and 59 per cent. of the whole suffered from some mental or physical disorder after graduation. These figures are striking as compared with the average of 42 per cent. morbidity among girls in the most severely taxed schools in Europe. Further, of these 705 graduates, 26 per cent. married, of whom 37 per cent. were childless at the end of six years of married life. Those who became mothers brought an average of less than two children each into the world, and of these 12 per cent. died at or immediately after birth.

As to the origin of the various forms of ill health prevailing among school children, no one contends that there is but one cause, or that of the many possible or probable causes all lie within the school. Not every child is physically robust when he begins his studies. Before that time and during his whole school life he is influenced by heredity, by home environment, and by a thousand conditions which have nothing to do with the school.

Upon one point, however, the statistics of morbidity previously quoted are distinctly illuminating. No matter what the age, sex, social condition or home life of the pupil; no matter where he may live, nor in what manner of school building he may be housed; no matter how good or bad the heat, light or ventila-

tion, how unsuitable the desks, how high the stairs; no matter if much of the study be done outside of the school proper, one rule always holds good—the percentage of morbidity increases in direct ratio to the amount of study in hours; and, inasmuch as the sum total of ill health is made up of many different units, there is found, wherever intellectual overstrain exists, not only a gain in the number of the fragile and the ill, but also in the variety of morbid states present, and a more pronounced severity in their type. Hence, it is fair to conclude that fatigue is the determining cause of many school diseases, and aggravates most or all of them.

The term "fatigue," so vague as popularly used, describes a condition whose origin, nature and results have been minutely studied and are not without general interest. The simplest mental process or the slightest bodily movement is impossible without some physical change in the nerve cells that produced or in any way had to do with it, and some destruction of living tissue. The products of such destruction benumb and poison every nerve cell with which they come into contact; and since they are picked up, whirled away and distributed by the circulating blood throughout the entire organism, not only the cells directly concerned and at the immediate site of the described impulse or activity, but all nerve cells within the body, are affected. Thus, while severe mental labor (though the student sit or lie calmly and comfortably), or active exercise of a single muscle or group of muscles (though the remainder of the body be at perfect rest), results in brain fatigue in the one case or fatigue of the special muscle or set of muscles in the other, yet in every instance there inevitably follow weariness and lassitude that are general and felt throughout the entire economy. Provide a period of rest and relaxation, and nature rapidly eliminates these waste products through the proper channels, and exhaustion is followed by refreshment. Keep up the strain, or repeat it with undue frequency, and cells and tissues are continuously poisoned and suffer actual demonstrable changes in their texture and constitution which may never disappear, but, on the contrary, may forever inhibit their activity and effectiveness. Certain birds are so sensitive to fatigue that if, after a day's work in search of food, they are kept awake and in movement throughout the ensuing night, death follows. Children are exceedingly susceptible,

for the reason that none of their tissues has attained full development, strength or stability. Hence, they fare ill if school-work is severe or prolonged, and if periods of rest are infrequent or not of adequate length.

The rapidity with which fatigue shows itself is well illustrated by the experiments of Buergerstein, who gave to a number of school children, in the first hour of the first day's work in a week, a series of equally simple mathematical problems, and who found that the period required for and the difficulties attending their solution (the latter as evidenced by the number of errors undetected by the scholar, or discovered and rectified by him) increased *pari passu* with the flight of time, and reached their maximum in the third quarter of the hour of the experiment.

Conversely, the readiness with which fatigue yields to proper rest or diversion, and the increase in capacity resulting therefrom, are well shown by the fact that, up to a certain point, the shorter the period of study, and the more frequent and prolonged the interval of rest, the greater the quantity and the better the quality of work done. In many cities where limited school-house capacity has made half-day sessions necessary, teachers have been astonished to discover that twice as much work was accomplished as under the old plan, and with far less weariness and worry.

The presence of fatigue can be detected readily by simple objective signs, and its degree can be measured with something like mathematical precision. If we strap (palm upward) one forearm and hand of the pupil to a table-top, fasten to the index-finger a string, running over a pulley, with a weight attached to the other end, and affix to the weight a needle whose point is in contact with a moving drum, we can ascertain and register the amount of local or general fatigue from which the subject suffers. When the pupil rises in the morning, refreshed by a night's sleep, the index-finger by being flexed can raise the weight so many times to such heights in so many minutes, and a certain curve will be registered on the drum. Tire the arm or hand, and the curve changes. Weary the brain by mental labor, exhaust the emotions by anxiety, fear or what not, the arm, hand and entire body remaining at rest, and the index-finger fails in strength and endurance, and the curve shows line by line the existence and degree of fatigue.

Supplement this physiological demonstration by microscopic

examination of the nerve cells of birds or animals which have undergone certain activities, and corresponding nerve cells in kindred (control) birds or animals which have remained at rest, and the existence, and to a certain extent the degree, of fatigue experienced by the former during life will become evident through the changes that have taken place in structure, and the response or lack of response to certain chemical stains. The work of Hodge illustrates these points clearly. He examined nerve cells in the brain and spine of sparrows killed early in the morning and found them sound; while similar cells of other sparrows killed in the evening, after their day's work in quest of food, showed changes in conformation and in reaction to stains. Even birds which had spent a rainy day under tree shelter, and which, having been supplied with food, were called upon for practically no bodily effort, showed pronounced anatomical changes in their cortical brain cells as the result of their mental activities.

It can be readily seen from what has gone before how fatigue dulls the mind and tires the body of the school child, how the nervous system, in its extreme sensitiveness and lack of development and resistance, chiefly suffers, and how the impress of fatigue upon it may become deep and indelible. A nervous system repeatedly jaded by undue fatigue is constantly subjected to a greater and greater tax as the pupil advances from class to class and the burden of work is increased, until perhaps the weight of a hair will decide his fate, and he is either immediately incapacitated for further effort, or enters life with a nervous system so overwrought, unstable and exhausted that, though years may elapse, a single physical or emotional crisis precipitates him into the slough of chronic invalidism.

The remedy for conditions which we know to exist in Europe and which we have every reason to believe are met with in the same or even greater degree in this country, lies not in the almost professional athleticism which is now the vogue; for in this it is evident we are merely substituting for one form of fatigue another no less injurious, but rather in a completer comprehension of the school child as a young animal at work and play, and a rational adaptation of work and play to his capacities and needs. In this way only can he be made fit for the real struggle awaiting him, and become in the community in which his lot is cast a valuable economic unit. GEORGE WOODRUFF JOHNSTON.

# SOCIAL IDEALS.—I.*

BY CHARLES WALDSTEIN, PROFESSOR IN CLASSICAL ARCHAEOLOGY (CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY) AND FELLOW OF KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

MRS. WHARTON'S remarkable novel is a tragedy. It is a tragedy, not only because it ends with the death of the heroine, but because the heroine loses life's greatest prizes—the true love of a lover and her own self-esteem. She loses what every human soul more or less consciously strives for, a deep and at once concentrated and reciprocated affection of a kindred human being, free from, and above, all worldly and conventional considerations; and she loses this because of conditions which are ephemeral and fortuitous. She also loses the all-pervading moral sense of the harmonious relation between her actual life and the ideal of that life which dominates the soul of every human being with greater or less clearness and consciousness. It is upon this harmony of our moral sense that our self-esteem depends. It is a soul's tragedy. But the essential element in a tragedy as a work of art is that it should force the reader or spectator into sympathy with the fate which is developed before his eyes. This is the true poetic justice in literature; not so much that the guilty should be punished, as that our sympathy and our emotions should be justified by the artistic presentation, the artistic form.

The story of the tragic fate of Lily Bart, living in fashionable New York society, could not evoke our interest, culminating in our sympathy, if the conditions which lead her to her ruin were not clearly impressed upon us by the necessary conditions of her own life and did not in so far "justify" her fate. We cannot sympathize with *Monstra:* they may help to interest us in a spec-

* This essay was suggested by the reading of Mrs. Edith Wharton's "The House of Mirth."

tacular display, but they cannot form the centre of interest in a tragedy which is to move us to sympathy and to pity. Becky Sharp could not for a moment hold our interest in suspense, if the conditions of her breeding and early life, and the circumstances under which, thus prepared, she is placed, did not fully account for, if not justify, her failings, her life, and her deeds. Lily has nothing of the Becky Sharp in her. She is in many respects the very opposite of Thackeray's heroine. She is essentially lovable, good-natured by disposition, beautiful and attractive, and, for the most part, up to the very moment of her tragedy, she is pampered by fashionable society. Her temperament, the inherited traditions of her early life are the opposite of those of Becky. Her great trials came at the end of her life, while those of Becky Sharp came at the beginning. We might almost venture to surmise that, if Lily had begun her life as a poor girl in a boarding-school, she would at once have gained and held the affection or, at least, the unstinted admiration of those about her. And if in her adult existence she had been forced to battle with manifest poverty and had gone through the discipline of earning her own livelihood as a teacher in a school, her whole nature might have developed generously and on large lines. Still, as with Becky, her life is decided by the peculiar influence of her early bringing-up and her later existence upon her elementary personality.

Lily Bart was born into the life of the wealthy merchant class of New York, the daughter of an assertive, worldly and selfish mother who dominated the family life. Her father was a simple business man, unassertive in his home; his main justification for his existence appears to have been to produce the means for the satisfaction of his wife's worldly ambitions. Lily's misfortune, moreover, was her remarkable and effective beauty, destined by its quality to confer upon her preeminence in the social glitter of that wealthy society, which seemed the natural setting or background for her physical attractiveness. With this she possessed a natural taste for dress and the grace of wearing it. In the eyes of the world she was destined to make "a great match." From her earliest days, in her home she has constantly and exclusively impressed upon her the vulgar and hard-hearted ideals (if one dare call them so) of this worldly and restricted society. The subsequent tragedy of her life is prepared when her father

dies after failing in business, and her mother is left alone with her beautiful daughter, her means sorely restricted, while her tastes and ambitions remain unabated. Lily's early girlhood is spent in travelling about, the main object of her mother being to evade, or at least hide, all the struggles to maintain for her brilliant daughter an adequate position in the circles of smart people among whom they both move. The girl has had no opportunity to realize higher and nobler ideals of life; while she has constantly instilled into her, as an almost physical characteristic, the thoroughly ingrained need of elegance and the revulsion from all that is dowdy or inelegant. After the death of her mother, as a beautiful and attractive young lady with good social connections in New York she soon becomes a pampered and prominent figure in the smartest and wealthiest of these sets. She becomes the friend of the wealthy women who set the tone in the luxurious life of the flashy New York *haute finance*—if the term "friendship" can be applied to the shallow and rootless relationship which she holds to her intimates among the women. With her small competence, however, she can only maintain herself properly in this circle by receiving certain indirect additions to her finances from her women friends, for which, without manifest compact, she renders corresponding services of an undefined nature as a kind of social assistant, manageress, mistress of the ceremonies and occasional private secretary without office. In spite of the deeper and nobler qualities in her nature, hitherto dormant, Lily feels herself comfortable in these elegant surroundings; they have become, in fact, almost an essential need of her nature. Moreover, the hard and indelicately clear manner in which, in her mother's home and in her later environment, the mercenary aspect of matrimony and love is regarded has blunted her inherent refinement of mind, if not of heart; so that she clearly faces and accepts the view held by those about her, that her ultimate destiny must be to marry one of the richest men in that circle. As the authoress says of her, when she has escaped from a very "doubtful" position:

"She had rejected Rosedale's suggestion with a promptness of scorn almost surprising to herself: she had not lost her capacity for high flashes of indignation. But she could not breathe long on the heights; there had been nothing in her training to develop any continuity of

moral strength: what she craved, and really felt herself entitled to, was a situation in which the noblest attitude should also be the easiest. Hitherto, her intermittent impulses of resistance had sufficed to maintain her self-respect. If she slipped, she recovered her footing; and it was only afterward that she was aware of having recovered it each time on a slightly lower level. She had rejected Rosedale's offer without conscious effort; her whole being had risen against it; and she did not yet perceive that, by the mere act of listening to him, she had learned to live with ideas which would once have been intolerable to her."

Lily does not marry one of the millionaires, though the opportunities were immediately within her reach, and though she had clearly accepted such a destiny as her natural one. The real cause of this failure gives the key-note of the whole work, cleverly struck at the very beginning of the story—her love for the man who appears above the horizon of the world in which she moves, though he also moves in it with a native refinement and a depth which have withstood its tarnishing and shallowing influences. He despises that world in his heart, though it has certainly affected his life and his fate, if not his character. Of this love, which subconsciously acts as a restraining power and at the last moment prevents her from marrying a millionaire without love on more than one occasion, both he and she only become fully and mutually conscious when the tragedy is almost inevitably approaching its climax.

Meanwhile, the conditions of the social life in which she moves have placed her in a succession of false positions which gradually tend to compromise her in the eyes of even that world. Her finances become involved, she is dropped by most of her "elegant friends," and is reduced to pecuniary straits which force her to give up the luxuries that have become second nature, and bring her to the verge of actual want. Forsaken and alone and almost despised, having sunk gradually from the highest pinnacle of vulgarly manifest smartness, through intermediate "social" stages, to association with people of doubtful respectability, she at last ends her own life just as she realizes what true love means. She does this in a tragically dramatic situation which it would be wrong to forestall in a dry and inadequate paraphrase, and which I must leave the reader to realize for himself in this beautifully written book. The book is in all essentials a tragedy.

In all times, the central and distinctive feature of a tragedy

has been that it represents the struggle of the Individual against the Universal, and that the individual is crushed. This idea of the Universal may be expressed in the form of the Divine Power, the gods, or Fate as decreed by them, or laws created by their sanction, or by Society representing these laws. It is a conflict of the individual against the crushing power of these general forces that constitutes the decisive feature of tragedy with the ancients; the progression from the direct manifestation of the gods to the more human sphere of social laws is marked by the three great tragic writers: Æschylus, in whose dramas we more directly feel the intervention of the gods; Sophocles, where fate manifests itself in the form of immutable laws; Euripides, where the human origin of these laws is more perceptible. This conflict and its tragic end, implying as they do the contravention of the highest social laws, imply some crime or fault or at least mistake on the part of the suffering hero. But, to evoke our sympathy and our pity, the definite contravention must not be an immediate act of his conscious will; but it must be caused by some outer concatenation of circumstances which takes the form of fate from which he cannot escape, some overwhelming passion, justifying the act by its elemental forcefulness, or some mistake of judgment which for the time has blinded the eyes from perceiving and realizing the great general laws. Yet, in the Greek drama, these crimes or passions or errors of the individual tend to confirm the strength and validity of the general laws, they make them appear immutable as rocks upon which the fabric of organized society was erected for the ancient world. Their dramas are thus "ἠθικόι," moral. Even with the Greeks, however, in the progression I enumerated above, the tendency grows to eliminate the supranatural element in the conception of these general laws; though we must never forget that the supranatural with the Greeks never was fantastic, because their gods and all their mythological conceptions were naturalistic.

In the modern era of the drama, ushered in by Shakespeare, this tendency towards a purely human basis for the events enacted grows constantly more marked. Human society becomes more directly and manifestly the authority for the laws and the forces against which the individual struggles in tragic conflict. At the same time, the "justification," upon which our

sympathy is based, is more and more manifestly to be found in the *character of the hero.* The conflict must be accounted for, dramatically justified, in the character with which the hero is born. And the most noteworthy consequence of these changes is that, in the presentation of the society which produced the general laws, the element of absoluteness, of immutability, which the supranatural element added to the Greek conceptions, is weakened. In Shakespeare, whatever the strength with which he endows the surrounding forces against which the individual character struggles, we have the suggestion that these change and are not absolute, because they have a national and an historical character.

This process from the ancient to the modern drama is thus one of artistic individualization, a general process which we can notice in the development of all arts. In the drama this process applies both to the drawing of character and to the drawing of "society." The finer shading, the emphasizing of individual features, the precision in the expression of attributes, which mark the development of the modern drama, have no doubt been brought about through the instrumentality of the novel, which has accustomed the public to a fuller presentation of character in growth and development, in its relation to surroundings and in the depiction of the various situations.* But if this greater individualization applies to the presentation of character, it also emphatically applies to the drawing of general society and its laws. With the growth and facility of intercommunication between the various nationalities, each nation has become cognizant of the national character of the other countries and distinctly conscious of its own; and this knowledge has become a matter of artistic interest to each. At the same time, the familiarity with the past through the study of history, and the keen interest thus aroused, have created an artistic taste for the apprehension of the distinct characteristics of various periods

* The dogmatic student of "Æsthetics," who takes Lessing's Laocoon as his canonical standard, does not always realize how the several arts influence one another. They do this indirectly, in that a certain standard or form of presentation is fixed in the minds of the public by one art, and this modifies the demand with regard to another art, though that art may be based upon different principles and appeal through different organs of sense. I shall, therefore, allow both drama and novel to illustrate my point. Perhaps I ought to remark that, of course, there are other forms of the novel besides the "dramatic novel," but with these I do not deal here.

in man's past. Instead of General Human Society, we thus have French, German, English, American Society, and, moreover, the national society and social atmosphere of one period in these countries, or even the different districts and centres of life within the same community. Balzac does not only depict the society of France in a given period, but he distinguishes between the life of the metropolis and the life of the provinces; Zola gives facts dealing with the French life of the Second Empire as a whole. Anatole France makes the delicate interaction between the contemporary life and social atmosphere of France upon M. Bergeret the centre of his vivid drawing of the inner struggles of a modern scholar. Mr. George Meredith with passionate insistence depicts the conflict between the vividly drawn provincialism of the England of his youth and its hatred of ideas, and the world of wider and deeper ideas and truer feelings which actuate his heroes, and, especially, his heroines. George Eliot, in every one of her stories as well as in her scenes of provincial or clerical life, shows the same conflict, nowhere more dramatically than when the passionate soul of Maggie Tulliver is wrecked by the hard rule of the Mill on the Floss which typifies the provincial conventions of the English country life into which she was born. Gogol, Tourgenieff, Tolstoy, Gorky do the same for Russia. In the best German novels, from Otto Ludwig to Franzen, we have the same central feature of dramatic conflict. From the plays of the elder and younger Dumas down to Pailleron's masterly drawing of the "*Monde où l'on s'ennuie,*" we have a process of finer drawing of the "social" background.

This process of individualization as regards the social environment does not end with the nation or period: society as a general power, weighing upon the individual and affecting his fate, becomes attenuated to a class, nay to a "set"; and the "immutable laws" of society more and more tend to become the conventions of a set. The struggle of the individual against the universal is then no longer the struggle of the human heart and of individual life against immutable laws; but against what the actor himself, as well as the audience, may recognize to be *convention.* This forms the key-note to the compositions of Ibsen and his school. The process of differentiation goes still further: general society, which forms the environment to the soul's drama, may be represented by one aspect of modern life,

as with Hauptmann, with Zola, with Norris; it may be a dominant economical movement, the struggle of capital and labor, the establishment of the universal provider in opposition to the small shop, the conditions of the miner, the influence of drink, etc. Nay, the distinct national laws or standards or conventions, such as those of American and European society, may in their complex fusion become a determining factor of general life pressing upon individual life, as with Mr. Henry James the common land of European and American social standards and ideals becomes itself the complex social arena in which the living actors move and struggle in unbloody, but none the less tragic, conflict. In Æschylus we had the struggle against the will of the gods, in Sophocles against the social laws, in Ibsen against the conventions of the day and in Henry James against the confusing complexity of international standards and conventions.

Thus the ruling laws, the social background, the pervading atmosphere in which the life and conflict of the tragic hero are placed, become more and more prominent and more and more manifestly, sensuously drawn; until a great deal, if not a preponderance, of the interest is shifted to the environment, and the individual characters often receive their artistic right of existence because they are the bearers of these corporate entities, of social ideas or forces or movements. Drink or a strike or the problems of transportation become the heroes in the novels and plays of Zola, of Gerhard Hauptmann and of Norris.

The environment, social as well as material, thus dominates, nay even creates, the individual.

Whether it be a mere coincidence or a casual connection or—what seems to me more likely—the result of the spirit of the age, it is in the age of Charles Darwin that the influence of the environment, in essentially modifying, if not in producing, a definite character, is made a distinct literary element. With writers like Ibsen and Zola, the application of these principles of evolution and heredity becomes inartistically manifest and is often obtruded with an amateurish exaggeration and directness. Yet, though the study of evolution and heredity may thus have led to exaggeration and abuse, the modern reading public has not only become prepared to understand most of such influences upon the formation of character, but the knowledge of them has become so familiar and has given such a general tone to the

consciousness of the thoughtful public, that the scientific attitude of mind has indirectly affected the artistic treatment of life. It has been especially active in the dramatic novel. Though, on the one hand, the dramatic conflict lies between the individual, his rights, his passions, his natural interests, and the conventions of a narrow society, the conflict is converted, on the other hand, into a struggle between a "set"-created type, the child of *a* society, and the lasting general human laws —between *a* society and society. Perhaps more accurately defined, the struggle lies between the ideals, the standards or, at least, the aspirations of a narrow society or set and those of human society as a whole. And, when we have to deal with a soul's tragedy, it may often mean the struggle in one and the same individual between the two ideals, the two standards, the two groups of aspirations within it. When at the end the victim realizes that the lower forces have prevailed, then it is a tragedy.

This is the tragic element in Mrs. Wharton's story, as it is in so many noted works in modern fiction. The child's soul is formed and the woman's life is fashioned by the outer social world in which they are placed. We run dangerously near to cant when we say that the most important element in the formation of a character—its education—and the direction of a life's course—its associations and activities—are the ideals which are instilled and the ideals which surround. If we could know the day-dreams of a child—nay, of the grown-up child as well —the part which it imagines itself to play in the world of its desires, the secret ambitions which are hatched in the moments of silent reverie, we should know more about what that child is and what it is to become than by anything said or done, by any effort or achievement.

Now, it is not so much through the channels of the intellect that this fountain of future effort and desire and ambition, which direct the course of the whole life, is fed and courses through our life-blood. It is directly through our emotional nature and our imagination; through what stirs our feelings and appeals to our imagination; through our environment, our home; through our plays and games, physical and moral and intellectual; through what we read—not in connection with work in school hours, but with the relaxation of play and repose that

make the heart sensitive in our leisure hours. Here lies the responsibility of the home, the whole home, not the nursery only, and still less the school. Here also lies the ethical importance of the literature we read,—not so much that it should only deal with nice and brilliant things and people, and avoid the truth of life and the life of common people who are far from brilliant, who may even be vicious; but that the general spirit and moral tone *within the work itself,* and the ultimate ideals dominating the writer himself, which flow into his work involuntarily and give it its elevating stamp, should be moral.

These ambitions of life, these social ideals, are also directly transmitted to the young by those who are about them in their home, those whom they admire and look up to. Yet they are not transmitted directly by preaching, not through the intellect, through the momentary comprehension of the idea itself; but habitually, by continuous repercussion of example, until it pervades the whole surroundings of life, the moral atmosphere, which æsthetically filters through the senses into the emotions, deep down into the character, and gives substance and direction to the imagination. It is what we call the "tone" of a social group and of a home. This tone may be true and noble, strong and refined; or it may be false and ignoble, weak and vulgar. And this tone ultimately derives its character and substance from the morality which is at the bottom of the life, of the ambitions and aspirations, of those who dominate it. I am not using the word "morality" in the restricted sense which we are wont to apply to it nowadays; but as the consciousness of the truest laws which the clearest mind, free from self-deception, can recognize as worthy of ruling the social life of the times in which we live, so clearly perceived that they can be applied to the deepest, weightiest and highest, as well as to the most superficial, lightest and most lowly conditions of our existence. Not the laws of a set, but the laws of society.

Yet the disease which leads to tragic issues is often to be found in the fact that this wide conception of society has degenerated in the minds and hearts of shallow and vulgar-minded people, until its big meaning and purport are entirely lost, and it merely comes to mean the outer tinsel and glittering attributes of a group of wealthy people, who stand prominently before the eyes of the public on a pinnacle of newspaper publicity, in which

their trivial acts and the articles of their apparel are heralded to a gaping and envious crowd. These are the people who then set the "tone" for a whole nation, a tone which reverberates through the streets and slums of cities into the very country lanes, penetrating into the homes of every class, intruding into the harmony of their existence, and often ending in its distant echo with a discord which turns life into low comedy and sometimes into tragedy.

The word "society," which we have hitherto applied in a deeper signification, comes then to stand for what has been called the *Beau Monde* and, as an adjective, *mondain*, worldly, fashionable. We meet it in literature in the phrase "a woman of fashion" and "a man of fashion." We feel a kind of hesitation in dealing seriously with such a condition of things; there is even a kind of self-deceiving insincerity which leads us to deny, or, at all events, to ignore, the existence of such a definite force in actual life. Why is this? Why does our taste revolt against dealing with it explicitly, as if we felt it to be something indelicate? Perhaps it is that we feel we are offending against our sense of proportion by fixing and confirming, by giving substantial weight to, something that is evanescent and immaterial and illusory. We may rightly feel that its power mainly consists in the recognition which it receives; and that the only way not to confirm it, is to ignore it, instead of endowing it with serious existence by such notice. And, all the time, those who observe life must realize that this idea of society is a power, a great power, to the vast mass of people.

In older days, when there were no railways and telegraphs and no newspapers, the *monde* was small and more confined in its recognizability and influence than it is now. The capitals, London itself, were comparatively small, and the Courts dominated the life of the capitals more directly with contiguous ascendency. The Counties had more material social solidarity, and the leading gentry there danced complacently to their own established good tone. There was more marked exclusiveness, and therefore less interference, between the different circles, and more internal repose. This compact internal social life did therefore not become cognizant to any marked degree of its external appearance, or, at all events, it remained indifferent to it; and thus standards of a more inward and higher character

could become fixed within its body. All this has been changed through the growth in size of the social centres, through facile intercommunication and transportation. All boundaries have been broken through. There are so many "tones" that their complexity produces a confused noise, and no one is dominantly recognizable. Two forces alone have remained to give dominance to the tone of "fashionable society": money and the press.

There is an old German saying that two things cannot be hidden, wealth and poverty. Great wealth can certainly make itself seen and heard and by some means or other attract the eyes, and more than the eyes, at great distances. The brilliancy which it can bring in its train can be transmitted from one distant country to the other; homes can be established, entertainments given, prominence bought. And then comes the press to help it, and its dazzling effects are sent, as it were, by wireless telegraphy into the homes of even the humblest *bourgeois*. And behold! the tone is set which may affect the life of the homes and the imagination of the pure child that lives in them! This becomes a force, a great force affecting the life of a whole nation—the nation's ideals. The writer was told by one of the leading representatives of politics in the United States, when he had just returned from an extensive tour of public speaking, that he found it hard to arouse enthusiasm for, or even interest in, the important questions he wished to bring before the people; that, even in small towns in the Far West, the newspapers would devote but little space to the account of such political discussions, while they devoted columns to the narrative of Newport doings: who was present at the X's dinners and the Y's dance and the Polo match, and what the people wore.

Now, this "society," this *beau monde,* which has replaced the deep conception of society in setting the standards and laws of civilized communities, as Mrs. Wharton describes it in New York, exists everywhere. It is no longer beautiful with the background of chivalry; it is essentially vulgar in its taste and in its influences. The tone is illiterate and uninteresting; there is only the brilliancy of wealth and the glitter of jewels. What there is of ingenuity is to be found in devising new and splendid forms of entertainment; and herein the native inventiveness manifests itself in ministering to the pampered palates of those

who have an insatiable hunger for entertainment. But this entertainment is always *mouvementé,* never reposeful, never calculated for people when they are alone or in smaller groups. There is manifest in the life of these people the hypertrophy of the gregarious instinct; there is no time allowed in the programme of such house parties for restful seclusion with a book or a lonely walk or ride; only, perhaps, in the hours of the morning, when the women rise late and the men rush off to Wall Street, is there seclusion and peace. The presence of Wall Street is felt permeating the whole,—the most brilliant of *fêtes champêtres,* a cruise on the wide expanse of sea, a ride through country lanes. Though Mrs. Wharton has with delicacy shrunk from obtruding it grossly, she has made use of it in the fate of her heroine in a complicated and dramatic situation. Nor has she entered into the doubtful processes of financial enterprise and promotion which permeate this world of Wall Street and often bring us near the border-land of Queer Street, if not of criminality. But in reading the book we feel in the back of our heads the possibility of a state of affairs which the recent revelations in the management of Life-Insurance Companies have actually shown to enter into the sphere of these most prominent leaders of New York "fashionable life."

Yet all this is kept apart, as much as is possible, from the actual domestic and social life of these rich people. The highest qualities there attained to are those of comfort and elegance and luxury. These are the gods whom they worship. And thus the brilliancy of their appearance is made manifest to the widest public in the streets, and through the press reports of their internal gatherings they rise in dazzling splendor and brilliancy before the impressionable eyes of the world outside and leave a stamp upon the desires and ambitions of thousands of girls and women. These influences distorted the nature of Madame Bovary as a girl and led to her tragic doom, as they fascinated as a child the heroine of Daudet's "*Fromont Jeune et Risler Aîmé,*" drawing her to the gilt railings of the gate leading into the splendid "hotel" of the rich, and eating her heart out in covetousness as she dreamt of the luxury within.

CHARLES WALDSTEIN.

*(To be Continued.)*

# SOME ARGUMENTS AGAINST MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP.

BY F. B. THURBER.

THERE are two sides to most questions, and municipal ownership is no exception to this rule. There are situations in countries having a form of government different from ours, where graft is not an epidemic disease, and where public ownership and operation may be successful; but even there opinions differ. In Great Britain it has run its course, and there is a reaction in public opinion against "municipal trading," as it is called there, just at a time when many well-meaning persons in this country, as well as professed Socialists and their organs, are advocating it here.

In a country with universal suffrage, it is desirable to limit the number of public officials to the smallest possible number, for political reasons; and there are also economic reasons which apply especially to lighting, traction and other public-service corporations which are large buyers of materials, employ large numbers of persons and require a high order of administrative ability. Indeed, water, a natural product, which runs down-hill and is distributed with a minimum of labor and expense, is about the only public necessity justifying public ownership in this country, and even in this there are exceptions.

Nothing can be truer, as a rule, than that "public-ownership waste exceeds corporate profit"; supplement this with the even more important political considerations, and thoughtful citizens may well hesitate to favor the present Socialistic fad of municipal ownership. Its advocates play upon public prejudice, and claim economies for public ownership which do not exist.

Public officials where municipal plants have been established are naturally interested in making a good showing and holding

their easy jobs; in many instances, their bookkeeping omits interest, taxes, depreciation, sinking-fund for renewals or improvements, and other items which a private corporation must recognize. The taxpayer is a convenient beast of burden upon which to unload deficits, and he in turn unloads on rentpayers where he can. Under public ownership, new inventions, improvements and extensions are ignored. Under private ownership, the best professional talent is employed at salaries unheard of in public employment, and all these improvements are at once utilized, giving the public an up-to-date service.

Individual initiative and energy, coupled with the cooperation of many small partners in corporations, has made this country great; and I cannot believe that the municipal Socialistic propaganda will largely prevail if the facts are properly presented to the jury of American public opinion.

As illustrative of the above points, I cite a few opinions of others, taking up first:

*Political Objections.*

"The Evening Post" (New York) of March 8th, 1905, in an editorial on the strike in the Subway and on the Elevated Railway, entitled "Some Lessons of the Strike," said:

"Nor can we omit to point the warning which the strike furnishes against municipal ownership of a great transport system. One thing which the infatuated strike-leaders have steadily counted upon is Mr. Belmont's political involvements. They have repeatedly raided him in the confidence that he dared not antagonize 7,000 voters. Now, imagine the city itself—that is, a Mayor standing for reelection—running all the transportation lines. Fancy 12,000 or 20,000 motormen and conductors directly in the pay of the municipality. What demands should we not see made, what threats indulged in, what political appeals made and terrorism exerted! From what is going on in the green tree of ownership by a politician, we may infer what would be done in the dry tree of ownership by an Administration dependent on universal suffrage. We had best look twice at that fire before jumping into it out of our present frying-pan."

The "Chicago Evening Post" of September 15th, 1905, in an editorial entitled "The Bridgetender's Rake-off," shows how municipal ownership and operation work in Chicago. It said:

"As the taxpayer reads the facts and figures presented by the 'Evening Post' of yesterday regarding the salaries paid to the city bridgetenders,

he will be particularly impressed by the 'rake-off' that goes to the occupants of these 'soft snaps'—the amount of money drawn from the city treasury that is not earned.

"The taxpayer who knows little about practical politics will wonder why a man should be paid $3,400 a year to look after a bridge, pay out about half of this to have the work done, pocket the other half and devote his time to running a saloon or some other purely private matter. He will marvel that a bridgetender, who at most is nothing but a motorman, should draw several times a motorman's pay, yet do no part of a motorman's work.

"There is not a bridge in Chicago that should not be handled at an outside cost of $3,000 a year—considering that three or four months the work of attending to bridges is merely nominal. It has been shown that one bridgetender is clearing $155 a month out of his $2,700 salary; another is pocketing $1,840 a year out of $3,400; still another is netting fully $1,000 annually out of his $283.33 a month.

"This is a reckless way to play with the people's money. Even the city authorities who are responsible for the salaries and the selection of the men to whom they are paid show they are ashamed of the whole 'grafting' business by their reluctance to let the people scrutinize the bridgetenders' pay-roll.

"The shameful condition so fully exposed by the 'Evening Post' should be changed without delay. The Mayor and City Council ought to join hands in a bit of reform that would be immediately to the benefit of the public treasury. The Mayor should limit the number of bridgetenders to actual requirements, and he should see that every man earns his pay. The Council should limit the appropriation for this work, so as to leave no opportunity for grafting.

"The bridgetender should be required to attend to bridges, to look after them thoroughly. He should have no time for practical politics or for running a saloon. And for this work, faithfully done, he should receive a fair salary.

"Stop this bridgetenders' graft. Cut out the practical politician's rake-off. Mayor Dunne, who proposes to bring the street railroads under the same management as the city bridges, should be particularly anxious first of all to reform this especially glaring evidence of loose municipal operation."

As illustrating how persons who know only one side of a question change their minds after seeing the other side, the following editorial, entitled "The Conversion of the Scot," from the "New York Times" of June 15th, 1905, is pertinent:

"Mr. James Dalrymple, Glasgow's managing expert of tramways, hailed and imported by the 'Lord Mayor' of Chicago and the Municipal Ownership League of New York as the high apostle of municipal-run street railways, has experienced a conversion and given his adorers a

chill. His change of prospect from the fair municipal landscape of Glasgow to the political bogs and quagmires of Chicago is marked by the following two utterances, the first delivered just after Mr. Dalrymple landed and was hugged by the Leaguers in this city, the other on his way back on Tuesday *viâ* Philadelphia:

BEFORE.

"I see no reason why Chicago, or any other city in this country, should not be able to own its street railways, and to run them with as much success as we have achieved at Glasgow. I admit that the proposition at Chicago is a much larger one than the one we had to tackle, but at the bottom it is the same.

"The people of Glasgow would not go back to the old days of private ownership for anything in the world. I am not saying that a company would not do as well by the public. I know, in fact, that it could, but it would be doing so with a somewhat different end in view. For a company has always the shareholders to consider. And I have to admit that you will find people in Glasgow to-day—quite influential people, too—who say that the street-car service is not profitable."

AFTER.

"To put street railroads, gas-works, telephone companies, etc., under municipal ownership would be to create a political machine in every large city that would be simply impregnable. These political machines are already strong enough with their control of policemen, firemen, and other office-holders.

"If, in addition to this, they could control the thousands of men employed in the great public-utility corporations, the political machines would have a power that could not be overthrown. I came to this country a believer in public ownership. What I have seen here, and I have studied the situation carefully, makes me realize that private ownership under proper conditions is far better for the citizens of American cities."

*Economic Considerations.*

The experience of the City of Philadelphia with her gas-works is interesting, because she has both operated and leased them; and the results have a bearing upon both the political and economic phases of this subject.

For many years, the city owned and operated its gas-works, with the result of high prices, poor service and the gradual development of a political ring which robbed the city and practically dominated its politics. This grew so intolerable that, ten years ago, the works were leased to the United Gas Improvement Company. Hays Robbins, in an article in the "World of To-day," December, 1904, says:

"During the late seventies and early eighties, the waste and mismanagement under this [municipal operation] system became so scandalous that public-spirited citizens, notably the well-remembered Committee of One Hundred, dared the power of the gas ring and fearlessly exposed its shameful record. Professor Bryce says that this ring controlled no less than 20,000 votes, using them most effectively to prolong its corrupt rule."

The result of the lease to the United Gas Improvement Company has been to improve the service, lower the price and give

the city a yearly revenue of $650,000, as against an average yearly deficit under city management of $239,000.

The candle-power under city management averaged 19.17; under the Company management it has averaged 22.88. Thousands of service connections which were worn out or inadequate in size to supply sufficient gas have been renewed, convenient stations for the payment of gas bills furnished, and the plant brought up to the highest efficiency.

But, while accomplishing this great gain by taking the gas-works out of politics, the city did not entirely escape the evils of municipal ring rule which developed in other directions, and has only recently been broken by another uprising of citizens. Some people have inferred that the recent political revolution in Philadelphia had something to do with the gas business, but it was only in the sense that the political ring controlling the city, needing more revenue to carry on extravagant and fraudulent public improvements which they had inaugurated, approached the United Gas Improvement Company with an offer to extend their lease, provided the Gas Company would raise $25,000,000 for the ring to carry on the city improvements which were under way. After a long negotiation, the Gas Company consented to a contract which good judges believe would (if the money could have been honestly expended) have been advantageous to the city as well as to the Gas Company. But the abuses of the municipal ring had become such a stench in the nostrils of the community that the public revolted and the ring was smashed. So far, however, as the relations of the Gas Company to the city are concerned, they have been entirely satisfactory, and it will be a sorry day for Philadelphia if the city should resume municipal operation of its gas-works. Municipal ownership is one thing, municipal operation another.

"The Times" (London) recently indicated the result of municipal ownership and operation in England, in a series of articles under the title of "Municipal Socialism," from which the following paragraph is quoted:

"Such was the fashion, however, in which the work was done that it was aptly described by one alderman as 'the municipalization of laziness.' There was little or no control over the men, with whom it was essentially a case of 'go as you please.' One or two members of the Council who had been builders went one day to see how a certain work

was progressing, and they found that two men had been for three weeks on a job which one man ought to have finished in three days. In such circumstances as these, the cost of work went up necessarily. The work's manager estimated, for instance, that certain renovations to be carried out in the Stratford Town Hall by his department would cost nine hundred pounds sterling; but, though nothing more was done than he had allowed for, the bill came to two thousand pounds sterling."

It is natural for public officials to try to make a good showing in their accounts in order to justify themselves, and therefore many items which private corporations have to recognize are often omitted. How it works in England is shown by Mr. John Holt Schooling, an eminent authority, in the "Windsor Magazine," for January, 1905. The following is a summary:

| Undertaking. | No. | Capital. | Annual Result Claimed. | Correct Result. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Gas | 97 | £24,030,000 | Gain, £394,825 | Loss, £1,647,725 |
| Electricity | 102 | 12,510,000 | Gain, 11,707 | Loss, 1,075,057 |
| Trams | 45 | 9,750,000 | Gain, 99,318 | Loss, 729,432 |

The department of Commerce and Labor of the United States Government has issued an interesting report upon the relative expenses of private and municipal electric light and power plants. The year covered is 1902, and the figures as follow:

| | Private Stations Per cent. | Municipal Stations Per cent. |
|---|---|---|
| Salary and wages | 29.9 | 35.8 |
| Supplies, material and fuel | 32.6 | 46.2 |
| Rent, taxes, insurance and miscellaneous | 18.2 | 8.4 |
| Interest on bonds | 19.3 | 9.6 |
| Total | 100 | 100 |

*Watered Stock.*

A principal grievance of the advocates of municipal ownership is that private corporations water their stock, and that this entails an additional burden upon the community. While this may be true in some instances, it is not true as a rule.

The Hon. Chas. G. Dawes, formerly Comptroller of the Currency, well summarizes the facts in the following words:

"Stock in the modern corporation represents, not only ownership, but the location of control. The stockholders of a corporation unanimously desire permanence of control in a certain set of men, in which event they might find it impracticable to have stock issued only in an amount equal to the cash value of its property. The notion that stock is always watered to sell or to perpetrate some fraud is erroneous. The

public is not necessarily injured because stock at par does not always represent an equal amount of cash or its equivalent.

"Varying values in corporation assets are reflected in the selling or market value of the stock—not by constant alterations in the stock issues themselves. Dishonest men may, and do to some extent, use watered stock to create impressions of value which does not exist; but the abolishment of watered stock would not materially hinder them. Wrong impressions and overvaluations of stock worth par or above par are created as easily as in the case of watered stock worth less than par, and generally by similar methods. Stock exchanges, through the improper manipulation of operators, are frequently used to create wrong impressions of stock values; but in such cases, and all cases, it is not the water in the stock that causes the chief trouble among unwary investors. It is the water in the prices they pay for it. And that kind of water may be found at times irrigating with remarkable impartiality purchases of stocks at all prices above and below par."

This is emphasized by the Hon. M. A. Knapp, Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, who, in a paper before the American Association for the Advancement of Science, said:

"If common assertion is well founded, the body politic is afflicted with a grievous ailment which takes the name of 'trusts.' Those who diagnose this malady—and nearly every one professes ability to do so—declare that one of its worst and most aggravated symptoms is over-capitalization, or 'watered stock.' For this and other manifestations of the disorder the favorite specific just now is publicity.

"With all deference to those who advocate such publicity as a preventive of stock-watering, I venture to doubt the correctness of their contention. Indeed, my scepticism goes to the extent of questioning whether over-capitalization, as such, is a matter of real gravity, much less a portentous evil which demands an extraordinary remedy. I hold it unproved that the excessive issue of corporate securities is a source of such danger as to excite alarm, and I am yet to be convinced that enforced publicity will not be a harmful exercise of public authority.

"Leaving out the speculator, and taking into account only those seeking honest investment, ten times more money, to say the least, has been sunk in farm mortgages, suburban lots, patent rights, buying and selling grain, cotton and other commodities, where no corporate shares were dealt in or even existed, than was ever lost on account of the fictitious or excessive issue of corporate securities. If the State is to assume the function of keeping folly and cupidity from paying twice or ten times what a thing is worth, it surely would assume the guardianship of the largest numbers and the heaviest losers."

The foregoing applies to the interest of the investor as affected by watered stock. As regards the interest of the consumer of public utilities, the watered railroad carries at the same price as

the unwatered, and the watered gas company sells its product at the same price as the unwatered one. There is a thought in this connection which may not have occurred to everybody, and that is that, even if watered stock is a medium through which promoters do sometimes make profit in one way or another, are they not entitled to a profit? Would our railroads and other public utilities have been built if there had not been a profit to promoters beyond six per cent. upon the actual investment? Some men put their money, labor and time into transportation; some into real estate. Transportation made the real estate valuable. It saved time for the general public and promoted their comfort; yet the men who have grown rich through increased values of real estate are honored, and those who have grown rich through transportation are denounced as "franchise grabbers" and "public robbers." The same is true of lighting, telephone and other corporations. It appears that to grow rich through rendering the public a service is a crime, while to grow rich without such service is honorable. How many of us appreciate that "corporation" means "cooperation" and that the captains of industry, backed by many small partners (stockholders), are doing a great work?

The advocates of municipal ownership and operation claim, first, that it would be a relief from present political corruption; second, that profits would be realized for the public which are now absorbed by corporations. I believe that political corruption under municipal ownership and operation would be infinitely greater than at present, and the expected profits would turn out losses, to be borne by taxpayers. I have stated facts and opinions in support of this belief. I could add many others if space permitted.

There is a large and growing class of citizens who believe in "a square deal" for everybody; that government should protect life, property, health and education, but that in a country with universal suffrage the number of political employees should not be unduly increased; that the line should be drawn between public ownership and public administration, that in a manufacturing or transportation business public administrative waste exceeds corporate profit, and political dangers are greatly enhanced; and that Individualism as distinguished from Socialism should be encouraged.

F. B. THURBER.

# CRITICISM AND DOGMA.

PROFESSOR CHARLES AUGUSTUS BRIGGS, D.D., D.LIT.

CRITICISM is a method of knowledge. Wherever there is any sphere of knowledge, Criticism has its place. Criticism is the test of the certainty of knowledge and the method of its verification. It is vain to suppose that Dogma can avoid Criticism any more than any other object of knowledge. If the dogma is true, Criticism will verify it and confirm it. Criticism is destructive only of that which is false. Truth and fact cannot be destroyed. They are imperishable. Criticism and Dogma are not antithetical. They have each their own spheres of activity. Criticism cannot take the place of Dogma, and Dogma cannot take the place of Criticism.

Criticism has several departments in accordance with the several departments of knowledge. These are Philosophical Criticism, Historical Criticism and Scientific Criticism. Each of these has its subdivisions. Biblical Criticism is a section of Historical Criticism, and embraces all kinds of Historical Criticism so far as these may be used within the limits of the Literature of the Bible. There is a great confusion in the public mind at present as regards Criticism and Dogma, because of a failure to discriminate between the different kinds of Criticism and their relation to Dogma. Much has been written upon Higher Criticism in recent years, and yet there is a general misunderstanding as to its meaning, its methods and as to the sphere of its operation. Higher Criticism is essentially Literary Criticism. It is named Higher in distinction from Lower Criticism. Lower Criticism of the Bible has to do with the text of the Bible, to verify and correct it so far as its letters, words, sentences, chapters, books and collections of books are concerned. It has nothing to do with the contents of the writings, except so far as

these may indirectly testify to the text. The Higher Criticism has to do with the higher task of verifying the literary forms of the writings, especially as to the four great problems: integrity, authenticity, literary features and credibility of the writings. These also are purely formal questions and do not concern the contents except indirectly. The contents are tested as to their historicity by Historical Criticism, as to their teachings by the discipline of Biblical Theology. All these varieties of Criticism verify and confirm the contents of the Bible and the forms in which these contents are contained. Any further Criticism goes beyond the realms of Biblical Criticism into the larger sphere of Philosophical Criticism, General Historical Criticism and Scientific Criticism. There are therefore two entirely distinct questions with reference to the relation of Dogma to Criticism: (1) its relation to Biblical Criticism; (2) its relation to other Criticism. After Biblical Criticism has accomplished its task of verification or destruction, then the other departments of Criticism have their work of verification or destruction also. The verification of Biblical Criticism is not sufficient for the final establishment of any dogma. The verification of Philosophical Criticism, General Historical Criticism and Scientific Criticism is necessary for the modern scholar, even if he be convinced that the authority of the Bible is infallible. These distinctions enable us to determine the real state of the question as to the relation between Criticism and Dogma, with regard to any dogma under discussion.

The burning questions of Dogma at present are the Virgin Birth and the bodily Resurrection of Jesus Christ. Most people are greatly confused about them. These two questions are really only two parts of the same fundamental question as to the nature of the body of Christ, which also is at the base of that other important question as to the nature of the presence of the body of Christ in the Eucharist. The solution of all these problems will probably come together. Christians ought not to be disturbed by the work of Criticism upon any one of them; for such work can only result in the verification and vindication of what is real and true in these dogmas, and the destruction only of what is unreal and false. We shall limit ourselves in this article to the doctrine of the Virgin Birth, because this is the one most under discussion at present and the one most difficult of belief

by a large number of Christian people. The method and principles used in this discussion apply equally well to all other dogmas.

I. *Biblical Criticism and the Virgin Birth.*

(1) The Lower Criticism confirms the dogma of the Virgin Birth. That doctrine is contained in the Gospels of Matthew (I, 18-25) and Luke (I, 26-38). These passages are now and always have been in the texts of these Gospels, and there are no variations in codices or translations that in any particular impair their statements as to the Virgin Birth.

(2) The Higher Criticism also confirms the dogma. It is true that the dogma is not contained in the Gospel of Mark; but that Gospel begins the story of Jesus with His Baptism, and only briefly reports the ministry of John the Baptist prior to it. The author of this Gospel, however, represents Jesus as the Son of God, the Lord God of Isaiah XL, 3, heralded by John, the messenger of that prophecy. It did not come within the scope of the plan of this evangelist to state how the divine Son of God entered the world. The Gospel of John does not contain the doctrine of the Virgin Birth. It tells of the entrance of the divine Word into the world by incarnation. It is absorbed in the nature of the Incarnation and does not give attention to its mode of birth. The silence of these Gospels cannot, therefore, be used as an argument against the doctrine. The Gospels of Matthew and Luke, instead of stating the high doctrine of the Divinity of Christ and the Incarnation of the Eternal Logos, limit themselves to the Virgin Birth of Jesus, which is certainly a simpler doctrine according to ancient conceptions. It is said by some that Jesus is represented in the Gospels as the son of Joseph (John I, 45), and therefore could not have been virgin-born. But no such implication is in this statement. When Joseph took Mary to wife and recognized Jesus, the son of Mary, as his son (Matthew I, 24-25), Jesus certainly became the son of Joseph in legal and common uses of the term.

It used to be said by the older objectors to the Virgin Birth, and is still said by some at the present time, that the narratives of the infancy of Jesus were later additions to the Gospels; but this opinion has been destroyed by a deeper study, which shows that the Gospels of Matthew and Luke both depend upon earlier sources. They both used a writing of St. Matthew, the apostle,

known as the *Logia,* and a Gospel of Mark in a simpler form than the present Gospel. The story of the infancy of Jesus came from a third earlier source, the Gospel of Luke using more of it than the Gospel of Matthew. This earlier source was poetical in form. It may have been one or more poems. That question has not been finally settled. But it is evident that these Gospels simply give prose settings to this poetry. Matthew gives but one poetic extract, but Luke several in those canticles which have always been used in the worship of the Church. These snatches of poetry were evidently written originally in Hebrew and have all the features of Hebrew poetry, parallelism, lines measured by tonic beats, and strophical organization. They were translated into Greek by the authors of the Gospels. The work of the evangelists upon them was limited to translation and prose settings. The documentary authority is, therefore, in original anonymous sources, endorsed by the two independent Gospels that used them, Luke and Matthew.

These poetic extracts which give the doctrine of the Virgin Birth are early in their origin, among the earliest of the documents upon which the New Testament depends. They must have originated in the Palestinian community before the dispersion of the Christians prior to the destruction of Jerusalem, thus during the lifetime of James and Jude, the half-brothers of Christ, and on that account credible to as high a degree as any other document of the New Testament.

The piece cited by Matthew (I, 20-21) is:

> "Joseph, thou son of David, fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife:
> For that which is begotten in her is of the Holy Spirit.
> And she shall bring forth a son, and thou shalt call his name Jesus;
> For it is he that shall save his people from their sins."

The piece cited by Luke (I, 35-37) is:

> "The Holy Spirit shall come upon thee,
> And the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee:
> Wherefore also that holy thing that is to be born
> Shall be called the Son of God."

The doctrine of the conception by the Holy Spirit and the birth from the Virgin is in a poetic form, but the substance of the doctrine is unmistakable. The form in which it is stated is in accordance with the ideas of the Jewish Christian community

of the time. The conception by the Spirit takes place in connection with a theophany. The description is in terms of theophany and in Hebraistic style. All this favors its credibility. Thus all the lines of the Higher Criticism favor the Virgin Birth.

(3) What has Historical Criticism to say about this dogma? Here we must distinguish between Biblical Historical Criticism and General Historical Criticism. The questions that may be raised are:

(*a*) The Genesis of the story. We have seen that its literary origin was in a poetic source, composed in the Palestinian community prior to the destruction of Jerusalem. It must have had the sanction of James and Jude of the family of Jesus, the heads of the Palestinian Church, otherwise it could not have been tolerated in the Christian community and could not have been regarded as authoritative by the authors of the Gospels. All these were too near the birth of Jesus, in temporal, geographical and personal relations, to go astray in so important a matter. The two pieces of poetry are entirely consistent, though in poems of different measure and in different language. In the one, the child is to be called Jesus; in the other, the Son of God. In the one, that which is begotten is of the Holy Spirit; in the other, the Holy Spirit comes upon the Virgin with the power of the Most High, and the result is a holy thing to be born. The conception by the Holy Spirit and birth from the Virgin are evident in both. The poems are put in the mouths of angels addressing Joseph and Mary themselves. The poems certainly do not give the exact words of these angels; but only the substance of their communication. This substance was either a conception of the poet, or was derived directly, or indirectly, from Joseph and Mary. But, in any case, the poet makes angels as well as Joseph and Mary witnesses to the reality of the Virgin Birth. It is difficult to see how any writer could have gone any nearer the sources for his material or have produced more reliable witnesses.

(*b*) The next question is as to the genuineness of the story. We may dismiss at once the suggestion of the older uncritical Deists and Rationalists, that it was meant to deceive as a forgery of lies. The only questions debatable are, whether it was a myth, legend, fiction or historical fact. There is a place in the Bible for all of these. They all have their use and purpose in

religious instruction. There are many legends and myths as to the childhood of Jesus in later Gospels of the Infancy. May the poetical story of the Virgin Birth be one of the earliest of these? Many of the older critics so supposed. But we cannot think of myth or legend, because these poems that contain the statements as to the Virgin Birth are too near the event, too close to the apostolic community, too near the family of Jesus, too near the Virgin herself, to admit of the growth of such a legend or myth, and of its acceptance by the family of our Lord and by the early Christian community. The only question that is debatable is whether the Virgin Birth rests upon the testimony of Joseph and Mary directly, or indirectly through the children of Joseph, James and Jude, or whether it originated in the family of Jesus after the death of Joseph and Mary as a pious conception, to explain the Incarnation to those who had come to the opinion that He was divine and preexistent before His birth into the world. This is a question we have no means of answering.

(*c*) We must now confront the question of the reliability of the story of the Virgin Birth. If it rests upon the testimony of Joseph and Mary, they were the only primary human witnesses possible, and the very best witnesses. How could either Joseph or Mary be mistaken as to this matter? We must accept their testimony, or reject them as false witnesses. But, to reject their testimony, would be to impeach them so seriously that it disproves itself, because inconsistent with their character as attested by their own lives and that of Jesus, James and Jude, and the unquestioned esteem for them in the Apostolic Church. They might not be able to explain the fact of the Virgin Birth, they might have mistaken their own subjective illusions for angelic voices, but they must have known whether the Virgin Birth was a reality or not. If now we take the other alternative and suppose that the Virgin Birth is a poet's conception as to the mode of the Incarnation, originating from a pious opinion rather than from testimony, then we must admit that it rests upon the opinion of those best qualified to interpret the mode of the Incarnation, not only because they were nearest to the person and life of our Lord, knowing Him from birth until death, but also because they were guided by the divine Spirit to interpret and teach the doctrine of Jesus to their fellow men. If we accept the promises of Jesus as valid, and the preaching of the

apostles, the founders of Christianity, as reliable, we must accept their testimony even as to so extraordinary and unexampled an event.

(4) What then has Biblical Theology to say upon this question? The Virgin Birth is essentially a doctrine or dogma. It is a mode of birth in Incarnation, and indeed the only mode known to the New Testament or Christian Theology. It is quite true that, in all the many references to the Incarnation in the Epistles and the Gospel of St. John, there is no mention of the Virgin Birth, and nothing that involves it; and it is quite possible that St. Paul, when writing his Epistles, never thought of it. That, however, amounts to nothing more than this, that St. Paul was so deeply concerned with the preexistence of Christ, with His divinity, and with the saving purpose of the Incarnation that he did not concern himself with the mode of birth; or, if he did know the mode, did not regard that as important to the purposes he had in mind in writing his Epistles. The same may be said of the author of the writings attributed to St. John. On the other hand, there is no other mode of birth in Incarnation stated or suggested in any of the numerous references to the Incarnation in the New Testament; and nothing that is in any way inconsistent with the mode of Incarnation by Virgin Birth. If Jesus Christ is the incarnation of a preexisting divine person, then some mode of birth was necessary. There seems to be no alternative between the Virgin Birth and birth in the ordinary way of human generation. It is altogether improbable that any one in the first Christian century could have thought of the Incarnation in any other way than by Virgin Birth. Other religions remote from Christianity do not hesitate to attribute virgin birth to their founders. It was the common opinion in Biblical times that barren women may conceive by the power of God in answer to prayer. Nothing is more common in all the religions of the world than for women to pray to their gods that they may conceive, and to regard conception as an answer to their prayers. It would be difficult to show that any one in the time of Jesus would have thought it possible that God could be born of a woman by the ordinary method of human generation. If any one really thought of the mode of Incarnation, the only mode thinkable in the first Christian century was Virgin Birth. Ob-

jections to Virgin Birth in the interest of natural generation are very modern, due almost entirely to the exaggerations of modern Physical Science. The environment of thought in the apostolic age verifies the conception of the Virgin Birth.

Thus all the departments of Biblical Criticism, Textual Criticism, Higher Criticism, Historical Criticism and Biblical Theology verify and confirm the Virgin Birth as a dogmatic fact. Whoever accepts the authority of the Bible as final is compelled to accept the Virgin Birth as an Article of his Faith. There can be no question but that the authority of the Church was given to the Virgin Birth in the old Roman Creed not later than the middle of the second century, and that it has been an official article of all the great branches of the Christian Church until the present day. Whoever accepts the authority of the Church as final is obliged to accept the Virgin Birth as an Article of his Faith.

### II. *Other Criticism and the Virgin Birth.*

The modern mind is not content to accept any dogma on the testimony of the Bible, or on the testimony of the Church, or on the testimony of both combined. Every event and every dogma must be subjected to the test of general Historical Criticism, to Philosophy and to Science, and must submit to their verification or condemnation. Even the Christian who submits to the authority of the Bible and Church must submit his dogma to these tests of Criticism, if he would use it to convince and convert other men. He is the last one who should object to such tests. He should have such confidence in the authority to which he submits as to have no doubt of its verification in all matters and in all respects.

(1) General Historical Criticism does not recognize the authority of Bible and Church as final. It challenges the evidence itself. The testimony of an ancient document, however venerable and credible, is not altogether sufficient. It is necessary to consider whether the Virgin Birth is in accordance with the experience of mankind and therefore natural; or contrary to that experience and therefore unnatural or supernatural. It is admitted that the Virgin Birth is not in accord with the experience of mankind. It is contrary to human experience. It belongs to the realm of the supernatural. The Virgin Birth of the

heroes of all other religions is denied without hesitation by devout Christian scholars. Why, then, should the Virgin Birth of the Founder of Christianity be the only exception in the history of the world? The historic origin of Christianity may seem to justify the Virgin Birth, so far as the Gospels and the opinion of the Apostolic Church are concerned; but the historian is obliged to consider the environment of Christianity, the circumstances under which it arose, and the history of the great World of which Christianity is only a part; and of other religions, whose history has in many respects gone through the same historical process as Christianity itself. Such an event, if it be an event, lies outside the limits of historical Criticism, just as truly as do angels and all the phenomena of the spiritual and invisible world. History can take account of Jesus only so far as His life in this world is concerned.

But if Historical Criticism, on the one hand, is impotent to verify the Virgin Birth as a fact, on the other hand it is impotent to discredit the doctrine. If angels exist, if there is a spiritual world, if there are spiritual relations between mankind and that spiritual world, if an incarnation of a preexisting divine person was necessary to human salvation; even if unique and unexampled in History, the Virgin Birth may be beyond the domain of Historical Criticism, but it is not impossible in itself; and if angels exist as ministering spirits they may have made the annunciation to Joseph and Mary. General History, if it cannot verify the fact of the Virgin Birth, verifies the dogma as appearing in the most primitive Christian Creed, not later than the middle of the second century, as the unanimous consensus of the Christian Church in all its great historical organizations until the present time, as a dogma which has determined the history of Christian doctrine, and through Christian doctrine the Christian Church and Christian civilization for nineteen centuries. It is not possible to explain the history of the world without recognizing that there is a God in History, and that, to use the words of Lessing, "The History of the world is the divine education of the race." It is not possible to explain Christian History without the recognition of Christ in History, and if Christ, then what Christianity has always recognized Christ to be, the Incarnate Saviour, who by Virgin Birth identified Himself, once for all and forever, not

with an individual man, but with human nature, as the Head of redeemed humanity. These things are dogmas interpreting History, which cannot be verified by Historical Criticism as realities attested by the human senses and human experience; but, without them, Christian History is unintelligible, inexplicable, a mass of heterogeneous facts and events without harmony and without unity.

(2) Modern Physical Science cannot verify the Virgin Birth of our Lord, because such an event is contrary to the general law of human births. Science, thus far, knows of no exception and is unable to see how such an exception is within the realm of possibility with normal human beings. If our Lord entered this world by the Virgin Birth, it must have been in an abnormal way at present unverifiable by Science. Therefore, such a birth must be regarded as outside the limits of scientific investigation. Science in its development fortifies more and more the uniformity and immutability of the laws of nature. The laws of nature are the laws of God. Moderns shrink from thinking that God would violate His own laws even in the incarnation of the divine Son.

On the other hand, Science cannot say that the Virgin Birth of our Lord is impossible, because it may be a unique fact, justified by such a unique purpose as the Incarnation of the Son of God in order to the redemption of mankind. Science can only say that it is beyond the realm of Science and that it is in the realm of Dogma; and that the dogma must not be stated in any form that will contravene the laws of nature. Physical Science, notwithstanding its great achievements in recent years, is as truly enveloped in mysteries as is Christian Dogma. New discoveries are constantly verifying, or destroying, old theories. Physical Science is now face to face with a world beyond the reach of the human senses. It has been so shaken by recent investigations that it requires all its energies to reconstruct its own doctrines. It is at present in too unstable a position to give the law to Theology. Many things are now done every day, in accordance with laws now known, which in ancient times would have been regarded as miracles. Doubtless, there are other laws yet to be discovered of which Science knows nothing. If there is a God, Who governs all nature by law, He may use laws as yet unknown to accomplish His purposes. And who can say that there may

not be crises in the history of the world when the Creator and Governor of the Universe may act Himself directly, without the use of any law whatever. The Incarnation of the Son of God was from its very nature a unique event, the most unique that any one could conceive of. In this event, if in any, God might act directly in theophany, as the Gospels represent Him as acting. Unless we are prepared to exclude God from His Universe and deny to Him any immediate action in its interests, we must recognize that the Incarnation was an event in which He would act directly, if ever, for it is God Himself becoming man. This again is Dogma, back of Physical Science; but in no respects antagonistic with Scientific Criticism or inconsistent therewith. It is in a realm into which Physical Science cannot as yet enter and may never be able to enter.

(3) So far as I can see, Modern Philosophy has nothing against the Virgin Birth as such, unless it can be shown that such a birth impairs the nature of the man that is born, or his human descent, or his unity with the human race as such, or disturbs the order of the Universe. When, however, the Virgin Birth is considered in its consequences in connection with the doctrine of the human nature of Christ, Philosophy has much to say. In the dogma of the Incarnation, the preexisting Son of God became man. It is necessary, therefore, to consider the relation of the divine and human natures in the God-man. In the evolution of the doctrine of the Incarnation in early Christian Theology, it was made evident that the union of the preexistent Son of God with humanity could not have taken place at any time after birth, whether at the baptism, the presentation in the temple, the birth itself, or at any other conceivable time. It must have been before birth and in the conception itself. It was also made evident that Jesus Christ must have been a complete and normal man, body and soul, His soul possessed of all its faculties, mind, affections and will.

The only thing in which His human nature differed from that of other men was in its union with the divine nature and the unity of the two natures in one person. Such a union of natures and such a unity in one person were unique and beyond the sphere of human knowledge or experience. The unity of the body and soul of a man is in the personality of the individual. Jesus was not only man, with body and soul, but also

before He became man He was a divine person with a divine nature. The divine person of the Son of God became man and, therefore, the divine personality became the unity of divinity and humanity in the God-man. The Son of God could not divest Himself of divine personality and become an individual man with a human personality. Being and remaining God, He must have remained a divine personality. He could not have assumed human personality with human nature without becoming two distinct beings, God and man, without becoming two and not one. In ancient as well as in modern times difficulty has been felt with regard to the absence of human personality from the man Christ Jesus. It seems to make his humanity incomplete. This difficulty was overcome by the doctrine that the human nature of Christ received its personality by union with the person of the Logos. What had to be excluded was that the human nature received its personality from its humanity. There could not be a duality of personalities in the God-man without making the union a merely objective one, chiefly if not entirely ethical. All this raises many difficult questions for Psychology and metaphysical and cosmic Philosophy, but none that have ever been regarded as insuperable by theologians, none that were not removed by the dogmatic statements of theologians more than a thousand years ago, when these questions were more hotly debated than at the present time. These doctrines were formed with a full use of the greatest systems of Philosophy that have ever appeared, the Platonic and the Aristotelian, and have maintained themselves through all the centuries to the present time. It is extremely improbable that they can be unsettled by that medley of heterogeneous and conflicting opinions that constitutes the Philosophy of our day. Philosophy is at present the most unsettled and unstable of all departments of human knowledge. It is in no position to give the law to a dogma which has Plato and Aristotle at its back.

The Philosophical difficulties which beset the doctrine of the Virgin Birth do not concern the Virgin Birth in particular, but the Incarnation in general. Indeed, the doctrine of the Virgin Birth seems to be the only way of overcoming the chief difficulties. If the preexistent Son of God became incarnate by ordinary generation, we could not escape the conclusion that a human individual person was begotten. The In-

carnation would then not be a real Incarnation, but an inhabitation of Jesus by the Son of God, with two distinct personalities, that of the preexistent Son of God and that of the begotten son of Joseph. Nestorianism could not be avoided. Such a merely external union of the divine Son with a human individual could not accomplish human salvation, as the Christian Church has always clearly seen. If the Son of God only inhabited the man Jesus, He might save that man, but how could He accomplish the salvation of the human race? Such an inhabitation of the Son of God would not differ in principle from the indwelling of the divine Spirit in a man. The man Jesus would be a prophet, a hero, a great exemplar, but not the Saviour of mankind. He might be the last and greatest of the heroes of Faith, but not God Incarnate. Only a God-man who had taken human nature into organic union with Himself and so identified Himself with the human race as to become the common man, the second Adam, the head of the race, could redeem the race. The doctrine of the Virgin Birth gives such a God-man. Natural generation could not possibly give us such a God-man. Therefore, the doctrine of the Virgin Birth is essential to the integrity of the Incarnation, as the Incarnation is to the doctrine of Christ and Christian Salvation.

When it is said that the doctrine of the Virgin Birth is essential, it is meant that it is essential to the system of doctrine and the Faith of the Christian Church. The Church can no more dispense with that doctrine than it can dispense with the Incarnation or Christ Himself. It is not, however, essential to the faith or Christian life of individuals. The doctrine may for various reasons be so difficult to them that they cannot honestly accept it. They may content themselves with the doctrine of the Incarnation and refuse to accept any doctrine as to its mode. They may even go so far as to deny the Virgin Birth, and hold to the theory of ordinary generation without accepting the legitimate consequences of that doctrine. Theologians are not always consequential. Men are responsible for what they believe and teach, not for what others think that they ought logically to believe and teach. The Church may, and in the present situation and circumstances of Christian Theology ought to, tolerate opinions which it cannot endorse.

Christian dogma is in a process of reconstruction, owing to

the partial adoption by theologians of the principle of development. Science and Philosophy are also in a condition of reconstruction and restatement. Confusion of thought is inevitable under these circumstances. The Church, the most stable of all human institutions, can afford to be patient and charitable, and to wait until its scholars have removed the difficulties that in this age envelop Christian Dogma. These can only be overcome in the arena of chivalric scholarship, not in ecclesiastical courts ruled by ecclesiastics, who are usually more concerned about the forms of things than about their reality. Christian scholars as a body are not at all dubious as to the Virgin Birth. It is not at all a question of Biblical Criticism, but of Christian Dogma. They are generously inclined towards those who at present are either doubtful about it, or even disposed to deny it. Biblical and historical scholars are just as decided in its maintenance as dogmatic theologians. For it is a dogma which is inextricably involved in the Christological principle that lies at the basis of Christian Dogma and Christian Institutions. They cannot possibly recognize that the birth of Christ was by ordinary human generation, for that would be a revival of the Nestorian heresy and be a denial of all the Christian Philosophy of the centuries, with all the serious consequences therein involved. It would turn back the dial of Christianity nearly two thousand years; it would break with Historical Christianity and its apostolic foundation, and imperil Christianity itself.

C. A. Briggs.

# A PLEA FOR STEAMMANSHIP IN THE NAVY.

BY REAR-ADMIRAL S. EARDLEY-WILMOT, R. N.

In the January number of this Review, Admiral Luce puts forward a plea for an Engineer Corps in the Navy—that is to say, a body of officers distinct from those who rise to command ships and fleets. I believe that such a policy would be a retrograde step.

I admit there is something at first sight apparently attractive in the argument which urges the impossibility of making an officer a jack-of-all-trades and hence master of none. There must be specialists in the higher branches of naval science; but, when a person speaks of knowledge of marine machinery and the direction of ships or fleets as pertaining to two distinct professions, I at once join issue with him. That they were considered so in the past led to all the difficulties which we are endeavoring to remove. To realize this, it is necessary to recount briefly how this came about, at any rate as regards the British Navy.

At the outset, let me disclaim that definition of a seaman which limits him to a knowledge of handling and navigating a ship under sail. What has always differentiated the landsman from the seaman is that the one can move, or cause to be moved, a craft on the water, and the other cannot, whether that craft be a coracle, canoe, rowboat or sailing-vessel. The seaman could handle or put in motion, in each case, the power which propelled the craft. The landsman was equally at fault whether with paddle, oar or sail. When steam-power replaced sail-power as the propelling agency, why did it not follow the same law?—for we have seamen to-day who know little more of the machinery which moves their vessel than a landsman. We will trace the cause.

Before the Norman Conquest of the British Islands we had proficient seamen on the coast engaged in trade and the fisheries, but

not trained to arms. The best sailors were on the south coast, and their craft were organized as the fleets of the Cinque Ports. When a fighting-force was required at sea, the vessels underwent some modifications, and soldiers embarked with the weapons of that day. As soon as the time of combat arrived, the mariners placed the vessel where the men-at-arms could ply their weapons or board the foe. The custom of having separate forces for navigating and fighting at sea continued for many years after the introduction of cannon and large-masted ships. Then its great inconvenience became more apparent. If in action considerable casualties occurred to the men working the guns, they could not be reinforced from the mariners; while, if the sailors suffered heavily, the soldiers could not be used for manipulating the sails as required. The soldiers were landsmen. Hence one force proficient in both duties became necessary, and the working of the guns fell to the sailors, a certain number of soldiers being retained for musketry—a custom which still prevails in a modified form with the Royal Marines. We also used soldiers to complete crews of ships when sufficient seamen could not be obtained.

We find, then, practically one corps propelling the ship and working its weapons during the old wars which terminated in 1815. The naval officer took great pride in handling his ship under sail. He knew all about the art, having assimilated it in infancy. He had graduated in the various branches of equipment, maintenance and repair, so there was nothing about the propelling power of his ship he did not know. He could tell from personal knowledge if a sail required shifting, a yard repairing or a rope renewing. Familiarity with theory and practice went together to make him a master in the art of seamanship. Of course, some officers attained great superiority over others in these respects; but the general standard was high, because in this portion of a naval officer's calling specialization did not exist: the propelling power was common to all. A lieutenant could splice a rope, turn in a dead-eye, or handle palm and needle as well as the most skilful sailor or boatswain.

Such was the position of affairs when, about 1820, steam-power knocked at the door of our picturesque war-ships. It gained a tardy admittance, but pride and prejudice denied it the parlor and relegated it to the kitchen. Our officers as a body would have nothing to do with the newcomer. It tarnished the spot-

less decks, spoilt the trim for sailing, and was to those conservative old salts an unseamanlike method of propulsion. Though unable to prevent its advent, they could impede the development of steam, which made slow progress. First came the paddle-wheel, then the screw-propeller. A few men divined what the future held, and recognized the advantages of a power independent of the wind, as when Charles Napier had paddle-wheels fitted to his sailing-frigate and worked them by winches, but distinguished admirals shook their heads when Ericsson gave a demonstration on the Thames of a boat propelled by steam and a screw. They feared it would impair steering efficiency. However, there was no resisting the importunity of steam; and, when it definitely arrived, the Navy entered a corps of engineers and stokers specially for this duty. At the time no alternative existed, for we had not thought of grafting a steam course on to the training of seamen so as to fit them for handling the new power. Nor could such foresight, perhaps, have been expected; for, between 1820 and 1860, the number of engineers and stokers in the complement of a war-ship was comparatively small. Machinery did no more than propel the ship; we had no steamboats, and even the anchor came up by manual labor.

Though we thus infringed the principle of having only one class for propelling and fighting—for the newcomers were not taught gunnery or navigation—in the limitation of the numbers and the duties of the special corps, we escaped the difficulties which later on beset us. We must remember that even the ablest officers viewed steam only as an auxiliary to sail. As an indication of the estimate in which the Navy held steam it may be mentioned that engineer officers when first entered held only warrant rank. Steam war-ships of all classes carried a full equipment of masts and sails, and resorted to steam only when it was absolutely necessary to do so. During a three years' commission in the Pacific on board one of our early ironclads, we traversed 51,000 miles of water, out of which 34,000 miles were accomplished under sail. Looking back, one is lost in admiration —though the feeling is mingled with regret for misdirected effort—at the enthusiasm and perseverance with which officers pursued the impossible task of making a craft almost devoid of sailing capacity emulate the "Saucy Arethusa" of bygone days.

This worship of a cult no longer of primary importance to

the fighting-ship diverted attention for a time from a pressing need. We may even admit some justice in the contention that a seaman of the period when sail and steam struggled for mastery could hardly become an expert in both, and hence that there might have been then a necessity for two classes; but when clear proof arrived that the retention of sail-power served no good purpose, besides crippling the fighting capacity of modern warships, we should at once have taken steps to modify naval training with another end in view. Instead of which we continued to instruct seamen fully in all the paraphernalia of a dying art, and at the same time to increase the numbers of those specially trained in machinery but not trained to weapons or in navigation. For now the new power began to absorb every operation in ordinary routine afloat. Steam brought the anchor to the bows, hoisted in boats, steered the ship, trained the guns, but in all of this the so-called seaman played almost the part of a spectator only. Naturally, the corps which possessed the knowledge of these things increased in importance as well as in numbers, and gradually acquired a power which led to extensive modifications in its status.

The fact of having a separate body of officers for this all-important duty, combined with traditional prejudice, kept the general mass of combatant officers from acquiring any intimate knowledge of steam-machinery. Proficiency in this branch did not influence advancement or employment; ignorance did not retard promotion. Forty years ago, young officers qualifying for the rank of lieutenant were examined in Seamanship, Gunnery and Navigation; the Seamanship questions comprising all the art of the ancient mariner. I remember my own experience, and the delight of my examiners at being told correctly how to clubhaul off a lee shore under sail; but it never entered their heads to question me as to the type of engines fitted in my ship. Later, Torpedo and Pilotage were added to the subjects for this examination; but earlier promotion, which rewards exceptional attainment in all these, is independent of intimate acquaintance with the power which propels the ship. Can we wonder, then, at the view held by many—erroneous, as I think it—that to become an expert in steam requires the sole attention of a lifetime; that an officer unaccustomed to the subject and looking into a modern engine-room should see there too vast a subject to be

added to his existing burden of professional knowledge? But is not this a matter of age and early training? I remember, as a midshipman in a full-rigged ship, landsmen looking aloft at the innumerable ropes leading in every direction, and exclaiming: "Do you mean to say you know the names of all the ropes and what they do? I should think it would take a lifetime to learn that!" Why did it appear a simple matter to the youngster of that day? Because he had been associated with ropes and the then seaman's stock in trade almost from infancy. Assimilation in early life is the answer to those who see such mystery in the engine-room. The first twenty years of my naval career were spent in full-rigged steamships, and this experience led me to form the opinion that it was more difficult to acquire proficiency in sail propulsion than in steam propulsion, and that more science was involved in the former. The perfect seaman of old required such a knowledge of weather as could only come from years of experience, and a constant study of atmospheric conditions enabled him to conquer the elements when most adverse. The power conferred by steam gives an independence of movement which obviates the need of such close study of wind and sky.

I believe most officers whose service includes this transition period will agree with the foregoing; but, under any circumstances, I maintain that a thorough knowledge of ship propulsion must be attained by all officers as the first attribute of a seaman to-day. For the position of affairs when we instituted the new course of naval training was as follows: We had a large body of officers versed in all the mechanical appliances which gave the vessel life as well as movement, but not trained to gunnery or command; while another body directed the vessel, without any considerable acquaintance with the motive power. The rivalry between these two corps formed the least evil of this dual system. Want of interchangeability might have serious results in an action. Assume the engine-room to be immune, by its position, from serious injury by shot or shell, but suppose it has suffered heavy casualties from some accident below; if all have been trained in propulsion, it can be reinforced from the deck in such a case without difficulty. Take the converse. Working guns with diminished crews has always formed part of ordnance drill. Gun-fire is slackening owing to the well-directed projectiles of the enemy. The guns want reinforcing, and the engine-room

can spare one or two officers with a party of men for that purpose. What a source of strength if, in either case, each set of persons can at once drop into familiar duties; for I advocate that men as well as officers be trained on the same lines. But the main point is that the man in command, in order to handle his craft to the best advantage in peace or war, must have a complete grasp of all the machinery which converts her from an inert mass into an organism replete with life. This is only achieved by early and constant familiarity. I think most officers in command have felt, at some time or another, their need for more knowledge in this respect. It was often so in my own case, involving something approaching to a feeling of humiliation that a subordinate possessed knowledge that I lacked; a condition that did not apply as to guns, torpedoes, etc. Such will always be the case when there is a separate and distinct class for the performance of any particular duty; the tendency will be to lower the standard of knowledge regarding that duty among the mass of individuals.

A striking example of this is furnished by the system—formerly prevailing in the British Navy—of having a separate and distinct corps of officers for navigation who did not rise to command ships of war. Although navigating a vessel is one of the primary attributes of a seaman's calling, it was made the specialty of a class, with the result of diminishing the interest felt by other grades in this work. To the proposal to abolish the system many opposed urgent objections somewhat similar to what we hear now about the machinery. Our ships would be badly navigated; we must expect an increase of grounding; it required a man to devote his whole life to this branch, and so on. Nevertheless, the change was made; and I have heard two successive hydrographers affirm that the navigation of our fleet is as good as, if not better than, it was under the old régime, while the general knowledge of this subject among all officers has much improved.

I do not agree with Admiral Luce in his advocacy of specialization if carried to the extent of separation into classes. A certain number of specialists are necessary for the higher branches of naval science; but natural bent and other influences will meet the demand without creating distinct classification at the outset. A high general standard is most essential, and it is best attained by keeping specialization within the narrowest limits.

I must confess that the views here set forth do not command universal consent with my brother officers, especially among the most senior. In discussing the question with them, they frequently cite the United States Navy as an instance where the attempt to make deck officers interchangeable with the engine-room staff has—they say—failed. I am not aware whether this is the case or not; but, if any want of success has resulted, I should attribute it to the fact that the change has not been sufficiently gradual in its operation. I remember reading the memorandum of the Assistant Secretary which introduced or preceded the Personnel Act, and it seemed to me that the reasons given for the policy advocated were absolutely unassailable. The method of application may have impaired success. For such a great change as the amalgamation of two classes whose duties had hitherto been distinct, gradual preparation is necessary. To direct an instant alternation of duties would not suffice where one set of duties was viewed with disfavor by many affected. A prejudice fostered by tradition existed against engineering duties in the Navy, so that, while those hitherto employed below went willingly on deck, there was not the same alacrity on the part of the deck officers to take their turn in the engine-room. At least so I gathered from a report of the Engineer-in-Chief of the United States Navy, accompanying Estimates of the Bureau of Engineering for the fiscal year ending 1903.

Though following the lead thus given by the United States, the British Admiralty are applying the principle by more gradual steps. The naval officer, at the earliest moment of his career, has impressed on him the importance of engineering work, and at once begins his training in it. No prejudice against this branch has entered his mind. In most cases, a desire to handle tools and machines exists at the age—12 to 13—when he thus begins to master the elements of mechanical appliances. A well-found workship gives him that early familiarity with machines which his predecessor had with masts and sails. Hardly emerged from childhood, he thus begins to assimilate modern seamanship; and, in a year or two, cylinders, pistons, turbines, etc., will present no more difficulty as a form of knowledge than the paraphernalia of sails and ropes did to the "Skilful Urchin" of old.

Other critics, though recognizing the benefits that will accrue from giving the executive officer a more extensive knowledge of

steam, are afraid he will lose the faculty of command, while we shall only obtain amateur engineers. In neither case do I share this gloomy view. An equal distribution of time on deck and at the machinery for the young officer at sea will give him ample opportunity for practical acquaintance with both duties. A midshipman's work on the quarterdeck of a modern war-ship does not involve many or varied services. There seems no reason why a daily turn of duty in the engine-room should incapacitate a lieutenant from efficient control on the bridge.

Why, again, should we not obtain good engineers under a system which gives them several years' continuous instruction in this branch at the most receptive age? We cannot expect that all will achieve preeminence; but, as with gunnery, torpedo surveying, etc., we shall secure a sufficient number with a special aptitude for the work to execute the higher functions appertaining to marine engineering.

It is said, and Admiral Luce dwells on the point, that the Mercantile Marine have not adopted, and will not adopt, any such system. That is quite possible, as the two services have a different end in view. The Navy exists mainly for use in war. Its organization is based on that eventuality, and the crews of vessels composing the fleet must be trained to that end. I have indicated how fighting capacity is augmented by departing from the dual and specialized distribution of the crew. This consideration does not apply to the Mercantile Marine, which may therefore prefer to retain things as they are. A few years ago we were told that it would not adopt water-tube boilers or turbine engines, as the advantages in each case were supposed to be discernible only from a fighting point of view; but, apparently, the commercial prejudice against this machinery is disappearing. In the same way I cannot help believing that the Mercantile Marine will eventually adopt the naval system of training for the advantages it possesses apart from the question of combat.

A further objection advanced is that the naval officer, once he takes up engineering as a special line, must remain there and lose his chance to command a fleet. This does not follow, and is not experienced by gunnery, torpedo and navigating officers. A lieutenant allocated to engineering duties—that is, to the charge of machinery, in the sense in which ordnance and gunnery practice is under the supervision of the gunnery officer—

will receive promotion in due course, and may or may not continue in the same path. There will be good scope if inclination and aptitude retain him for the higher branches of marine engineering.

Finally, the British Navy has the best chance of success for the policy it has adopted because of the early age at which it enlists its executive officers. As long as I can remember, the age for entry and the training to follow have not only formed subjects for argument afloat and ashore, but have also engaged the attention of many committees appointed to report on the subject. The conclusions of these differed in nearly every instance, as they viewed the requirements for a naval officer from different standpoints. One wanted greater scholastic attainments, another more practical experience. Through good repute and bad repute, our naval authorities have maintained the principle of early entry for a sea life, with, I believe, on the whole, good results. We may be, and probably are, inferior in scholastic knowledge to those officers whose school teaching is continued to a later age. Our acquaintance with foreign languages is not equal to that of the German naval officer, for instance. But, after all, the primary object in the training of a naval officer is that he may handle his ship efficiently under all circumstances in peace, and prevail in war. We are content, therefore, to sacrifice some of the graces to secure that early practical acquaintance with sea conditions and responsibility to which we attach greater importance. As the Admiralty Memorandum introducing our new system eloquently puts it:

> "Notwithstanding the fact that, during the transition period, the system of naval education has been the subject of much criticism, the character of the naval officer has remained unimpaired, and character is of more value than knowledge. Now, however, as always, the highest type of naval officer is that wherein great professional knowledge is added to force of character."

It was because great professional knowledge of perhaps the most important portion of a sea career was not attained under the old system; because that system, from lack of the unity which can only be secured by a common entry and method of training, led to conflicting interests detrimental to the service; and because of the weakness attached to maintaining two forces not readily inter-

changeable when occasion demanded, that we introduced the great change now in operation. Of its success, if loyally accepted, and not impeded by prejudice, foreboding and lukewarm adherence, I have no doubt. I will go further and predict that, given the support we have a right to expect for a step taken to remove an undesirable state of affairs, we shall in ten years' time only wonder that it had not been taken at an earlier period.

Since writing the foregoing, I have read the article, "Our Navy," by "An American Citizen," in the March issue of this REVIEW, supporting the views of Admiral Luce. As we are told that he is, from close observation, familiar with the conditions which prevail in the naval service of the United States, I desire to add a few comments upon that portion of his article which deals with the specialization of functions on board ships of war.

In the first place, I do not contest the right of any layman to express an opinion upon a subject which requires for its mastery, not only familiarity with the conditions of naval service, but also practical experience of the service itself. Continued observation and discussion with those qualified by experience to instruct will allow of an opinion being formed which may or may not be sound; and the opinion expressed in this case appears to me unsound. Three functions are mentioned as necessary to the efficiency of a war-ship, and these are stated to be separated by broad lines of demarcation. These are the sailor to command, the engineer to propel and the gunner for the weapons. Certain attributes are considered essential for the man in command. Though he must know all about manœuvring ships and bringing them into action, he need not be master of the details of that machinery which enables his ship to come into action.

I have already endeavored to show why such knowledge is necessary, but the reasoning by which the opposite view is here sustained needs refutation. It is based on the fact that the propelling power is now out of sight, whereas formerly the sails were always in view of the officer on deck. Hence, the commander to-day need only know the effect and not the cause of the power he wields. Surely such a view is erroneous and loses sight of much that is requisite to qualify a man to command a modern battle-ship. The skilful sailor of old did not require to have the sails in sight to know whether they were exercising a correct effect. A thorough seaman could tell from his bed if his ship

was not being sailed properly, and give the remedy to an inexperienced officer of the watch. I have been with captains who never came on deck at night, but who, nevertheless, knew at once if sails were not properly trimmed. What made men pre-eminent as seamen of old was not so much their conduct on the day of action, as the way in which they maintained their ships in readiness for this event and repaired them afterwards. It came from their close knowledge of the propelling power; not only how to work it to the best advantage, but how to preserve it from injury. We require the same intimacy with steam-power to produce a like result.

In support of the view that the supreme head of this fighting instrument does not require to know any details of his machinery, we are invited to contest or criticise a claim that one day's study of steam-power and modern gunnery would qualify a Drake, a Nelson or a Farragut to fight a naval battle with existing vessels. Into such a contest I am not disposed to enter, for it would entail absorbing nearly the entire space of this number, and my contribution is already long enough. I will only add a few remarks on the ordnance question. How "modern progress has reduced this department of marine warfare to a science quite distinct from that of managing or propelling the ship," I am at a loss to imagine. It would appear to me that the agencies which, in one case, propel a projectile and, in the other case, a piston or turbine are not entirely dissimilar. It would be a strange vessel in which the crew were split up into sections entirely ignorant of each other's business, for An American Citizen approves, I gather, even of encouraging officers to specialize in ordnance. He would have a distinct corps for this branch, as it "involves a separate application of science, which can best be pursued by men devoted to it." Having been a Gunnery as well as a Torpedo officer, I may be classed, presumably, as a specialist; but, so far from agreeing to augment specialization to the extent of a separate department, my feeling is to contract specialization and insist upon all officers being familiar with the forces and weapons they employ. By following that principle alone can we assure a good standard of professional knowledge in all, which will be of more value in the varied requirements of war than the highly specialized knowledge of a few whose safety until the end of the action we cannot insure.

E. EARDLEY-WILMOT.

# OUR MISSIONARIES AND OUR COMMERCE.

BY RICHARD WEIGHTMAN.

PERHAPS the most touching spectacle presented by the hour is that of the missionaries endeavoring to explain the sinister crescendo of hostility to foreigners which is now rapidly approaching its climax in China. One would suppose that persons who have spent long years among the so-called heathen would by this time have acquired a clear understanding of their attitude, their standards and their springs of thought. The fact remains, however, that the missionaries in China, especially the American and English missionaries, are more hopelessly bewildered by the situation, and more pathetically unable to analyze its simplest phenomena, than even the spectator who contemplates it from a distance. Here and there, a missionary will stumble upon one of the contributory causes of the rapidly increasing animosity in question, namely, our harsh and humiliating treatment of Chinese persons who visit this country; but not one of them, so far as I know, has yet so much as yielded to a suspicion that the missionaries themselves have really furnished the spark by which the conflagration has been generated. It does not seem to have occurred to them that the very terms upon which they enter China constitute an affront to the nation, as well as to every Chinaman who cultivates a sense of self-respect and possesses intelligence enough to conduct a thought to a conclusion. Naturally, the victims of our immigration laws, and especially of the brutal and stupid manner in which they are all too frequently administered, return to their native land indignant if not revengeful. It is easily intelligible, moreover, that their kinsmen, friends and neighbors who become acquainted with the facts are quick to share the feeling. But it must be obvious that the chief ingredient of bitterness is furnished

by our own arrogance—by the incredible insensibility with which we demand the indiscriminate admission to China of our missionaries, merchants, prospectors, tourists, etc., and by the blustering, browbeating, threatening manner we display when any of them encounters, or says that he encounters, the smallest overture of discourtesy or unfriendliness. The Chinese are human beings, just as we are. Their religion may not be as fine as ours, or their civilization as enlightened. But at least the religion and the civilization are theirs, handed down to them from a period when the progenitors of the Caucasian race were mere troglodytes. It is not difficult, therefore, to understand the resentment of the Chinese, especially the upper classes, when they consider the contemptuous and cruel injustice of which we are the complacent perpetrators and they the helpless victims.

Here it is that the missionary becomes the chief representative of American aggression and the most potent inspiration of the Chinese grievance. In that vast and swarming empire, the missionary exemplifies—at least to ninety-nine out of every hundred of the population—the foreign invasion. Outside of the treaty ports and the capital, the natives rarely see an alien who is not a missionary. Of other aliens they know virtually nothing. The only "foreign devil" of whom they have the faintest conception is the clergyman who has come among them to proclaim the degradation of their accepted standards and the sinful error of their ancestors. To him is not unnaturally attributed every evil which they may imagine or perceive as the result of foreign intrusion and activity. From our point of view, the missionary is, of course, the innocent victim of circumstances ignorantly misunderstood. From the Chinese point of view, he constitutes the vanguard of the foray, the type of the persecuting horde. When they hear that their own people have been wronged, insulted and oppressed in foreign lands, they see in the missionary within their gates the one visible advocate and inspiration of the outrage. Is it not undeniable that the American people, thus invaded by Chinese evangelists, would exploit their just resentment far more promptly and effectually? The truth is, we proceed upon the hypothesis that the Chinese are benighted pagans, our inferiors in the social, moral and intellectual scale, and that we have a divine commission to uplift

them, no matter at what cost to their sensibilities, their convictions or their self-respect.

The Hon. John W. Foster, who has occupied some of the most distinguished positions in American public life, delivered an address in Nashville, about the middle of March, his subject being the relation of diplomacy to Christian missions. Of course, Mr. Foster spoke with authority. Naturally, as a believer in the employment of our diplomatic agencies for the promotion of evangelical enterprises in heathen lands, he arrayed that remarkable expedient in the most attractive garb permitted by the facts. So we find him gravely explaining that the "Christian nations have found it necessary to exact from them [the pagan nations] the observance of what is termed the practice of *exterritoriality*." In plain words, this means that the Christian nations have combined to impose upon the pagan nations a tyranny to which the Christian nations would not dream of submitting—which they would resist to the last drop of blood and last dollar of treasure. Mr. Foster goes on to elaborate:

> "In general, it may be stated, subject to certain exceptions, that an American citizen resident or found in those [the pagan] countries, when charged with a crime or an offence againt the local law or custom, must be tried by his own diplomatic or consular representative, and if found guilty the punishment must be meted out by such officer. American citizens also enjoy certain other privileges in non-Christian countries which I have not time to detail."

It will be observed that the missionary is not explicitly mentioned in connection with the privileges and immunities which pagan nations have been compelled to grant to the citizens and subjects of Christian lands. Mr. Foster, however, could have told his hearers that, in ninety-nine cases out of every hundred, it is the missionary who utilizes them and appeals to the State Department to enforce them. Of the concession known as "exterritoriality," therefore, the missionary is the chief beneficiary; and, since it is a concession extorted by menace and yielded under duress, we may easily understand that the Oriental mind accepts it as a wanton, grinding and undeserved humiliation.

It is no part of the purpose of this paper to consider the benefits conferred upon the heathen by the Christian propaganda. From the missionary point of view, those benefits are innumerable, as well as priceless. It is the heathen view which counts in

this case, however; and public sentiment cannot be either intelligent or just until it shall have been thoroughly informed. Our missionaries send back messages of good cheer and most excellent encouragement. From time to time, they revisit the land of their birth and explain to eager audiences the victories they have achieved for Christianity and civilization. But we hear only occasionally from the benighted millions whom we are doing so much to beatify and exalt, and then they speak to us almost wholly through the agencies of fire, blood and vengeance. There are two sides to this question, but we never consider the Oriental side until it is impressed upon us with the dagger and the torch, and even then we seem incapable of measuring its true significance. Even then, we blind ourselves to the fact that these barbarities may, after all, be the logical if not the inevitable fruit of a propaganda which needs to be launched with the aid of a treaty and kept in motion by the energy of fleets and armies. That the missionaries mean well and that, in most instances, they are sincere, unselfish and devoted laborers in a cause they implicitly accept as of divine authority, we must believe. That they are giving pleasure to the Prince of Peace, in whose name they prosecute their activities, many thoughtful men are inclined to doubt when they hear of savage tumults and still more savage massacres at almost every step along the path of Christian missionary activity. Certainly, Christianity presents a grotesque spectacle to the world when its apostles begin their work among the heathen by violating the Golden Rule of Jesus; and it would be ludicrous, if it were not so tragic and so terrible, to adumbrate the ultimate possibilities of a propaganda which derives its actuating force from a deliberate suppression of its vital principle.

Article XIV of the treaty with China (1903) begins thus:

> "The principles of the Christian religion, as professed by the Protestant and Roman Catholic churches, are recognized as teaching men to do good, and to do to others as they would have others do to them."

Imagine an irony more cynical! Our missionaries go to China to spread the gospel of Christianity, and they begin by doing to the Chinese—or having done to them by our Government—the very thing they would shed their blood to prevent the Chinese from doing to us! What answer would the United States make

to a demand for "exterritoriality" in favor of the citizens or subjects of any Power upon earth? No need to put a question to which there can be but one reply! Yet Mr. Foster admits that "the Christian nations have found it necessary to exact," etc., and he frankly admits the oppressive nature of their exaction when he says: "The system of exterritoriality is one which makes the governments where it is enforced very restive, and they look forward more or less impatiently to the time when it may be abolished." Our Government, therefore, is enforcing upon China a system which galls and humiliates the Chinese, while our missionaries in that country are daily, hourly reminders of the affront. Why China submits to so gross an outrage of her sovereignty it were unprofitable to discuss at this time. The matter of chief interest for the moment is the growing probability that her submission will not endure much longer, even should the United States be willing to sacrifice the nation's material interests for the sake of maintaining an unwelcome religious propaganda in a foreign land. It is only too evident to those who have made dispassionate investigation in the premises that China's so-called "boycott" on our commerce has been inspired by hostility to the missionaries and what they represent. Moreover, there is abundant reason to believe that the State Department is keenly alive to the emergency, for in the confidential report of the Third Assistant Secretary, Mr. H. H. D. Peirce, who, a year or two ago, made an official inspection of our consulates in Eastern Asia, we find injurious reference to a certain consul as "closely identified with missionary interests." All present indications, indeed, point to the prevalence in Government circles of a very serious misgiving as to the wisdom of our present policy in China and the "heathen countries." Of course, our solicitude for the pagan soul, and our determination to save it if we can, are still in force; but another solicitude—that of selling our wares to the unbelievers—is now asserting itself, and the Government may eventually find a way to achieve abroad that divorce of church and state which the organic law compels us to observe at home.

One of the most intelligently observant travellers now living is General Geo. B. Williams, of Washington. He has seen more of the Orient, to say nothing of Turkey and Russia, than any other American of whom there is authentic record. His travels

cover a period of thirty-five years, and they have taken him to the countries mentioned in important capacities, involving confidential relations with high Government officials and unbounded opportunities for accurate insight into moral, social, religious and business conditions. As far back as 1871, he was offered the position of "General Councillor of Finance" to the Mikado. The following year, acting as Special Commissioner to Japan, he visited the great money centres of Europe and negotiated a large loan on very favorable terms. Altogether, he was in the service of the Mikado five years, and his duties took him to many other foreign lands. Since then, he has had business affairs in Russia, Turkey and China, and has spent a long time in those parts of the world. It will be seen, then, that General Williams has had the experience necessary to make him an important witness touching missionary activities within the sphere of his personal observation; and it seems quite safe to assume that he is a witness of more than ordinary intelligence. He is the man who first called public attention to American missionary enterprise in the Turkish Empire, though our naval officers and our diplomatic representatives, having special knowledge of the facts, have long discussed in private conversation the conditions of which General Williams makes specific and detailed mention. For example, he has publicly asserted that a number of the United States consulates in Asia Minor are maintained for no visible purpose other than that of protecting and encouraging Turkish subjects, chiefly Armenians, in revolt and conspiracy against the lawful Government. These consulates are established at points where there is no commerce to look after, nor any other American interest to promote. They are operated by missionaries, for missionaries, and to no useful or legitimate public purpose. We cannot set up in these cases the plea that souls are saved, even though tumult and disorder may be incited by wicked men who hate Christianity. The Armenians are Christians, as they have been for centuries. There is no question of converting them, for they have professed the true faith always. As for saving a Moslem soul, there is no longer a serious pretence in that direction. Our missionary establishment in Asia Minor has for its sole object the education of the Sultan's Christian subjects in our language and, incidentally, our political ideas and methods.

The various public utterances of General Williams apparently stimulated the Government to careful inquiry; for, soon after the appearance in print of his earlier protests, a Senate Committee called upon the State Department for special information as to our consular establishment, and with very interesting results. Of course, the requisition was general and comprehensive in its terms; but the Senators must have been more or less astonished to find that a number of our commercial agents had no commerce to look after, and that so many consuls, vice-consuls, etc., were mere "missionaries." Such items as the following, for instance, no doubt contained much food for reflection, if very scant material for pride and satisfaction. They are taken from the official document in question, in which they appear under the heading "Turkey":

"*Alexandretta, Syria.*—Alexandretta is situated on the bay of Iskanderoon, in North Syria, and of greater importance than its population of 8,000 would seem to indicate, for it has the only natural harbor on the Syrian coast and is the *entrepôt* of a large and populous district. No American citizens reside in the town, but there are about 100 American missionaries living in different parts of the consular district. The duties of this consulate concern invoices, bills of health and the protection of the interests of American missionaries residing in the district; also work of a notarial character. During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1901, twenty-eight invoices were certified, twelve bills of health issued and eighteen letters of inquiry from American business men received and answered. William Ross Davis, consul, was born in Ohio, is thirty-six years of age and a teacher by profession; appointed consul, July 21, 1899.

"*Bassorah.*—Bassorah, Turkey, is situated on the Shat-el-Arab River, fifty-five miles from the Persian Gulf, and has a population of between 20,000 and 30,000. It is the centre of the largest date-growing district in the world. The chief duties of this agency consist of certifying invoices, issuing bills of health and protecting the interests of American missionaries. About forty invoices are certified annually.

"*Beirut, Syria.*—Beirut is the chief city of Syria and Palestine, commercially, educationally and politically. Official duties concern the protection of resident American citizens with their religious, educational and charitable establishments, and of American tourists; the extension of American commerce; invoices; births, deaths and marriages; judicial functions; customs immunities for missionaries; admittance of American citizens of Syrian origin to their native land, besides ordinary official and notarial work.

"This consular district embraces nearly all of Syria and more than two-thirds of Palestine, besides the island of Cyprus. Its total American

population is in the neighborhood of 725 souls. More than $1,000,000 of American money is invested in this district, principally in schools, churches and hospitals ($835,000), but also in factories, farms and dwelling-houses. In this consular district there are some 375 persons of Syrian birth claiming American protection, and the consulate is constantly being called on to intervene in their behalf. The Syrian Protestant College, at Beirut, an American university, has now an attendance of 600 students from all parts of the Levant, including Egypt, Greece, Asia Minor, Persia and Syria. Its teaching force consists of twenty-five American professors and tutors, fourteen Arabic and Turkish instructors of French. The number of college buildings has increased from one to twelve in thirty years, and building operations are still progressing. A school of commerce was last year added to the other departments of which the medical, perhaps, is the most important. It is said to be the largest American institution of learning, of its high standard, outside of the United States.

"*Erzerum.*—There are four Americans at Erzerum engaged in school and missionary work. The duties of the consulate are light, and mainly consist of guarding American interests, endeavoring to increase and extend American commerce, and in reporting such events as may be of interest. The consulate is open for public business from 9 A.M. to 5 P.M.

"*Trebizond.*—The ordinary duties of the consular agency consist in authenticating invoices, aiding American missionaries and protecting United States citizens. During the fiscal year, twenty letters of inquiry from American business men were answered and twenty-six invoices certified. Office hours are from 10 A.M. to 4 P.M. daily, except Sundays and bank holidays.

"*Harput.*—The population is now about 20,000. The mission of the A. B. C. F. M., and the extensive series of buildings occupied by Euphrates College, are located on the western edge of the city. The college, with its primary and preparatory departments, is attended by over 1,000 pupils. The climate of both cities is healthful and comfortable. The resident American colony at Harput and Mezerch numbers twenty-eight native-born Americans and their children (twenty-one adult native born, seven children). At Mardin, in this consular district, there are four adult native-born Americans and one child. Most of the children above enumerated have been born in this Empire. With the exception of the consul and his family, the above mentioned are all engaged in missionary or educational work. There are, in addition, in this consular district, about 300 naturalized American citizens, all originally from the region and of the Armenian race. The majority intend to return to America, and are here to visit relatives, settle up estates, sell property, etc. They are, as a rule, very loyal Americans, proud of their citizenship, and extremely helpful in carrying out the plans of the consulate for establishing commercial relations. The consulate is open from 8 A.M. to 5 P.M. Four invoices were certified during the six months ending June 30, 1901. During the same period eighteeen inquiries from business firms in the United States were answered, and information has

been supplied, in response to nineteen requests, concerning emigration, passport conditions, inheritances, property interests, etc.

"*Sivas.*—The principal duties of this consulate consist of the protection of American citizens residing in the district and of American mission property. But two invoices of goods shipped to the United States during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1901.

"*Samsoun.*—No American citizens reside in Samsoun. The duties of this agency consist of the certification of an occasional invoice, the protection of American missionaries in their dealings with the custom officials, and the visé of passports of American teachers."

This remarkable record could be extended indefinitely, but a few instances in China will be enough to complete the illustration. From the same official document we quote, as regards Canton, Hankau, Chefoo, Chinkiang and so on, the monotonous comment by the State Department:

"The principal duties of this consulate concern invoices, certificates of Chinese emigrating to the United States, protection of Americans and of American missionary property and converts."

Or, taking the case of Chinkiang:

"The principal duties of this consulate consist of the protection of about 200 American missionaries living in the district, and the exercise of judicial functions."

It is the same story in all cases. Wherever the missionary goes, there is need of protection. Wherever "converts" are found, our consuls are engaged in "judicial functions."

It is not here proposed to discuss the merits of missionary work as such. Perhaps our evangelists do, here and there, convert a heathen in the true meaning of the term. The proposition has been combated by many responsible Americans who have looked into the matter without prejudice, and who seriously declare that the so-called "converts" merely profess Christianity in order to obtain certain substantial secular advantages and immunities. Be that as it may, the practical question before the country is whether the United States Government should permit itself to continue in partnership with a religious propaganda. Obviously, neither our nation as a whole nor our merchants, manufacturers and financiers in particular, can expect to retain the good-will of any foreign peoples upon whom we lay the hand of insult and oppression through official agencies.

It has been shown in this article that the United States Government has "exacted" from the Chinese and other non-Christian governments a recognition of our claim of "exterritoriality"—a claim which no nation on earth would dare to assert in the United States, and which we would not dream of asserting in Great Britain or any other Empire capable of resenting an affront so gross. (It is a significant circumstance, by the way, that this pretension was promptly withdrawn in the case of Japan, seven or eight years ago, when the Mikado, very diplomatically of course, served notice that it would be no longer tolerated.) It has been shown further that, while the missionaries and their alleged "converts" are the only beneficiaries of this oppressive and tyrannical system, our commerce—in China, at least—has been seriously impaired, and is now even threatened with extinction, as a direct result of the arrangement. We have a number of consulates in China whose incumbents seem to have little to do beyond "protecting missionaries, their property and their converts," and we know that a majority of them spend a great part of their time conducting, as intermediaries, the more or less acrimonious controversies that prevail almost continually between our evangelists and the Chinese officials. In Asia Minor, we are maintaining a number of consulates for no visible purpose but that of promoting missionary activities which are notoriously offensive to the Turkish Government and people. With the one non-Christian country which has denied to our missionaries the privilege of "exterritoriality" our trade is increasing. In Asia Minor we have practically no trade at all, and in China American commerce is rapidly approaching the point of final and complete attenuation.

Congress has just enacted a law reforming the consular service, providing for an improvement of its organization and its personnel. It would be interesting to know just how and to what extent Secretary Root expects to expand the volume of our trade in empires such as China, where the most conspicuous representatives of American interests are representatives also of an invasion which insults the national sense of dignity and operates agencies, at once powerful and sleepless, of popular discontent.

RICHARD WEIGHTMAN.

# WASHINGTON.—II.

BY HENRY JAMES.

## III.

One might have been sure in advance that the character of a democracy would nowhere more sharply mark itself than in the democratic substitute for a court city, and Washington is cast in the mould that expresses most the absence of salient social landmarks and constituted features. Here it is that conversation, as the only invoked presence, betrays a little its inadequacy to the furnishing forth, all by itself, of an outward view. It tells us it must be there, since in all the wide empty vistas nothing else is, and the general elimination *can* but have left it. A pleading, touching effect, indeed, lurks in this sense of it as seated, at receipt of custom, by any decent door of any decent domicile and watching the vacancy for reminder and appeal. It is left to conversation alone to people the scene with accents; putting aside two or three objects to be specified, there is *never* an accent in it, up and down, far and wide, save such as fall rather on the ear of the mind: those projected by the social spirit starved for the sense of an occasional emphasis. The White House is an accent —one of the lightest, sharpest possible; and the Capitol, of course, immensely, another; though the latter falls on the exclusively political page, as to which I have been waiting to say a word. It should meanwhile be mentioned that we are promised these enhancements, these illustrations, of the great general text, on the most magnifient scale; a splendid projected and announced Washington of the future, with approaches even now grandly outlined and massively marked; in face of which one should, perhaps, confess to the futility of any current estimate. If I speak thus of the Capitol, however, let me not merely brush past the White House to get to it—any more than to feel free to enter

it without some preliminary stare at that wondrous Library of Congress which glitters in fresh and almost unmannerly emulation, almost frivolous irrelevance of form, in the neighborhood of the greater building. About the ingenuities and splendors of this last costly structure, a riot of rare material and rich ornament, there would doubtless be much to say—did not one everywhere, on all such ground, meet the open eye of criticism simply to establish with it a private intelligence, simply to respond to it by a deprecating wink. The guardian of that altar, I think, is but too willing, on such a hint, to let one pass without the sacrifice.

It is a case again here, as on fifty other occasions, of the tribute instantly paid by the revisiting spirit; but paid, all without question, to the general *kind* of presence for which the noisy air, over the land, feels, so sensibly, an inward ache—the presence that corresponds there, no matter how loosely, to that of the housing and harboring European Church in the ages of great disorder. The Universities and the greater Libraries (the smaller, for a hundred good democratic reasons, are another question,) repeat, in their manner, to the imagination, East and West, the note of the old thick-walled convents and quiet cloisters: they are large and charitable, they are sturdy, often proud and often rich, and they have the incalculable value that they represent the only intermissions to inordinate rapacious traffic that the scene offers to view. With this suggestion of sacred ground, they play even upon the most restless of analysts as they will, making him face about, with ecstasy, any way they seem to point; so that he feels it his business much less to count over their shortcomings than to proclaim them places of enchantment. They are better at their worst than anything else at its best, and the comparatively sweet sounds that stir their theoretic stillness are for him as echoes of the lyre of Apollo. The Congressional Library is magnificent, and would become thus a supreme sanctuary even were it ten times more so: there would seem to be nothing then but to pronounce it a delight and have done with it—or let the appalled imagination, in other words, slink into it and stay there. But here is pressed, precisely, with particular force, the spring of the question that takes but a touch to sound: is the case of this remarkable creation, by exception, a case in which the violent waving of the pecuniary wand *has* incontinently produced in-

terest? The answer can only be, I feel, a shy assent—though shy, indeed, only till the logic of the matter is apparent. This logic is that, though money alone can gather in on such a scale the treasures of knowledge, these treasures, in the form of books and documents, themselves organize and furnish their world. They appoint and settle the proportions, they thicken the air, they people the space, they create and consecrate all their relations, and no one shall say that, where they scatter life, which they themselves in fact *are,* history does not promptly attend. Emphatically yes, therefore, the great domed and tiered, galleried and statued central hall of the Congressional, the last word of current constructional science and artistic resource, already crowns itself with that grace.

The graceful thing in Washington beyond any other, none the less, is the so happily placed and featured White House, the late excellent extensions and embellishments of which have of course represented expenditure—but only of the refined sort imposed by some mature portionless gentlewoman on relatives who have accepted the principle of making her, at a time of life, more honorably comfortable. The whole ample precinct and margin formed by the virtual continuity of its grounds with those expanses in which the effect of the fine Washington Obelisk rather spends or wastes itself (not a little as if some loud monosyllable had been uttered, in a preoccupied company, without a due production of sympathy or sense)—the fortunate isolation of the White House, I say, intensifies its power to appeal to that musing and mooning visitor whose perceptions alone, in all the conditions, I hold worthy of account. Hereabouts, beyond doubt, history had from of old seemed to me insistently seated, and I remember a short spring-time of years ago when Lafayette Square itself, contiguous to the Executive Mansion, could create a rich sense of the past by the use of scarce other witchcraft than its command of that pleasant perspective, and its possession of the most prodigious of all Presidential effigies, Andrew Jackson, as archaic as a Ninevite king, prancing and rocking through the ages. If that atmosphere, moreover, in the fragrance of the Washington April, was even a quarter of a century since as a liquor of bittersweet taste, overflowing its cup, what was the ineffable mixture now, with all the elements further distilled, all the life further sacrificed, to make it potent? One circled about the place as for

meeting the ghosts, and one paused, under the same impulse, before the high palings of the White House drive, as if wondering at haunted ground. There the ghosts stood in their public array, spectral enough and clarified; yet scarce making it easier to "place" the strange, incongruous blood-drops, as one looked through the rails, on that revised and freshened page. But one fortunately has one's choice, in all these connections, as one turns away; the mixture, as I have called it, is really here so fine. General Jackson, in the centre of the Square, still rocks his hobby and the earth; but the fruit of the interval, to my actual eyes, hangs nowhere brighter than in the brilliant memorials, lately erected, to Lafayette and to Rochambeau. Artful, genial, expressive, the tribute of French talent, these happy images supply, on the spot, the note without which even the most fantasticating sense of our national past would feel itself rub forever against mere brown homespun. Everything else gives way, for me, I confess, as I again stand before them; everything, whether as historic fact, or present *agrément,* or future possibility, yields to this one high luxury of our old friendship with France.

The "artistic" Federal city already announced spreads itself then before us, in plans elaborated even to the finer details, a city of palaces and monuments and gardens, symmetries and circles and far radiations, with the big Potomac for water-power and water-effect and the recurrent Maryland spring, so prompt and so full-handed, for a perpetual benediction. This image has, above all, the value, for the considering mind, that it presents itself as under the wide-spread wings of the general Government, which fairly make it figure to the rapt vision as the object caught up in eagle claws and lifted into fields of air that even the high brows of the municipal boss fail to sweep. The wide-spread wings affect us, in the prospect, as great fans that, by their mere tremor, will blow the work, at all steps and stages, clean and clear, disinfect it, quite ideally, of any germ of the job, and prepare thereby for the American voter, on the spot and in the pride of possession, quite a new kind of civic consciousness. The scheme looms largest, surely, as a demonstration of the possibilities of that service to him, and nothing about it will be more interesting than to measure—though this may take time—the nature and degree of his alleviation. Will the new pride I speak of sufficiently inflame him? Will the taste of the new consciousness,

finding him so fresh to it, prove the right medicine? One can only regret that we must still rather indefinitely wait to see—and regret it all the more that there is always, in America, yet another lively source of interest involved in the execution of such designs, and closely involved just in proportion as the high intention, the formal majesty, of the thing seems assured. It comes back to what we constantly feel, throughout the country, to what the American scene everywhere depends on for half its appeal or its effect; to the fact that the social conditions, the material, pressing and pervasive, make the particular experiment or demonstration, whatever it may pretend to, practically a new and incalculable thing. This general Americanism is often the one tag of character attaching to the case after every other appears to have abandoned it. The thing is happening, or will have to happen, in the American way—that American way which is more different from all other native ways, taking country with country, than any of these latter are different from each other; and the question is of how, each time, the American way will see it through.

The element of suspense—beguilement, ever, of the sincere observer—is provided for by the fact that, though this American way never fails to come up, he has to recognize as by no means equally true that it never fails to succeed. It is inveterately applied, but with consequences bewilderingly various; which means, however, for our present moral, but that the certainty of the *determined* American effect is an element to attend quite especially such a case as the employment of the arts of design, on an unprecedented scale, for public uses, the adoption on this scale of the whole æsthetic law. Encountered in America, phenomena of this order strike us mostly as occurring in the historic void, as having to present themselves in the hard light of that desert, and as needing to extort from it, so far as they can, something of the shading of their interest. Encountered in older countries, they show, on the contrary, as taking up the references, as consenting perforce to the relations, of which the air is already full, and as having thereby much rather to get themselves expressive by charm than to get themselves expressive by weight. The danger "in Europe" is of their having too many things to say, and too many others to distinguish these from; the danger in the States is of their not having things enough—with enough

tone and resonance furthermore to give them. What therefore will the multitudinous and elaborate forms of the Washington to come have to "say," and what, above all, besides gold and silver, stone and marble and trees and flowers, will they be able to say it *with?* That is one of the questions in the mere phrasing of which the restless analyst finds a thrill. There is a thing called interest that has to be produced for him—positively as if he were a rabid usurer with a clutch of his imperilled bond. He has seen again and again how the most expensive effort often fails to lead up to interest, and he has seen how it may bloom in soil of no more worth than so many layers of dust and ashes. He has learnt in fact—he learns greatly in America—to mistrust any plea for it *directly* made by money, which operates too often as the great puffing motor-car framed for whirling him, in his dismay, quite away from it. And he has inevitably noted, at the same time, from how comparatively few other sources this rewarding dividend on his invested attention may be drawn. He thinks of these sources as few, that is, because he sees the same ones—those are references by which interest is fed—used again and again, with a desperate economy; sees the same ones, even as the human heroes, celebrities, extemporized lions, or scapegoats, required social and educational figure-heads and "values," having to serve in *all* the connections and adorn all the tales. That is one of the liveliest of his American impressions. He has at moments his sense that, in presence of such vast populations and instilled, emulous demands, there is not, outside the mere economic, enough native history, recorded or current, to go round.

## IV.

It seemed to me on the spot, moreover, that such reflections were rather more than less pertinent in face of the fact that I was again to find the Capitol, whenever I approached, and above all whenever I entered it, a vast and many-voiced creation. The thing depends, of course, somewhat on the visitor, who will be the more responsive, I think, the further back into the "origins" of the whole American spectacle his personal vision shall carry him; but this hugest, as I suppose it, of all the homes of debate only asks to put forth, on opportunity, an incongruous, a various, an inexhaustible charm. I may as well say at once that I had found myself from the first adoring the Capitol, though I may

not pretend here to dot all the i's of all my reasons—since some of these might appear below the dignity of the subject, and others alien to its simplicity. The ark of the American covenant may strike one thus, at any rate, as a compendium of all the national ideals, a museum, crammed full, even to overflowing, of all the national terms and standards, weights and measures and emblems of greatness and glory, and indeed as a builded record of half the collective vibrations of a people; their conscious spirit, their public faith, their bewildered taste, their ceaseless curiosity, their arduous and interrupted education. Such were to my vision at least some of its aspects, but the place had a hundred sides, and, if I had had time to look for others still, I felt I should have found them. What it comes to—whereby the "pull," in America, is of the greatest—is that association really reigns there, and in the richest, and even again and again in the drollest, forms; it is thick and vivid and almost gross, it assaults the wondering mind. The labyrinthine pile becomes thus inordinately *amusing* —taking the term in its finer modern sense. The analogy may seem forced, but it affected me as playing in Washington life very much the part that St. Peter's, of old, had seemed to me to play in Roman: it offered afternoon entertainment, at the end of a longish walk, to any spirit in the humor for the uplifted and flattered vision—and this without suggesting that the sublimities in the two cases, even as measured by the profanest minds, tend at all to be equal. The Washington dome is indeed capable in the Washington air, of admirable, of sublime, effects; and there are cases in which, seen at a distance above its yellow Potomac, it varies but by a shade from the sense—yes, absolutely the divine campagna-sense—of St. Peter's and the like-colored Tiber.

But the question is positively of the impressiveness of the great terraced Capitol hill, with its stages and slopes, staircases and fountains, its general presentation of its charge. And if the whole mass and prospect "amuse," as I say, from the moment they are embraced, the visitor curious of the *democratic assimilation* of the greater dignities and majesties will least miss the general logic. That is the light in which the whole thing is supremely interesting; the light of the fact, illustrated at every turn, that the populations maintaining it deal with it so directly and intimately, so sociably and humorously. We promptly take

in that, if ever we are to commune in a concentrated way with the sovereign people, and see their exercised power raise a side-wind irony for forms and arrangements other than theirs, the occasion here will amply serve. Indubitably, moreover, at a hundred points, the irony operates, and all the more markedly under such possible interference; the interference of the monumental spittoons, that of the immense amount of vulgar, of barbaric, decoration, that of the terrible artistic tributes from, and scarce less to, the different States—the unassorted marble mannikins in particular, each a portrayal by one of the commonwealths of her highest worthy, which make the great Rotunda, the intended Valhalla, resemble a stonecutter's collection of priced sorts and sizes. Discretion exists, throughout, only as a flower of the very first or of these very latest years; the large middle time, corresponding, and even that unequally, with the English Victorian, of sinister memory, was unacquainted with the name, and waits there now, in its fruits, but for some far-flaring act-of-faith of the future: a sacrifice to the æsthetic law which one already feels stirring the air, so that it may arrive, I think, with an unexampled stride. Nothing will have been more interesting, surely, than so public a wiping-over of the æsthetic slate, with all the involved collective compunctions and repudiations, the general exhibition of a colossal conscience, a conscience proportionate to the size and wealth of the country. To such grand gestures does the American scene lend itself!

The elements in question are meanwhile there, in any case, just as the sovereign people are there, "going over" their property; but we are aware none the less of impressions—that of the ponderous proud Senate, for instance, so sensibly massive; that of the Supreme Court, so simply, one almost says so chastely, yet, while it breathes supremacy, so elegantly, so all intellectually, in session—under which the view, taking one extravagance with another, recurs rather ruefully to glimpses elsewhere caught, glimpses of authority emblazoned, bewigged, bemantled, bemarshalled, in almost direct defeat of its intention of gravity. For the reinstated absentee, in these presences, the mere recovery of native privilege was at all events a balm—after too many challenged appeals and abused patiences, too many hushed circuitous creepings, among the downtrodden, in other and more bristling halls of state. The sense of a certain large, final be-

nignity in the Capitol comes then, I think, from this impression, that the national relation to it is that of a huge flourishing Family to the place of business, the estate-office, where, in a myriad open ledgers, which offer no obscurity to the hereditary head for figures, the account of their colossal revenue is kept. They meet there in safe sociability, as all equally initiated and interested—not as in a temple or a citadel, but by the warm domestic hearth of Columbia herself; a motherly, chatty, clear-spectacled Columbia, who reads all the newspapers, knows, to the last man, every one of her sons by name, and, to the last boy, even her grandsons, and is fenced off, at the worst, but by concentric circles of rocking-chairs. It is impossible, as I say, not to be fondly conscious of her welcome—unless again, and yet again, I read into the general air, confusedly, too much of the happy accident of the basis of my introduction. But if my sensibility responds, with intensity, to this, so much the better; for what were such felt personal aids and influences, after all, but cases and examples, embodied expressions of character, type, distinction, products of the *working* of the whole thing?—specimens, indeed, highly concentrated and refined, and made thereby, I admit, more charming and insidious.

It must also be admitted, that to exchange the outer aspects of the vast monument for the inner is to be reminded with some sharpness of a Washington in which half the sides that have held our attention drop, as if rather abashed, out of sight. Not its pleasant brightness as of a winter watering-place, not its connections, however indirect, with the older, but those with the newer, the newest, civilization, seem matter of recognition for its various marble fronts; it rakes the prospect, it rakes the continent, to a much more sweeping purpose, and is visibly concerned but in immeasurable schemes of which it can consciously remain the centre. Here, in the vast spaces—mere empty light and air, though such pleasant air and such pretty light as yet—the great Federal future seems, under vague bright forms, to hover and to stalk, making the horizon recede to take it in, making the terraces too, below the long colonnades, the admirable standpoints, the sheltering porches, of political philosophy. The comparatively new wings of the building filled me, whenever I walked here, with thanksgiving for their large and perfect elegance: so, in Paris, might the wide mated fronts that are of such a noble

effect on either side of the Rue Royale shine in multiplied majesty and recovered youth over an infinite Place de la Concorde. These parts of the Capitol, on their Acropolis height, are ideally constructed for "raking," and for this suggestion of their dominating the American scene in playhouse gallery fashion. You are somehow possessed of it *all* while you tread them—their marble embrace appears so the compliment of the vast democratic lap. Though I had them in general, for contemplation, quite to myself, I met one morning a trio of Indian braves, braves dispossessed of forest and prairie, but as free of the builded labyrinth as they had ever been of these; also arrayed in neat pot-hats, shoddy suits and light overcoats, with their pockets, I am sure, full of photographs and cigarettes: circumstances all that quickened their resemblance on the much bigger scale, to Japanese celebrities, or to specimens, on show, of what the Government can do with people with whom it is supposed able to do nothing. They seemed just then and there, for a mind fed betimes on the Leatherstocking Tales, to project as in a flash an image in itself immense but foreshortened and simplified—reducing to a single smooth stride the bloody footsteps of time. One rubbed one's eyes, but there, at its highest polish, shining in the beautiful day, was the brazen face of history, and there, all about one, immaculate, the printless pavements of the State.

HENRY JAMES.

# PAN-ISLAM.

BY ARCHIBALD R. COLQUHOUN.

THE great part played by the religion of Mahomet in shaping the history of the world, and the extent to which it is still the guiding principle with a large proportion of the human race, make the question of the vital force of Islam one of the most interesting and important in politico-ethical studies. At one time, it looked as if the Crescent, and not the Cross, was to be the dominant power in Europe; and to-day the religion of the Prophet is spreading both in Asia and Africa in a manner which is not without political significance.

It is necessary to understand, at all events in outline, the character and genesis of this religion, which has several features differentiating it from the other two great moral and ethical systems. In the first place, Mahomet the Prophet preached to his little world of polytheistic Arabs the doctrine of One God—all-wise and all-powerful—a conception not exceeded in beauty by any other revelation. From the first, however, Islam was not so much idealistic and spiritual; it was rather a social and political code, built round the essential doctrine of monotheism. Jewish influence, especially that of the Old Testament, had much to do with shaping the later development of Islam; but it does not appear that the Prophet knew the Jewish scriptures. However that may be, the Mosaic dispensation forms the closest analogy to that of Mahomet, and it is impossible to estimate how much of this is due to actual contact or how much is merely the result of a similar cast of mind in the lawgivers and of similar environment.

Islam is not only religion but law, and the law is as essential to the religion as the religion to the law. Whereas the legislation of Christian countries is based on the progressive

reasonings of the human mind, assisted by the spiritual conception of Christianity, the Moslem law was fixed and decided by the Prophet alone. The principal orthodox authorities are the Koran — the "Word of God" —and the conduct of the Prophet. These two sources are acknowledged by all the Moslem world, except the Shiites, as infallible, just as all orthodox Christianity regards the Bible as the bed-rock of its authority; but, in both religions, the matter of interpretation has given rise to innumerable dissensions. There are five Mohammedan schools of interpretation which, recognizing not only these two original sources but two others, are regarded as orthodox. The five schools differentiate the Moslem world, and the code favored by the ruler of a particular country is that which has complete jurisdiction within his domains. Only those sects which reject certain of the orthodox authorities are regarded as "heretics," a distinction which differs somewhat from the Christian definition, and Moslem heresies, such as those of the Wahabites and Babites, arose out of the mystical conceptions of their founders who refused to accept certain of the orthodox sources.

To understand the method on which the faith and practice of Islam are built up, it is necessary to realize that there is no prohibition to progress or change. Thus the most modern inventions and novel ideas may be fitted into the Moslem system, but they must become part of it, a process which is accomplished by finding reasons or justifications for them in the orthodox sources. The Oriental mind has no difficulty in working these out, and this elasticity and power of adaptation have been the most powerful weapons in the Moslem propaganda. In China, for instance, where the worship of ancestors—one of the most deep-rooted customs in the history of the human race—came into direct conflict with the monotheistic conceptions of Islam and Christianity alike, the latter refused to compromise and was nearly rooted out and became anathema, while the former, incorporating the family rites in its own ritual, continued to make steady progress. The conversion of the whole Malay race to Islam was the result of a similar method of peaceful penetration; and, in fact, although in its earlier stages the religion of Mahomet was essentially militant and was for several centuries inspired by keen fanaticism, it has accomplished a silent and peaceful propagandism.

It is unnecessary for the purposes of this article to enter into any account of the various dissensions in the Islamic world; but the two great divisions may be mentioned here, because they represent a wide historical split in the Moslem camp. The first four Caliphs who succeeded Mahomet were his friends and converts, and they are acknowledged by the Sunnites, who also accept as authentic the six books of Traditions which are the third orthodox source of Moslem law. The Shiites, on the contrary, deny the validity of the claims of the three first Caliphs, and allow only those of the fourth, Ali. After the death of Ali's son, Hosein, these claims were continued in the persons of the *imams*, who met with violent deaths, and with the disappearance of the last *imam* the claims were finally lost; but hopes are still retained of the reappearance one day of the last *imam*, who will revive Islam. This is the origin of Mahdiism, the appearance of false Mahdis and so many conflicts in different parts of the world. After the first four Caliphs, those who succeeded them were little more than usurpers, having, in fact, no succession from the Prophet. The Ommayades of the sixth, the Abbasides of the eighth, the Egyptian Fatimides of the tenth century, and the Ottomans (who finally established their dynasty at Constantinople in 1453 on the ruins of the Byzantine Empire) were none of them legitimate descendants or successors of the Prophet.

In 1517, however, Sultan Selim I, having conquered Syria and Egypt and assumed the title of "Protector of the Holy Places" (Mecca and Medina), concluded an agreement with the then Sheik of Mecca (a legitimate descendant of the Abbaside Caliphs) whereby the Ottoman sultans were invested with the title of "Caliph," assuming charge of the holy relics which are the insignia of Islam. This title has ever since been the property of the Sultans of Constantinople, but how far it is now acknowledged by the Moslem world is a much-disputed question. The early success of Islam was exceptionally brilliant, but it must be remembered that the sixth and seventh centuries, during which the Caliphate was founded, were periods of great exhaustion and degeneration in the Christian world, and that the valor and virility of the Arabs, inspired with a new and lofty conception and accompanied by a toleration for which they have not received sufficient credit, made the hosts of Islam a most formidable force in world history. For a long time, the

Ottoman Caliphs continued on this path of success; but the tide turned at length, corruption and satiety undermined the Moslem Powers, while the Christian ones emerged from the Dark Ages into a period of heroic endeavor.

As the power of the Crescent waned, the Ottomans were driven from Europe and Europeans invaded Asia and Africa. The prestige of the Caliphate naturally decreased. Those of the Ottoman sultans who, in the nineteenth century, attempted to arrest the decay of their country by reforms based on Western ideas achieved no success, and were regarded with disfavor by their coreligionists and even excommunicated by some of the stricter sects or brotherhoods. Both the Reform sultans and the Egyptian Khedives, swayed by European influence, fell under the ban of these brotherhoods; and Abdul-Hamid, when he ascended the throne, had to prove his orthodoxy and freedom from Western influence before he could enjoy any sense of security with his own people. It took him nearly twenty years of hard work, during which he eliminated from his Court all those suspected of Western tendencies and frowned on the party which favored administrative reform. His most successful policy, however, was one of ingratiation with the devout among his coreligionists by his protection of holy men, sheiks and pilgrims. When there was no money to pay the wages of the army or court officials, there was still some for presents to these; and the Mecca-Medina railway, linking the Holy Places with the coast, has brought him the gratitude of millions of people from the ends of the Mohammedan world. The final touch was put by the success of his arms over the Greeks, which, announced to distant Moslem communities with Oriental hyperbole, conveyed the impression of a conquest over Europe. Even the victories of Kitchener over the false Mahdi in Egypt were turned to the glory of the Caliph, whose spiritual pretensions had been threatened by the impostor.

The claim of the Sultans of Constantinople to the title of Caliph was never contested, except by the Sultan of Morocco, until the time of the French invasion of Algeria and the era of the Reform sultans. There remained, nevertheless, a lack of sanction to Abdul-Hamid's pretensions which was now to be supplied as far as possible by the highest spiritual authorities. It must be recollected, however, that no hierarchy exists in Islam

with authority like that acknowledged in Christianity, and that the recognition now accorded to him does not carry with it the weight which it might otherwise possess. In 1886, the great brotherhood of the Senoussi, of which an account must be given later, received the Sultan into their ranks; and twelve years later they formally acknowledged him as the true inheritor of the Abbaside Caliphs and the legitimate head of the world of Islam. The event was commemorated by embassies from the Porte to various Moslem centres throughout the world, and for twelve months afterwards Constantinople continued to receive deputations of homage and congratulation.

The brotherhood of the Senoussi is becoming known, even in journalistic circles in Europe. Its name is continually cropping up in connection with affairs in Algeria and even in Nigeria and Central Africa. It is the most important organization of its kind, although several others exist and have existed since the eleventh century. Originally theological schools, these brotherhoods occupied themselves until the last century with controversial questions of interpretation, legal and mystical abstractions and cognate matters; but, under pressure of the French invasion and of European encroachment generally, they gradually assumed a politico-religious character. The founder of the Senoussi claimed descent from Hosein, the murdered son of Ali and Fatima, and had the right to wear the green turban, thereby fulfilling one of the conditions of Mahdiism. The key-note of the Senoussi propaganda is uncompromising resistance to European influence and a return to the early militant spirit of Islam.

The growth of the Senoussi has been one of the most striking developments of modern Islam. They have adopted an active missionary policy and have spread southwards through heathen Africa, while their organization has been framed with the idea of including and coordinating all existing brotherhoods. The Senoussi have established in all countries where the Moslem is governed by an alien race a system of occult government side by side, and coinciding in its boundaries, with the state administration. This occult government exists in Algeria, Egypt, and India, and its emissaries are at work in Nigeria. The Senoussi now include within their brotherhood practically all the Sunnis, that is the majority of Moslems in Arabia, Turkey, North Africa, Turkestan, Afghanistan and East Asia. The Shiites,

who predominate in Persia, are alone prevented by their conception of orthodoxy from being Senoussi.

The Senoussi had their headquarters at Djarboub, but some twenty years ago it was decided to send their official representative to Constantinople, and the venerable Mokkadem who occupies this position is even more powerful in councils than the Sheik ul Islam, who, nominated by the Sultan, occupies in the hierarchy the place of Expounder of the Law, second only to that of the Caliph, the "Shadow of God on Earth."

The question of the extent of the Sultan's influence, and the proportion of the Moslem world which recognizes him as the head of their religion, is a difficult one. There are dissentient voices, even in his immediate entourage, among those who desire radical changes in the political system of Turkey in order to bring it up to European standards of efficiency and progress. That the Young Turkey party is not entirely disinterested in this propaganda goes without saying,—there is little disinterestedness in any political life, and none in Oriental countries. On the other hand, a considerable body of orthodox and non-progressive Moslems, such as the Shiites, do not recognize the Sultan's claims as Caliph, because of the break in what we might call the Apostolic succession. Moreover, Morocco disputes, and has always disputed, the claims of Constantinople, and has pretensions itself to be the seat of the legitimate descendants of the Prophet. Therefore both sections of the Moslem world, the modern and the fanatical, are in part opposed to the Sultan's claims. His strongest position lies in the protection he exercises over the Holy Places; and, when this is remembered, the skill of his diplomacy and the wisdom of his policy become more apparent to an outside world which is too prone to regard all Oriental potentates as monuments of incompetency. When, therefore, we begin to consider the possibility of a Pan-Islamic revival, it is not wise to discount too freely any of the circumstances which seem to point towards a renewal of Moslem activity or towards centralization. At the same time, it is historically true that the Moslem world has never been united, even under stress of circumstances, as Christendom united in the Crusades. Neither the Moors in Spain nor the Moslems in Egypt, India, or Persia were ever helped by the Turks, even when the Osmanlis were at the highest point of their power;

and, in modern times, Abdul-Kadr received no support from outside in his gallant struggle against the French, and, indeed, he did not even secure the undivided allegiance of the Moslems of Algeria. Moreover, as Professor Vambéry says, in his recent work, "Western Culture in Eastern Lands":

"The proposed association and the united action of the various component parts of an ethnical body dispersed in many different climates and divided into many nationalities presuppose a cultural level and a political fitness which is certainly not yet reached by the Islamic world. . . . The historic past, ethnical and ethical characteristics, and natural proclivities have formed a chasm which will be difficult to bridge over either in the present or the near future."

At the present time, more than two-thirds of the Moslem world are living under foreign rule, and a still greater proportion if we include those under foreign influence. The believers in the possibility of Pan-Islam point to a great improvement in the cultural status of Moslems generally, but they forget how greatly this is due to the imposition, under foreign domination, of an alien civilization. In India, the Moslems resisted the efforts to Europeanize them, just as the Moslems of Turkestan, under the influence of their fanatical Mollahs, still resist the educational efforts of Russia; but a new era has set in within the British Asiatic Empire, and the Mohammedans of India are now in the forefront of educational progress.

The quickening influence, however, has been contact with Europe, and therefore it is impossible to regard this phenomenon as part of a purely Pan-Islamic revival. The same argument must apply even to the undoubted progress made in Turkey, where there are the beginnings of public education, an improvement in the status of women, and a general breaking down of ancient superstitions. Orthodox Moslems no longer fear to travel abroad; the ignorant contempt for all foreigners as "heathens" has given way to a more just appreciation. Even the superstition which grew up round the Islamic doctrine as to the reproduction of the human form has been so far relaxed that the Caliph himself submits his features to the photographer.

But, while it is incontrovertibly true that this change, this intellectual quickening among Moslems, is due to contact with Christian civilization, it must not be forgotten how much that civilization owes to the Arabs and to the earlier and more bril-

liant Moslem civilizations. Moslem universities were the schools of Europe in the Middle Ages, and the Mohammedan teachers of medicine, mechanics, chemistry, astronomy, history, architecture, and even geography, were like beacons set on a hill in the intellectual darkness of Europe. To quote a distinguished Moslem of India, "Europe stands on the shoulders of Islam." In the same way, we know how far China was once ahead of Europe, and both the Mohammedan and the Chinese civilizations, flowering early, were doomed to a long period of stagnation. Now there are signs of revival, and Christianity is asked in turn to give inspiration to its quondam teacher. The renascence of Japan is a great stimulus and is used as an analogy, without any particular discrimination. It is too often forgotten that the renascence in the Far East is not religious but national.

The main difficulty, however, from the Pan-Islamic point of view, is the character of the Moslem religion. Christianity is a spiritual belief and a moral code, and the Japanese, having no spiritual belief of their own, have adapted Christian civilization and grafted it on to their own moral code; but Moslems are bound in every relation of life, and in their whole attitude towards matters spiritual and temporal, to a definite and prescribed code. So long as the Moslem races preserved their militant character, so long as they were led by strong and warlike chiefs and lived a full and strenuous life, their religion was a vivifying one. But with political decadence came religious decadence, and this, despite assertions to the contrary, not only because the spirit of Islam was gradually overlaid with dead forms, but because it was essentially lacking in the elements of permanent virility. Considered from a purely material point of view, Christianity has stood the test of time far better, and is more likely to continue to hold its own because it allows the fullest possible scope for individualism.

The claim that Islam is equally elastic is one on which it is perhaps presumptuous to dogmatize; but the evidence of history is to the contrary. The prosperous period of Islam was the period of fanaticism. The possibility of reconciling all modern developments with the words of the Koran does not meet the case. This species of casuistry cannot conceal the truth that, under such conditions, Islam tends more and more to become the husk and not the kernel. We see in Europe the spec-

tacle, not unnoticed by Moslems, of one of the erstwhile most devout Christian nations given over to secularism or worse. "God has made these Christians mad so that Mahomet may come to his own," is the Moslem comment. But the wave of indifferentism and formalism which has submerged Islam also is not so easy to roll back, and, although the improvement in the cultural status of Moslems has led to a revival of their historic pride and even to the stirrings of national feeling among them, yet the political disintegration which has taken place makes any general revival extremely difficult.

One of the first *desiderata* for a Pan-Islam revival is a real centre. We have seen that the Caliphate has been strengthened with a view to providing this; and, as Turkey is the most independent Moslem state now existing, everything seems to point to Constantinople as the natural focus of all efforts. The pilgrimages to the Holy Places, instituted by Mahomet as a bond of union to his people, continue to be of value in keeping the Moslems of all races in touch with each other, and are used by the Senoussi and other organizations for purposes of political propaganda. But, as we have already seen, Abdul-Hamid is identified with the party of political reaction, while at the same time he is unacceptable to some of the fanatics of his coreligionists. Moreover, the political situation of Turkey is too precarious to admit of any bold measures either of reform or reunion, nor has it that national cohesion or vitality which would enable it to emulate Japan in the reorganization of its forces. The Near East has become to such an extent the appendage of Europe, and the cockpit of its rivalries, that it would be difficult for the most virile and strenuous of peoples to develop on national and independent lines; but Turkey is the home of a people whose natural ability and energy have been sapped by centuries of incompetent and oppressive government. Neither Morocco, Persia nor Afghanistan could conceivably be taken as leader and centre of a Moslem revival. The Persians, for one thing, are largely schismatics; the cultural level of all three countries is low; and all are equally dominated by considerations in the foreign policy of European Powers. Their political future is obscure, but one thing seems certain—they may follow, but they cannot lead, in any movement for the revivification of Islam.

It may be well at this point to attempt to define the aims of

the Pan-Islamites. Their name is as misleading as are similar terms applied to political and ethnographic groups elsewhere. Associations bearing this generic term are found to-day in London, Paris, Geneva, the United States and other foreign centres. How far their organization is developed in Moslem countries it is impossible to say, but there are nearly a dozen publications devoted to their propaganda, six of these appearing in Cairo. A distinguished French writer, M. Binger, who is also the head of the African section of the Colonial office, defines their aims as twofold, and more or less alternative. Either the wide and rather chimerical design of so reviving the religion of the Prophet as to restore the prestige and glory of the East (as compared to the West), or, failing that, to form new Islamic groups having as their aim merely the preservation of the Faith. The means for accomplishing these ends are to be the coalition of existing Islamic states or the organization of religious forces to work throughout the Moslem world for one or both of these objects. So far, the last part of the programme is the only one which seems to be actively realized.

Like all wide and vague movements which are not so much positive as negative in their aims, Pan-Islam will inevitably make itself felt in a number of developments apparently disconnected, but in reality united by the anti-foreign sentiment. This is regrettable from the point of view of the best exponents of Pan-Islam, who desire to raise the general level of their co-religionists rather than to place them in antagonism to their environment, but the anti-foreign propaganda is the most tangible and most intelligible feature of the whole programme. Moreover, the movement is one that will be increasingly difficult to control. The Sultan, inspired and dominated by the militant Senoussi, has undoubtedly set in motion some of the machinery which is provided by the secret service of that brotherhood. In the recent crisis in the Near East, he found himself between the devil and the deep sea, and could not have yielded the essential points with regard to the Macedonian provinces without calling down the wrath of his own people. The crisis was averted by diplomatic tact, and the Sultan "saved the face of the Powers" by what the European press euphemistically described as "submitting to the mandate of Europe." The interest taken in this incident has not subsided, and moreover the

most unmistakable signs of unrest are noticeable in Algeria, Tunis, Egypt, and even in Central and East Africa.

The spread of Islam in Africa is one of the most striking phenomena of the nineteenth century, and, taken in connection with the cultural revival of the Moslem world in Asia, is the feature in the situation which is of the gravest import. There are three currents of Mohammedanism which are spreading in Africa—from the Upper Nile, from Zanzibar into the Congo region, and lastly up the Niger basin. Christianity, which is only a feeble plant in these regions, is likely to be overwhelmed altogether, just as the flourishing North-African church was overwhelmed by the Arabs at an earlier stage of history. There are many thinkers, even outside the Moslem world, who incline to the belief that Christianity has proved a failure in Africa, and that Mohammedanism is more likely to prove a civilizing force there. It is a religion which, in its simplest form, appeals strongly to semi-barbarous peoples, and certainly raises them above their old level; but, in estimating the effect of this Moslem movement in Africa, it is impossible to disregard the evidence of history. We are too apt to imagine that, with the exception of Egypt and the Mediterranean fringe, the northern half of Africa has no history, but readers of Lady Lugard's recent book, "A Tropical Dependency," will be aware of the fallacy of this idea. It is more than probable that we have as yet only penetrated the outer shell of that phase of human development which has taken place in the Dark Continent. Recent scientific examination has exploded the theory that the extensive ruins of Rhodesia are the work of European or Asiatic invaders, and they now appear as relics of a lost stage of negro civilization, no further back than the sixteenth century. The researches of French writers have also opened for us the pages of North-African history, so that we know that the Soudan and the heart of Africa down to the Niger region were at one time the seats of great black empires, possessing civilizations considerably ahead of the contemporary European states. The civilizing influence was Mohammedanism, which continued to flourish in Africa after its period of decadence had begun in Europe. Coming from East and West, from Morocco and Egypt, the two currents of Moslem influence met at last on the banks of the Niger. Timbuctoo, the Queen of the Soudan, was the centre of a black Islamic

civilization which won recognition from travellers who belonged to the most eclectic and cultured country of the day. Our European ancestors seemed to the refined and learned Arabs more barbarian than the blacks of Negroland, and the fact that this civilization, however imperfect, existed with sufficient stability to maintain empire after empire through a known period of 1,500 years, in a part of the world which (to quote Lady Lugard) "mysteriously disappeared in the sixteenth century from the comity of modern nations," is so singular a phenomenon as to merit a closer study of this region than it has yet received.

The conclusions to be drawn from this half-obliterated page of history for the purposes of this article are not altogether favorable to the idea of Islam as a regenerating and civilizing force in Africa. The causes of its decay in Europe and Asia were equally potent in Africa and are well given by an Arab of the fourteenth century. As a political engine Islam, he says, writing of the Moors, proved incompetent to secure liberty of the individual, and the Moslem states were enslaved by their own Caliphs before they were overthrown by strangers. The relapse of the ancient Moslem kingdoms of the Soudan from a condition of orthodoxy, prosperity, peace, good government, and respect for learning into a state of semi-savagery cannot be disregarded in estimating the force of Islam to-day. Christianity may have failed in North Africa, but has Islam done better? Its recognition of slavery, which, although practised in Christian states, was essentially opposed to the doctrines of Christianity, has been one of the main causes of the downfall of modern Powers. The degenerating influence of slave-owning and the impossibility of building up securely any state save on a basis of individual freedom have reacted with sinister results on all Moslem states and made African civilization evanescent.

Nevertheless, the outlook for those Christian European Powers which have large African possessions and spheres of influence is increasingly grave. Sir Charles Elliot, late Commissioner for British East Africa, writes:

"Mohammedanism can still give the native a motive for animosity against Europeans and a unity of which they are otherwise incapable. Had Uganda become Mohammedan, which was at one moment quite possible, the whole of the Nile Valley and of East Central Africa might have been in the hands of the Mohammedans, ready to receive and pass on any wave of fanaticism."

At the present time, Uganda is more and more inclining to Islam. A form of Islam has overrun Nyassaland, and on the coast it continues to gain ground, especially with the Swahili. In detached groups the faith of the Prophet has reached the Zambesi, and there is a Moslem community in Cape Colony.

The vital question is whether or no there is a real integrating power in Islam. So far it has not evidenced this since the era of fanaticism, and it has been during recrudescences of this fanaticism that the power of Moslem states or peoples has from time to time reasserted itself. The bogey of Europe is the possibility of such a recrudescence occurring in regions where European control is necessarily weak in numbers and depends chiefly on moral force. France and England, the two great colonial Mohammedan states, are chiefly interested, but the whole of Christendom must be deeply concerned with this question.

So far as Pan-Islam, on historic grounds, aims at the restoration of Mohammedan prestige and world power through an attempted revival of "the spirit of Islam," there seems no special ground to expect any more startling development than the gradual modernization of Islamic states under European tutelage. Nor do the divisions in the Moslem world show any signs of being forgotten in this development. But a very different set of problems arises with the spread of Islam among the savage tribes of Africa. Pan-Islamites must not be too sure that the spirit they are evoking in the Dark Continent is one that will remain under their own control.

Here, then, we find the historic clue to some Pan-Islam aspirations which on first sight seem chimerical. What Islam has done before—a work begun eight centuries ago—may she not do again? But the leaders of Islam must not forget that, whereas in the Middle Ages Africa fronted civilization only on the north, she is now being penetrated from every quarter. The disintegrating influences are far greater and the inspiration of Islam has waned. It seems more likely that, by a too precipitate and too little controlled propaganda, the African natives may indeed receive from Islam a bond of union, but that, far from securing allegiance to the higher sense of Islam generally, the result may be to evoke a spirit which it will be beyond the power either of Sultan or Senoussi to control.

ARCHIBALD R. COLQUHOUN.

# THE CONTENT OF THE MODERN NOVEL.

BY LOUISE COLLIER WILLCOX.

THE Victorian novel is the heir of the Elizabethan drama. Its form is somewhat more bulky and the mode of indirect speech allows a wider swath to the descriptive powers. In the drama, the chorus or the monologue introduced philosophic commentary and criticism of life, but detailed description of scenery was somewhat difficult except in short and striking phrases. Nature in its more unusual moods played some part; storms, the sea, the heavens at night, and the stars lent themselves either to invocation or to simile; but the deliberately built-up word-picture, the visual effect woven of detail piled upon detail, belongs to the novel. Otherwise, the object and the method of the two forms seem profoundly akin. Their object is to purge the emotions by depicting scenes of terror and pity, as the old definition goes. Their means was a presentation of the occurrences of life and elaborated characterizations. As the value of the drama depended upon the skill with which the happenings were gathered together and built up into pyramidal shape, introducing and putting in motion a given set of characters, weaving their action up to a high point of intricacy and tension and then slowly letting out the knot to a point where there should be some sort of sense of finality, as well as upon the truth to nature and custom of the action, the interest of the characters drawn and the verbal power of the writer, so the value of the novel depends upon construction, force, truth, characterization and style. When one of these five elements fails altogether, the artistic effect of the whole is marred. The verbal felicity, the style, of Marlowe was often equal to that of Shakespeare, but he had little power of construction. Webster, who had a sense for plot and a wondrous gift of words, drew such abnormal characters that it is often

difficult to believe them real beings. There were other playwrights with power of construction, and truthful perceptions, who lacked style, and it was in one only of the Elizabethans that the five elements met in supreme excellence and harmony.

The English novel began with recitals of unusual action or adventure, and passed on to that of manners and external conditions, and beyond that to the novel of motive or the psychological novel. Certain modern tendencies in the novel seem to derive directly from the novelist whom it is now modish to decry or overlook, George Eliot. The whole pity of human life, its desultory progress, its hapless and unforeseen failures, its unmeaning sufferings and collapses, these aspects of life—and with them also a certain reverence for humanity as mere humanity, a tender observance of its attainments however uncertain and fragmentary, its efforts however weak and spasmodic—certainly came into prominence with that great novelist. Characterization and truth were the great powers of George Eliot; characterization and style, of Thackeray; characterization with pathos and humor, of Dickens; force of emotion, of the Brontës. In Meredith, manner and criticism of life, or style and truth, have outweighed the other elements; and, in Hardy, sensitive verbal felicity and the intensity of the personal vision go far toward making up the painful beauty of his capricious world.

In all of these authors, one can still trace the structure of the earlier drama. The prologue itself is often spoken, striking the key-note of the theme and awakening the emotional mood to be maintained, as in the dream by the water in the "Mill on the Floss," and again in the mishap on London Bridge in "One of Our Conquerors." The introduction is often slow and detailed, leading the reader through years of the past history of the chief characters, enlightening him by means of anecdotes of childhood, infancy, the forbears, bits of gossip and different points of view, before the characters are actually set in motion for us. The climax, the fall, the catastrophe remain of the same nature. George Eliot was one of the first novelists to do away with the definite finality of ending, the "then they were married and lived happily ever after" type, like the good old-fashioned musical ending of the tonic chord following up that of the dominant seventh. She, like Chopin, would end on a questioning minor third, as in "Romola," or suddenly change the key and

finish with a cadenza of the related major, as in "Daniel Deronda," leaving us with no sense of finality or finish.

All these little innovations of structure are incorporated into the immediately present novel. Its structure is much slighter and its rhythm more perceptible. Its smaller bulk—few novels the size of "Daniel Deronda" or "Vanity Fair" would find a publisher in these swift-moving days—demands a great cutting of detail, and therefore we have much less vivid characterization. We get less of a sense of life in the present-day novel. Are there any characters that we know for love or for hatred as we do Becky and Dobbin, Beatrix, Pendennis, David and Dora, Peggotty, Little Em'ly, Dorothea, Gwendolen, Felix and a host of others? Last year, indeed, Boris and Dominie, Rickshaw, Flossie and Lucia were all presented with a wealth of detail which added them to the list of our intimate and living friends; but it must be admitted that their authors were severely reprimanded for their pains. For the tradition of the day leans toward a wide circle of slight acquaintances and short, very short, interviews. Brevity is the surest of modern appeals; and, though it is easy to see its commercial value, we run great risks of becoming mere creatures of scraps and patches. The art of omission, a great craftsman said, is the artist's supreme test; but omission, carried as far as the modern novelist has carried it, results in a pitiful meagreness.

The main changes, then, in the novel are a great falling off in bulk and a consequent faintness of impression, a shifting of the action from the outside of life to the inside aspect, a certain gain in definiteness of plot, fewer side issues and episodical interludes, and perhaps, on the whole, a lift in the general matter of style, if one take into account that in speaking of the past we are apt to speak only of a few supreme geniuses, whereas in the present we speak of the general average. This is a day when a great many people write pretty well; indeed, many of our novelists might readily join in Tennyson's lament that he could say things beautifully enough if only he had oftener something to say. Numberless people are boldly learning to write, taking elaborate courses in English without the faintest idea of whether they will ever have anything to write about or not. "If only," said one young enthusiast, "I learn to construct my sentences, the matter will take care of itself!"

The two best novels of last year were written, one by a man, and one by a woman. The "Garden of Allah" and "The Divine Fire" loomed up above and beyond all their fellows. This year, the two best novels were written by women and by American women. "The Wheel of Life" and "The House of Mirth"* stand first and have other points of similarity beside the identical number of syllables in their titles and their authors' names. Both Miss Glasgow and Mrs. Wharton have chosen to set up a spiritual and an intellectual value against a background of sordid animalism. Both books deal with New York and with a set of people whose interests and occupations it is unhappily all too easy to know. Miss Glasgow's is a work almost primitive in its vigor and strength, the work of a genius. Mrs. Wharton's is a work still-pulsed, restrained, curiously impersonal, the output of an artist. The large play of life, the quick pulse and rush of emotion make Miss Glasgow's book all quiveringly alive, while Mrs. Wharton's is a carefully veiled, fatally truthful picture. These two authors represent the difference between the overwhelming impulse of genius, hewing its own way with an elemental force, and that of a highly wrought culture, conscious of its means and austerely selecting its effects. In structure, too, there is a great difference to be noted. Miss Glasgow's novel is more "enveloped," as the sculptors say. The framework is entirely hidden; the covering is large and irregular as life itself; the sweep of the rhythmic ebb and flow is so long that the little events come and pass, apparently, without relation to total impression, and without blending into the significance of the whole. This is like life and it gives us the feeling of life, its largeness and variety, its capriciousness and lack of selection.

Both these authors present a background of what one might call half-souls, creatures hardly awakened from the life of the senses, mere luxury-loving animals, whose highest reach is a certain reverent attention to personal cleanliness and social convention. It must be admitted that Mrs. Wharton's smart set is nothing like so repellent as Miss Glasgow's. The skill with which Gus Trenor is presented is due, perhaps, to the fact that the artist had no real shrinking to conceal. Mrs. Wharton deals with him as coolly as a naturalist with a familiar animal. She

* "The Wheel of Life," Ellen Glasgow: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1906. "The House of Mirth," Edith Wharton: Chas. Scribners' Sons, 1905.

notes his looks, his instincts, his habits, his limited perceptions, the operations of his food and drink beclogged brain, and shows neither pity nor disgust. Her temperamental quiet is undisturbed. She never flushes into moral indignation; she neither reproaches nor regrets; she merely observes, and states the results of observation, with an entirely impersonal curiosity. Even Flaubert, in that most objective of all novels, "Madame Bovary," rouses himself once to exclaim upon poor Emma's power to corrupt even from the tomb, but Mrs. Wharton offers no judgments; she never appears before the curtain with a moral commentary upon the puppet-show. Now, whatever Miss Glasgow says or leaves unsaid, we cannot but feel her glowingly alive to the moral issues of her creation. She does not openly blame Perry Bridewell or Arnold Kemper that they are only half-way out of the stage of pure animalism, but she takes it keenly to heart and she shows them up mercilessly. Against them she places in vivid contrast Roger Adams, a great man and a living soul, one who has attained that noble asceticism which has renounced personal desire and ambition, even the most legitimate desire for fame, wealth, respect, love and ease, because only by renunciation can a sense of God enter into a life—a man who goes quietly and unobtrusively through existence, outwardly a failure, yet always holding his life out lightly on his hand for any man to take. It is by this contrast that the futile lives show for the cheap and vulgar things they really are. A great soul has only to walk across the stage of life for the small and mean things to show up small and mean in the resulting glow and brilliance. It is a search-light discovering new sets of values and pointing toward new worlds. In Mrs. Wharton's novel there is only the refined and over-cautious intellectual dilettante, Selden, to illuminate the spiritual struggle of Lily Bart. As it was, the fleeting glimpse he afforded of a life of independent intellectual judgments, "a republic of the spirit," changed the current of her existence and the latent nobility in her seized the suggestion and made toward the best—such a pitifully small best!—that environment offered. Lily Bart lived long enough to recognize the vulgarity of all her aims and desires; the tragedy of her helpless struggle with fatality, her vain effort and final passing is one of the great things that have been accomplished in a modern novel. The tale is terribly tragic, but it is true. Mrs.

Wharton's great gifts as a novelist are style, first and foremost, then clever manipulation of plot and unwavering truth of vision. Miss Glasgow's are force, characterization and profound insight into human experience.

It is a question whether one has a right to treat "Sturmsee"* as a novel at all. Mr. Holt admits that some of his critics objected to "Calmire" on the ground that he dealt only with people who talked about religion, and he considerately forewarns his reader that in "Sturmsee" he intends to talk only about people who are interested in social problems, and only at such times as they may be heard discussing social problems. Whatever one may think of the theories of social economy in the book, it is impossible to treat it as a work of art. The impulse of the author is not the æsthetic impulse of the creator, but the didactic impulse of the theorist. The descriptions of character are salient, keen and often epigrammatic, but they are done from the outside. The author stands off and looks on at his characters and comments upon them. Never for an instant does he enter into them and make them live. The descriptions are of the kind that make clever conversation, but the characters are *uncreated;* they do not live and move of their own volition, but to elucidate Mr. Holt's view of life; they are not people, but, with due apologies to Mr. Martineau, they are types of ethical theory.

As to the value of the theory, it is simply the old saw illustrated, that nothing succeeds like success. Mr. Holt's people are well fed and well bred; they have all the ease and conventions of the old-school gentlemen's lives; but the whole view of life, while it is canny in the extreme, is not spiritual, nor exalted, nor very deeply conceived. It is just such sublimated common sense as makes for plenty of coal and comfort. If a man fails, Mr. Holt shows him up as ill-balanced, epileptic, foredoomed to failure not by social conditions, but by an unimpeachable Providence. What men care for is the product of brains, he tells us, and hands are but the servants of brains and, he would suggest, must remain so. The trouble is that skilled hands help develop brains, and no one elects to remain without brains if he can help it; and the passage from being a servant to being a master is continually traversed, and another point to consider is that the very highest brains are not apt to conquer the world in the way

* "Sturmsee," Henry Holt. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1906.

Mr. Holt thinks. His type of the conquering brain is a man at the head of a tin-factory who makes money. But is this our highest type of brains? Have the greatest of reformers or the noblest idealists or the keenest intellects made money and subdued the earth? No! The best one can say is that if a man be worldly-wise enough, and healthy and lucky enough, he can usually make a comfortable berth for himself and, perhaps, for those who belong to him. But the highest and most sensitive type of man gets very little true happiness out of such achievement. It is still a heaven haunted by shrieks of others' far-off hell. If there is a purpose or a plan in the universe, Mr. Holt says, "nothing seems to me plainer than that it is part of that plan to evolve happiness through intelligence and morality." Perhaps; or perhaps it is just to evolve consciousness, spiritual consciousness, so that a man shall become not merely a good citizen of this world, but shall really have something in him worthy of further development, something that remains when the body and the things of the body are stripped off. It often seems as if human beings, instead of being live things in a universe of whirling dead matter, were partially dead atoms, striving more and more towards life, and as if pain and suffering and failure were the means to vitality. But Mr. Holt thinks not. His is rather the copy-book maxim plane of morality such as: "Honesty is the best policy." But, when all is said, though the book has no particular structure, and is but a voluminous ramble through the outer facts of a number of lives; while the characters are only names and never living people; while the emotion with which the book is written is never warmer than tepid, and the truthfulness never deeper than the most average vision may plummet: the book has the value of a conversation upon vital subjects of a gentleman who has seen much of the world, has succeeded there and noted the means of his success, and elaborated a theory of life.

It is almost inevitable that one should contrast "Sturmsee" with Mr. Upton Sinclair's "The Jungle."* "The Jungle" is the book of a young man, and a man who is still confident that there are means of preventing all the sorrows of the world. In this particular case we are offered the means of Socialism. Mr. Sinclair is too deeply interested in theories of life to write a

* "The Jungle," Upton Sinclair. Doubleday, Page & Co., 1906.

real novel. The heat and force are to hand for the making of a fine book; but other necessary elements, characterization, structure, style and truth, are uncertain quantities. It is not because intensity ruins that the book is not a work of art; it is because the elements were too sparse, that, with all its terrible detail and all the author's emotion, the book cannot stand beside "Jude, the Obscure" or "Anna Karénina." The wretched Lithuanian peasants, sacrificed to the political and commercial corruption of the great city of Chicago, never quite *live;* they, too, are names used to point a moral and adorn a tale. The solution of the difficulties is all too facile. It is, however, a book to read, especially for those of us who, leading sheltered lives, are inclined to sit too comfortably in our bodies, feeling that the world is not so bad after all. If the conditions depicted in "The Jungle" are real, and we have good reason to believe them not wholly an hysterical vision, we are all more guilty than we feel; and, if we were wholly alive, each would realize himself his brother's keeper.

We turn now from two novels which are worth consideration as works of art, and two worth consideration as theories of life, to the general run and average, novels which are mainly good stories — books which, with more or less characterization and better or worse style, are written mainly as mere plots, situations, and fail of being notable because they lack depth of conception or truth, and intensity of emotion or force.

"The Conquest of Canaan"* is a very cheerful and pleasant little story. It bears a very faint resemblance to life, just enough to make it easy reading. The hero has all his ills at one time; and then, toward the end, in the twenty-third of the whole twenty-six chapters, the face of the universe changes, and the heavens, which have showered nothing but misfortunes and slights, send down fame and fortune, friendship and love, all in a bunch. The heroine, who goes to Paris to learn to dress, completely wins the hero by this noble achievement. She had lavished loyalty and tenderness, faith and devotion upon him in vain. He never noticed her; but, when she came back in Parisian clothes, he instantly forgot his less well-dressed dream of love and fell ardently

* "The Conquest of Canaan," Booth Tarkington. Harper & Brothers, 1905.

in love with the clothes. They wooed and they won him. There is one pretty little touch, very true to nature, and both pathetic and diverting, in the last dancing party to which the heroine goes before she learns to dress, and this chapter of utter frustration and humiliation is the truest and the cleverest bit of writing in the whole book.

"The Day Dreamer"* is a book made wholly out of what one may most easily label suspense. The hero is a reporter of rather elevated stamp, and the interest of the book lies in not knowing from page to page just how the intrigue will turn to his triumph. The book is a mere plot, with no attempt at serious conception, force, characterization or style, and one reads it only to see how it will turn out. The process is a thing to get over as quickly as possible, that one may experience the little glow of satisfaction caused by the ending to all difficulties and the "then they were happy ever after."

"If Youth But Knew"† is of the decorative order of books. It is not serious, but it is highly adorned with poetic language, adventurers, mysterious wanderers playing violins while they climb hills, kidnapped ballet-girls and great ladies disguised as peasants. If one were not told in so many words that Napoleon was still alive, we might easily fancy ourselves back in the Middle Ages, when adventures were still rife and picturesque. However, no book that clings to the poetic conception of life and helps us to decorate it with bravery and high-sounding sentiment is to be totally overlooked, and these points are always at hand in the romantic tales of Agnes and Egerton Castle.

"The Evasion"‡ is a woman's book, and by this we mean a book of which the whole burden is love, love as the solution for all the groaning and travailing, the mistakes and the mystery of life. It is a well-written and seriously conceived story with more than a little truth of perception and power of portrayal. This writer needs only wider experience and deeper thought to do some writing really worth while.

* "The Day Dreamer," Jesse Lynch Williams. Chas. Scribners' Sons, 1906.

† "If Youth But Knew." Agnes and Egerton Castle. The Macmillan Co., 1906.

‡ "The Evasion," Eugenia Brooks Frothingham. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1906.

"The Spirit of the Pines,"* which is also a woman's book and upon the same theme, is a smaller book more prettily done. The touch is very light and delicate, and the little tale of love and pity is nicely wrapped up in an allusive familiarity with polite literature and gently applied moralities.

"The Clammer"† is a man's book of about the same size and quality as "The Spirit of the Pines"; but, since it is a book by a man, love plays a more subsidiary part, and there is a wider glancing into the field of usefulness, health and neighborly obligations. The style is Biblical and forced, but at times has a charm of its own.

"My Lady Baltimore"‡ is a more than commonly entertaining and readable story. The delicacy and charm with which Mr. Wister portrays a phase of life just vanishing and reproduces the atmosphere of Charleston is all above the average of production. Despite the thinness of material and superficiality of perception, there is something quite enthralling in the handling of the story. Mr. Wister, too, lives up to the present ideal of the novelist's vocation. He can always help us to while away an idle hour or a pause for boredom without demanding any sort of emotion or mental effort from his reader.

There are two books which, in their unrelieved preoccupation with the world of mental process, show a complete subjection to the French psychological school. Of these two, George Moore's "The Lake"§ is the slighter and the less painful. He escapes the vulgarity of tawdriness and triviality, the besetting sin of the average novelist, only to fall into the more harmful one of over-emphasis upon individuality. He presents the fallacy of self-realization, a stumbling-block, at some time or other, to most men except the fortunate few who escape by early bondage to a definite religious code. "Who heareth the eternal voice," said the most worldly-wise and worldly-weary of saints, "is delivered from many an opinion." The opinion that we are here to live for our own freedom, or pleasure, or self-expansion is subversive, and it is this attitude toward life and sin that George

* "The Spirit of the Pines," Margaret Morse. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1906.

† "The Clammer," William John Hopkins. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1906.

‡ "My Lady Baltimore," Owen Wister. The Macmillan Co., 1906.

§ "The Lake," George Moore. D. Appleton & Co., 1906.

Moore chooses to decorate with wealth of natural description, familiar criticism of literature and art, and excellently painted local atmosphere. But the book with all its intellectual merits is both banal and vulgar in its morality, and one turns from it with a sigh of relief.

George Moore has given us a novel with a doctrine of self-realization at all costs. Miss Sedgwick in "The Shadow of Life"* has written a novel of renunciation. Relentlessly cruel and sickeningly painful, we instantly compare it to Balzac's "*La Recherche de l'Absolu*" only to realize that we are two generations more recondite, more abstract and more advanced in subtlety. All the dangers of being over-conscious of mental processes stand out in "The Shadow of Life." The hero and heroine watch themselves not only as actors but as wills, and they are sensitively conscious of the self of quiet behind the self that projects action, the self which looms indifferent to all results. In reading this book, one is apt to feel a certain impatience at dealing with so much abstract thought in the form of a novel; the theory of life would be more forcible if divorced from the paraphernalia of the novel-form. Despite the fact that Miss Sedgwick's book is of a high order, as is her brave emphasis of the personal note, making her book without regard to precedent or pattern, it is a painful task to read it. The detailed study of the slow paralysis of the will, and deadening of the emotions, of the misery the well-meaning hero casts wherever he goes by his false and selfish renunciations is too full of dull and unrelieved misery to be accepted voluntarily.

The main reflection to which one is brought by looking over modern novels is that the novel is a passing form; it has had its day and must cease. It has been overdone and cheapened until it is difficult to take even the finest novels with seriousness. The external novel, the novel that lacks brooding and profundity of truth and force of emotion, is simply negligible; and the novel of mental process, in this age of tottering faiths and insecure philosophies, is apt to be too painful to convey the pleasure which should be given by a work of art.

LOUISE COLLIER WILLCOX.

* "The Shadow of Life," Anne Douglas Sedgwick. The Century Co., 1906.

# WORLD-POLITICS.

LONDON: ST. PETERSBURG: BERLIN: WASHINGTON.

LONDON, *May, 1906.*

ENGLAND discussing an Education Bill is a curious spectacle. No one who has once witnessed it would ever again describe education as a dull subject. The excitement it produces, the passions and even the ferocities aroused by it in this country, have a scale and a depth that would probably astound and mystify an American. That is mainly because when Englishmen engage in an educational controversy the last subject they mention is education. An Education Bill in the English Parliament always resolves itself into a battle, not between educational "experts," but between rival sets of theologians. English history and conditions, and certain peculiarities of the English temperament, have made it inevitable that this should be so. The fact, however, is none the less deplorable, deplorable from almost every standpoint, and not least from that of educational efficiency. It gives aid and comfort to those manifold influences that prevent the English people from regarding education seriously and by itself. I well remember that, some three years ago, the late Bishop of London startled his countrymen by declaring that "England has a contempt for knowledge." Dr. Creighton knew whereof he spoke. If any man's experience could be thought wide enough to justify so grave and comprehensive an indictment, his could. Like most English Bishops, he began life as a schoolmaster; he was for many years a great teaching professor; he was also a historian who held his own with Froude, Lecky, Freeman, Green and Gardiner; he had come into contact, more or less intimate, with thousands of young men; and from the high position to which he eventually climbed he looked abroad with keen, wide-opened eyes. And that was the conclusion to which his busy and varied life had

forced him—that the English despise knowledge, are intellectually lazy, trust far too complacently to their "practical qualities," and betake themselves to scientific study "in a spirit of condescension."

I am myself very much of Dr. Creighton's opinion. There are, it is true, some hopeful signs of an awakening, but it is still broadly true that the English are not really in earnest about education and that it remains a cause to which they will pay lip service, but for which they will not take off their coats.

The State spends an enormous amount of money—at present something like $70,000,000 a year on primary education alone—but I do not think it gets the best results. The elementary schools, through the policy on which they are administered, suffer by being made the battle-ground of fanatical sectarians. A national system of secondary education can hardly as yet be said to exist in England. In technical education little more than a beginning has been made. The Universities, while their spirit and atmosphere are admirable and their standards of scholarship most valiantly maintained, are hampered by an insufficient and outworn curriculum. An Englishman, indeed, who was asked to signify the most useful and creditable and distinctive features of education in England would probably end by pointing to some such seminaries as Eton and Rugby; and even they do far more to mould the characters than the minds of their pupils.

Manufacturing and commercial England is at least a generation behind both Germany and America in its recognition of the value of scientific instruction. Perhaps it would not be overstating the case to say that in none of the leading industrial countries is the educational system so divorced from, and of so little use to, the nation's business. Instances abound where important manufactures have been wrested from the English because their rivals have adopted more scientific methods.

Nor are these the only difficulties with which the cause of English education has to contend. That supreme belief in education as the indispensable ladder to success which pervades and animates America appears, by contrast, to be all but inoperative in England. The average Englishman, especially among the poorer classes, is not only less curious-minded, less eager for information, than the average American, but he lacks one of the

main incentives to the acquirement of knowledge—the incentive of feeling that there are a thousand chances ahead of him which knowledge alone will enable him to utilize. His horizon is narrower and the scope of his opportunity more contracted.

It is difficult to convey to Americans, except in a general way, any idea of the educational situation in England. Roughly speaking, the opinion of this country is opposed to a purely secular system of public education. It has no wish to banish religion from the schools. Yet it is equally opposed to paying, out of public moneys, whether rates or taxes, for the teaching of one denominational creed in preference to another, and it is scarcely less willing to accept the theory that the State should provide for instruction in all denominational creeds. Between furnishing equal facilities for all sects and no facilities for any sect, it has for the past five and thirty years adopted a compromise. This compromise found expression in the famous Cowper-Temple clause of the Act of 1870, the Act which first gave to England what Americans would call a public-school system. That clause declared: "No religious catechism or religious formula which is distinctive of any particular denomination shall be taught in the school." The clause did not apply to the Voluntary Schools —that is, the schools built, endowed and owned by the Established Church; and it was accompanied by a "conscience clause" under which a child might be withdrawn from religious lessons. The system has worked fairly well. The Church-of-England schools have continued to teach the Church-of-England doctrines, and the public elementary schools have expounded the fundamental truths of Christianity in a way acceptable to both Anglicans and Non-conformists. But if, from the theological standpoint, the compromise worked passably, from the educational standpoint it proved a failure. The public elementary schools were managed by local elective bodies called School Boards. They came into existence as occasion demanded. "Distributed haphazard over the country, the areas in which they operated were irregular; they had no jurisdiction over the Voluntary Schools in their districts; they had unlimited powers of expenditure, while rating authorities were obliged to honor their precepts without question." Moreover, they were unconnected with and uncontrolled by the authorities responsible for secondary technical education. At the same time, the Voluntary

Schools, being supported not from the rates but by the private subscriptions of Anglicans and by grants-in-aid from the Government, drifted into a very unsatisfactory condition, many of their buildings being defective and ill-equipped, and the education provided in them falling short of the proper standards. Both the undenominational and the denominational schools stood, therefore, in need of reform. But the difficulties of reforming them, of putting them on a sure foundation, and at the same time of reconciling the religious differences involved, were greatly increased by the facts that over half the children of England are educated in the Voluntary Schools, and that in several thousand villages the Voluntary School is the only school.

The Act of 1902 met these difficulties in the following way: It abolished the School Boards and made the local County or Borough Council the supreme education authority for the district, with equal power over the secular curriculum in both public and Voluntary schools. That was a great gain and a great step towards efficiency. The Voluntary Schools, at the same time, were made a public charge and thrown on the rates, the Established Church thus being relieved from the necessity of supporting them. In return for this, the managers of the Voluntary Schools were required to provide the school buildings, free of charge, for use as a public elementary school, to keep them in repair, and to make reasonable alterations and improvements if required. On the other hand, they retained the right of teaching their own doctrines in the schools; no teacher appointed or dismissed by them could be discharged or reinstated by the local education authority except on purely educational grounds; and in the management of the Voluntary Schools four directors were to be appointed by the local Churchmen and two by the local education authority. Against these provisions, the Dissenters strongly protested on the ground that the rates were being used to support a denominational creed; that, while the people were finding the money for the support of the Voluntary Schools, they had only a very partial and incomplete control over them; and that the Act practically excluded qualified teachers from the majority of the schools because they were not members of the Established Church.

I believe there was a certain substance in these complaints, and that, especially in places where the only existing school was

a Voluntary School, the Act worked harshly for conscientious Dissenters. But I am not at all sure that Mr. Birrell's Act, introduced a month ago and now the subject of furious debates in the House, does not commit an equal injustice against the Church. Mr. Birrell proposes to bring the Voluntary Schools under the full and entire control of the local education authorities. The religious instruction to be given in them must be purely undenominational, though on two mornings in the week, out of school hours, at their own expense and through the medium of specially imported teachers, the owners of any Voluntary School may provide religious instruction according to their own creed for such as care to receive it. Where the parents of four-fifths of the children desire it, a school in an urban area may still continue to exist as a denominational school, and the teachers employed in the school may dispense the religious instruction required, but not at the public expense. The local education authority is to lease the schools from their present owners, paying rent for their use on five days in the week from nine in the morning until four in the afternoon, and bearing all the cost of maintaining the buildings, the present owners to retain exclusive possession of them during the whole of Saturday and Sunday and on week-day evenings. Finally, a Commission of three, presided over by a lawyer, is appointed by the bill to determine the best means of adapting to the new conditions the trust-deeds of all such Voluntary Schools as are dedicated in perpetuity to educational purposes. Such is the main outline of this momentous measure. It is being vehemently opposed by the Church; by the Irish Nationalists, who are fearful for the fate of the Catholic schools; by the Jews, who are similarly anxious on behalf of their own establishments; and by the Labor party, who almost to a man are in favor of a system of purely secular education. With such opponents against it, I see very little chance of the bill's passing in anything like its present form. If it does, I predict with confidence that the House of Lords will reject it. In any case, we are in for a peculiarly English uproar of almost measureless virulence. It may shake even this Government that reckons its normal majority by the hundreds. It must, I think, bring England a long step nearer to the admission that religious instruction is a thing not for the State but for the parents.

ST. PETERSBURG, *May, 1906.*

THE tug-of-war between the Russian Autocracy and Democracy will be in full swing before this article sees the light. It will be war to the death, with original Slav accompaniments. It is the second chapter of the revolution, the modest beginnings of which I described in the REVIEW of January, 1905. Nobody can tell what the vicissitudes will be, not even the friends of the Tsar, who are now busy strengthening the weak points in their rusty armor. They are making active preparations for the fray; but for their ordnance they are employing peculiarly weak material—paper—after the manner of the Chinese, who place in their fortresses wooden or papier-maché guns painted to look like steel cannon. Apprehending mischief from untamed deputies, M. Durnovo and his friends are hastily issuing a series of little laws wherewith to keep the activity of the Duma within what they think to be reasonable bounds. "This subject," they say, "is taboo"; "that line ye shall not overstep," and so on. The delegates are to be kept on their good behavior. As if a tidal wave of elemental force could be held back by means of paper barriers!

The Council of the Empire is the workshop where the armor and armaments for the Autocracy are now being made—the Council of the Empire, which is an asylum for fossil officials. There are old men there who cannot walk, stand or even sit down without help, and who, judging by the advice they give, cannot reason, even with considerable help. One of these is Count Pahlen, whom I knew as Minister of Justice in the reign of Alexander II thirty years ago. This hoary old invalid, whose native tongue is German, besought the Tsar to insert among the fundamental laws, which are to keep the new legislative assembly in bounds, one statute to the effect that no bill tending to facilitate or permit the expropriation of land for the purpose of selling it to the peasants shall be discussed or laid before the Duma. The word "expropriation" shall be struck out of the dictionary. Russian farmers, whose words and thoughts and dreams are of land, shall not be allowed to utter the word! Count Witté, when this extraordinary bill was brought forward by Count Pahlen, exclaimed: "If you really want to drive the peasantry to insurrection, to revolution, the insertion of that paragraph in the fundamental laws will achieve the feat. Suppose the

peasant delegates ignore your restrictive clauses and bring in a bill of the kind you would prohibit. What then?" "We would have them called to order." "And if they persisted, and the House upheld them?" "We would dismiss the House, dissolve the Duma, and—" "And inaugurate insurrection!" exclaimed the Premier.

The bill did not pass; but that is a secondary consideration. The source whence it emanated is perennial in the bureaucracy. The men who enjoy the Tsar's confidence are imbued with the idea that you can shut down the safety valve of a powerful empire, and then put on extra pressure. When Witté will have gone—and at this moment he is certainly going—his successors, if they be of the stamp of Durnovo and Count Pahlen, will constitute the gravest peril for monarch and nation.

The other danger, equally grave, comes from the opposite side. The Liberal section, known as Constitutional Democrats, will find it a very arduous task to abandon bunkum for business, and contribute to the welfare, instead of exciting the passions, of the people. They are bound by a whole litany of promises to work miracles and accomplish the impossible. Civil rights for the Jews, autonomy for the Poles and others, shorter hours for the workmen, more land for the peasantry and no capital punishment for the murderer are among the numerous new reforms to which they are understood to be pledged. The Government is resolved to refuse them. And the nation is in a hurry and cannot wait. The extreme Left will sit in judgment on the Democrats daily until they have done something to justify the hopes they now arouse. For hope is everywhere prevalent and is stifling effort. Centuries of paternal government have rendered the Russian people self-helpless. They put their trust in others and therefore do nothing themselves; they will not even aid the others who are succoring them. Heretofore, it was the Tsar and his officials to whom they looked as children look to their parents; now it is the Liberal Party, and in both cases they asked for the moon. Disappointment, if it come, will engender anger, and anger beget violence.

The agrarian problem, for instance, is waiting to confront every party in power like a cruel Sphinx, ready to tear them to pieces. Nobody seems able to lay the mighty spirit which it was so easy to invoke. Naturally, all these things induce pes-

simism, and everywhere prophecies of evil are rife. "The Duma will be dispersed with bayonets" is the usual formula; preparations for civil war in the shape of bombs and revolvers are the practical precautions adopted. But reasonable scepticism and benevolent hope befit the onlooker who has no stake in the game; and, above all, he should not judge the Russian by the standard he would apply to the American or the Briton. For he represents another type of civilization and a different race.

Even now a kind of civil war is being waged, although there is no rounded scheme and slight hope of success. Hence, political assassination, revolutionary arson, patriotic pillage are daily phenomena. We are almost grown accustomed to them as part of the established order of things. A band of armed men, sometimes disguised, attack a public institution or a private dwelling, seize and carry off the valuables it contains, and, if any resistance is offered, kill the men who dared to offer it and go their way unpunished. They are not vulgar criminals — very far from that; they are patriots, heroes, great men, to whom monuments are offered *in petto*. Even youths and children occasionally join in the work. Indeed, it is now becoming usual to employ children to throw bombs. The law cannot condemn children to death.

In Baku, a whole gang of revolutionaries—disguised as policemen, officers of the gendarmes and State Attorneys — went around visiting offices kept by wealthy citizens, chiefly Mohammedans, on the pretext that they must search for treasonable documents; and then they abstracted banknotes, gold, securities and all other valuables that could be easily turned into money. The merchants who thus fell a prey to the ingenuity and lawlessness of the gang, had no suspicion that the "men of the law" were other than they represented themselves to be. Indeed, nobody knows who is who. Generals, monks, tram conductors, policemen, priests, may turn out to be revolutionaries in disguise, or detectives. Over a hundred and fifty thousand dollars have just been abstracted by a number of "soldiers" who appeared to relieve the guard on duty some five minutes before the proper time. The guard, suspecting nothing, went away, and the relief party relieved the safes of the large sum mentioned. In February alone, the shortest month of the year, twenty-six attempts were made to murder and a very large number of victims were actually killed.

An amazing incident, that sounds more like fiction than fact, occurred in Warsaw on April 23rd. In the Pavia gaol, there were a number of political prisoners characterized as "dangerous." Two among them had been sent for trial for having murdered a high official, one for having attempted to kill and the remainder for having put to death soldiers in the army. At eleven o'clock on the night of April 23rd, the Assistant-Governor of the prison was summoned to the telephone, to hear an order from the head police prefect, Colonel Meyer. He listened; it was Meyer's voice and intonation. There was no doubt in his mind on that point. The instructions were to get ready the prison van, that same night, to transfer ten of the most dangerous inmates, whose names he enumerated, to the citadel. The Assistant-Governor, whose hours of service were then expiring, transmitted the order to another assistant, who duly carried it out. At three in the morning, an officer of the gendarmes appeared at the head of ten constables. Introducing himself as Captain von Budberg, he presented the order of the Governor-General, typewritten on a printed form, properly signed and sealed. The Assistant Governor took the document, read it and then asked: "Will you not need an escort as well? There are ten prisoners and you have but ten constables. I shall give you—" "No, no. Thanks. That has been arranged for. I have a supplementary escort outside the walls." "Oh, very well."

The ten men were then taken from their cells and brought into the prison courtyard. It was still pitch dark, and semi-opaque lanterns threw an uncertain light on the features of the prisoners and their gaolers. Was there a smile on the faces of the conspirators? The "policemen" stood in two rows, face to face, resolute and gloomy. Between their ranks the doomed men entered the van in silence and took their places. Two of the constables also went inside and sat with them. Two others seated themselves on either side of the driver, two more guarded the door of the van and the remaining four followed on foot. They have never been heard of since. The driver was found gagged and bound, but otherwise unhurt, and, not far from the place where he was sitting, ten policemen's uniforms lay upon the ground. Truth is sometimes stranger than fiction.

The police and gendarmes who guard the imperial palace of

Tsarskoye Selo have had their wages raised by twenty-five per cent. since that mysterious rescue, and special precautions will in future be adopted to hinder assassins in the guise of gendarmes from entering palaces and Government buildings. Henceforth, every important order given by telephone will have to be verified. But against mistakes like that made by the Assistant Governor of the Warsaw gaol there is no absolute guarantee. And a mistake on the part of the authorities, say, at Tsarskoye Selo, might have terrible consequences.

The class of assassins is becoming numerous in Russia, and it is also growing influential. Two of the earliest measures, it is affirmed, which the entire Liberal party will introduce into the Duma, are an amnesty for all the men who have committed political murders in the past, and a law forbidding the Government to condemn to death any one guilty of that or any other offence in the future. The northern Slav feels pity for criminals, as well as for innocent victims, and hates capital punishment. Russians are Asiatics, and should not be judged by the American standard.

Gorky's mission to the United States, as emissary of the Revolutionary party, was an egregious blunder. For there are not many public men in the Tsardom less congenial to Americans than this Poet of Trampdom who knows no language but Russian and no manners but those of his former fellows. The circumstance that he was chosen for the mission shows how little Russian democrats understand Americans. They have other men in their ranks who are resourceful, diplomatic, civilized and sympathetic. But they chose Maxim Gorky, thinking that this incarnate protest against civilization would carry with him the people of the United States and reap a splendid harvest for the coming insurrection. That was their cardinal and initial mistake. All the rest followed inevitably. It was interesting, and at times amusing, to note the reflection upon Russian society here of what was being done in the United States. For instance, when Russian Radicals read of the enthusiastic greeting accorded to Gorky in New York, they were unable to write of the "free citizens of the Great Republic" in any tone but that of Byzantium, to which they were accustomed. Their praise was undiluted, their adjectives were nearly all superlatives. Mark Twain also came in for a puff of incense smoke, heavy enough

to have suffocated Shakespeare. Then occurred the painful finishing episode: the Russian writer who had gone up like a rocket came down like a stick, and thereupon all his political friends changed their views and sentiments in a twinkling. The American people, it was discovered, do not know how to treat women. Russian revolutionists can teach them. Mark Twain? A puffed-up nobody!

The American people have been attacked bitterly and rancorously for insulting a woman* who relied upon their hospitality, and the principal Radical organ here, in a powerful leading article, characterizes them thus: "Thomas Muntzer's cutting phrase is borne in upon our minds—a phrase which is, however, not only cutting but instinct with honest bitterness: 'A people who preach salvation by faith alone are mere fattened hogs!'" Poor Americans!

But, after all, the Yankees got off very cheaply with a paper protest. They may consider themselves much luckier than the French, who, for having lent their savings to Russia and saved her from ruin, are now to be boycotted by the whole Radical population. Happily, that section of the Russian people is not wont to lavish its spare cash upon dry champagne, generous burgundies, costly clarets and those other exports for which the wealthy non-boycotting classes pay.

Beyond the Tsar's dominions it is difficult to realize the mental attitude of the Russian Radical towards the loan. Logic blushes at it. One of the most powerful arguments adduced against the bureaucracy is the distress it has produced among the peasantry, who constitute the bulk of the nation. There is no doubt that the economic condition of the tillers of the soil is deplorable. The Liberals add that the peasantry are actually starving. That, too, is true of the population of some districts. Help is, therefore, needed immediately in the shape of financial relief, but the Government had no money. Another three months of that dearth of cash would have had dire and irremediable consequences; gold, which was already at a premium, would have definitely disappeared from the country, the Gov-

* It is but just to add that the reactionary *Novoye Vremya* published an article by the proprietor, M. Suvorin, in which he says: "To tell the Americans that they have insulted a woman is just as though a cock were to teach the nightingale to sing. . . . America is celebrated for its respect for women."

ernment would have probably been obliged to take refuge in the printing-press, and bankruptcy would have loomed large on the horizon. The poorest classes would, of course, have suffered soonest, most and longest, while the members of the Government would have wholly escaped. Yet the endeavors made to raise money abroad were thwarted in every way by the Radicals.

This defect of the logical sense and these peculiarities in the psychological equipment of the Russian, added to the abnormal frame of mind which specialists term "revolutionary neurasthenia," render it impossible for any one to foresee the words and deeds of the deputies of the Duma or to forecast the policy of the Government. I may, however, state my personal opinion. The leaders of the Democratic party, which in all probability will gain the upper hand in the new representative chamber, are keenly alive to the necessity of proving to the world that they are not devoid of the political qualities which a great national party should possess. They will, consequently, set themselves to act with moderation and to endure with patience. The great danger which they will have to guard against is the impatience and impetuosity of their more advanced colleagues of the Left. As for the Government, my conviction is that it will begin by throwing over the one man who might have saved it—Count Witté. Then it will literally revel in repression. He will probably have gone long before the June number of the REVIEW is in the hands of its readers. I should not be surprised if his successor were the weak-minded, short-sighted official, M. Goremykin, who for some time past has been giving well-meant but ruinous counsel to the Tsar, and whose influence was to some extent moderated by the indignation of Count Witté.

Unless I am greatly mistaken, the advent to power of M. Goremykin will portend the speedy dissolution of the Duma, the recrudescence of the reaction and the renewal of the insurrection, with dire consequences to the Russian people.

---

BERLIN, *May, 1906.*

GERMANY, after twelve months of excitement in the domain of foreign politics, is in an introspective mood. In parliament and in the press, her politicians and writers are engaged in analyzing the causes of her unpopularity and inquiring why her

character and aspirations should be, as the Speech from the Throne alleged, maliciously "misjudged abroad." Many of them seem disposed to attribute the evil to a lack of international tact. Accordingly, they have started a campaign of reprobation against those of their compatriots who habitually act in the spirit of a recent Imperial oration, glorifying the German people as "the salt of the earth." Self-praise is proverbially no recommendation, and these moral censors have, consequently, pilloried, first and foremost, the vice of depreciating other nations by boastfully exaggerating the triumphs of German commerce, industry and shipping. Invidious methods of comparison, such as those systematically practised in the Fatherland, form a more prolific source of international hatred, they affirm, than even the envy which the astonishing prosperity of the Empire is generally supposed to excite among its rivals. And they add that the pernicious effects of these sins of arrogance are considerably enhanced by the blunders of a large body of German politicians, whom they accuse of canvassing impossible schemes of conquest to the grave detriment of the national interests. These buccaneer protagonists of a Greater Germany, with their prodigious theories of racial consolidation, have successively offended the susceptibilities of almost all the great nations of the earth. One of their earliest acts of fatuity was to impress upon the mind of the United States their vision of large and thriving communities in Brazil becoming affiliated to the German Empire. What folly, exclaim the censors, to proclaim from the housetops the existence of such ambitions, and, by thus gratuitously fanning the flames of Monroeism, to render them forever impossible of realization. And as in the United States, so in Holland, Belgium, Denmark and Austria-Hungary, the predatory projects advertised by the Pan-Germanic League have proved a constant obstacle to the complete success of the Imperial diplomacy; while in Turkey the effusions of Pan-German agents have greatly retarded the slow and laborious process of inspiring the Sultan with confidence in the disinterestedness of his Berlin advisers. Even Russia has been forced to submit, in recent months, to the insult implied by the public discussion in the German press of the advisability of annexing the Baltic Provinces. Now, can it be deemed surprising, the preachers of political discretion inquire, if the nations of Europe, in view

of these wanton incitements to conquest, should contemplate the desirability of organizing themselves into a league of resistance against the perils embodied in the theories of Pan-Germanism?

The Pan-Germans show no signs of abating their activity in consequence of these attacks. They declare that it is their duty, regardless of foreign susceptibilities, to awaken the nation from what they term its political lethargy, and to prepare it for the pregnant hour when circumstances shall favor the consummation of their ideals. Their agitation, they argue, is a purely domestic affair; and it is within the province, as it is the business, of the Government, by disowning all association with the movement, to counteract any detrimental effect which it may exercise abroad. They are willing, they protest, to be abused as rantors if only the Government will act on occasion in the spirit of their theories. But this, they complain, the Government appears incapable of doing. Instead of conceding a monopoly of "words" to the agitators and confining itself to "deeds," it invariably fails to satisfy the "land-hunger" of the nation, while indulging its oratorical instinct to the full. This charge the Pan-Germans substantiate by reference to the Moroccan crisis, and they assert that, if German policy is the object of almost universal suspicion, the fault lies not with them, but with the Government and the Emperor, whom they describe as the victims of their own loquacity. In this argument, in so far as it applies to the sovereign, the Pan-Germans are supported by the representatives of almost every political party; for it is observed that, though the Emperor has kept the peace for eighteen years, yet he has endangered it, times without number, by his speeches. The sincerity of the frequent proclamations in which the monarch has avowed his determination never to pursue a policy of territorial conquest is seldom, if ever, questioned; but the apprehension is wide-spread throughout the nation that, in an unguarded moment, he may commit himself to some word or action from which a pacific retreat may prove impossible. These misgivings have been quickened by the Moroccan imbroglio, arising out of the Imperial visit to Tangier—a step that has been condemned as provocative even by staunch supporters of the Government,—and by the significant communication in which Prince Bülow intimated last summer that, in a few years' time, when the dignity of the Emperor would no longer be

directly involved in the affair, the French, if they "knew how to wait," might reasonably expect to reap the fulfilment of their policy. In other words, German diplomacy was fettered and the tranquillity of Europe disturbed by the necessity of safeguarding the prestige of the Crown in a situation to which it should never have been exposed. The case is in no sense unique, and a review of the last two decades of German foreign policy discloses a long series of crises aggravated, if not precipitated, by the rhetoric of the Emperor, whose "winged phrases," it is urged, have supplied the foreign opponents of Germany with more polemical material than all the publications of the Pan-German League put together. In these circumstances, Dr. Theodor Barth, the Liberal deputy, who, though no expansionist, is a consistent advocate of a vigorous foreign policy, has stepped forward with the curious suggestion that, in future, a definite distinction shall be drawn between the utterances of the monarch and those of the Government. He declares that the time has arrived for the world to recognize that the oratorical performances of William II must be regarded not as official pronouncements, or as the expression of Imperial policy, but merely as the reflection of his own individuality. It is undeniably the case that in Germany the preeminent personality of the monarch has exercised a detrimental effect on the nation, in so far as it has prevented the development of independent individualities in the administration. Its constant intervention in the details of politics has, too, according to the testimony of men of such widely divergent views as Herr von Kardorff and the late Eugen Richter, appreciably diminished the fervor of the national loyalty to the monarchical idea, which was one of the most edifying features of the reign of Emperor William I. Of this the instructive comments of Dr. Barth furnish impressive confirmation. His suggestions are, of course, utterly unrealizable, and it is only necessary to imagine, for a moment, the bewildering effect of a formal notification to the world that Imperial speeches must not be confused with Governmental actions in order to appreciate their practical absurdity. Nor is it to be expected, as Dr. Barth seems to anticipate, that the nations of Europe will gradually learn to distinguish for themselves between the personal and official opinions of the Emperor.

The bitter controversy excited between the nations of the

Triple Alliance by the Emperor's telegram to Count Goluchowsky, at the conclusion of the Morocco Conference, affords a fresh illustration of this obvious circumstance. That document gravely embarrassed the statesmen of Vienna by exhibiting their diplomacy in a light of hostility to France, and it exasperated public opinion beyond the Apennines by its implied threat of punishing Italy for her alleged disloyalty to the Alliance in supporting France at Algeciras. Like most of the Emperor's utterances, the message had, however, the possibly unconscious merit of candidly revealing the true state of German official feeling in regard to the European situation. That feeling, after as before the Conference, is mainly inspired by resentment at the isolation of Germany in the concert of Europe.

When Italy first joined the Triple Alliance, she was prompted thereto by various motives which are no longer present in the minds of her statesmen. She was threatened at all points by France. She feared the Republic in its character as the political ally of the Vatican, and she sympathized with Germany as the great Protestant Power whose policy was vigorously opposed to the temporal authority of the Pope. By France her future interests in Northern Africa were menaced with annihilation; and of Germany she required protection, not only against France, but also against Austrian expansion in the Balkans. As a member of the Triple Alliance, and supported by the sea-power of Great Britain, Italy might reasonably expect to prevent the development of an overwhelming French predominance in the Mediterranean. But, with the lapse of years, these considerations have undergone a radical change. In Protestant Germany, the Roman Catholic party has acquired a preponderating influence, and the German Emperor is compelled, by reasons of domestic policy, to cultivate relations of intimacy with the Pope, with whom France, on the other hand, is now on terms of open hostility. Moreover, the French Government has agreed to recognize the Italian claim to preemption in Tripoli, to which the diplomacy of Berlin, out of regard for the Sultan of Turkey, is necessarily opposed. And, finally, Great Britain, in complete estrangement from Germany, has become the firm friend and future ally of France, who no longer threatens the integrity of Italy.

These changes have essentially modified the character of the

Triple Alliance. As Count Guicciardini, the Minister of Foreign Affairs at Rome, explained in his recent declaration to the Chamber, friendship with Great Britain was from the outset a primary condition of Italian adhesion to the Alliance. That friendship Italy is not prepared to renounce; but, relying upon Prince von Bülow's official disclaimers of hostility to Great Britain and upon the statements made in Paris and London that the Anglo-French *entente* is directed against no third Power, Italy will continue to regard the Alliance as the basis of her policy, which aims at the maintenance of the *status quo* in the Balkans and the preservation of the European peace. Germany is eminently dissatisfied with the Italian Minister's explanations. Some years ago, when Italy, in Prince von Bülow's phrase, began her "extra dance" with France, the performance enjoyed the approval of Berlin, which was then hoping to effect a diplomatic coalition against Great Britain. The relations between Rome and London were at that juncture far from cordial, and the Franco-Italian agreement regarding Morocco and Tripoli was interpreted as a blow aimed at British interests in the Mediterranean. Unfortunately for Germany, British diplomacy proved equal to the occasion; and France, instead of approximating to Germany, cast in her lot with Great Britain. The Moroccan crisis was precipitated and the Algeciras Conference convened in the conviction that it would effect a regrouping of the Powers in favor of Germany. While that Conference was proceeding, Professor Delbrück explained to the world that the fate of Morocco was in reality a matter of indifference to Germany. He admitted that the marvellous prosperity of Egypt under British rule, and the orderly conditions prevailing in Herzegovina and Bosnia, were convincing illustrations of the beneficent operation of the principle of entrusting to one Power the duty of administering an uncivilized country, while Macedonia might be quoted as a significant example of the confusion attendant upon international control. Germany could well afford, he indicated, to give France a free hand in Morocco; but she would run the risk of war rather than allow that country to enter into coalitions with other Powers with the object of excluding her from the business of world politics. Hence Germany, as an object-lesson of her power, would insist on the principle of "internationality" in the Shereefian Empire. The Conference is now

over. But Germany is still discontented, and she is venting her discontent on those Governments which failed to act at Algeciras in accordance with her expectations. Spain has been informed that the Emperor will not this year return the visit paid to Berlin by King Alfonso; Italy has been threatened with the eventuality of German support to Austrian expansion in the Balkans; and Russia, who refused to ignore the obligations of the Dual Alliance, has been deprived of the advantage of German co-operation in her latest foreign loan. These measures can scarcely be considered an effective remedy for the isolation of Germany in Europe, and they are vigorously condemned by that large section of public opinion which perceives in the "bullying tactics" of the Imperial Government the real cause of the many failures which characterize its foreign policy.

Apart from Austria-Hungary, the relations of Germany with the United States are regarded as the only satisfactory feature of the international outlook. It is claimed that Baron Speck von Sternburg has succeeded in definitely "curing" President Roosevelt of the illusion that the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon race are destined to cooperate in the domain of international politics. It is now deemed to be the task of the German press to complete the work of conversion begun by the Ambassador, and to persuade the American nation that it must join with Germany in redressing the balance of power in Europe. Professor Delbrück and the semi-official "*Grenzboten*" are, accordingly, laboring hard to demonstrate the inherent antagonism between the interests of the United States and those of the British Empire. President Roosevelt's recent address to the German veterans they interpret as a signal proof that America is rapidly moving in the direction of an alliance with Germany against the power of Great Britain. From which it may be seen that Berlin politicians are still incapable of liberating themselves from the Bismarckian principle that to sow discord between the other Powers is the surest means of promoting the influence of the German Empire.

---

WASHINGTON, *May, 1906.*

WHEN the discussion of the railway-rate bill was resumed in the Senate on May 17th, there seemed to be good ground for believing that the measure in its amended form would be passed by

that body before its adjournment on that day. Senator Tillman, however, posed a question which may occupy for some time the constitutional lawyers in the Upper House of the Federal Legislature. The bill, as it stands, confers power on the Interstate Commerce Commission to prescribe what, "in its judgment," would be a just and reasonable rate. Senator Tillman, who has the bill in charge, declared that he would not be responsible for the retention of the words quoted, if there was any doubt about their constitutionality. Senator Teller said that, for his part, he had never heard any satisfactory reason given for the insertion of the words. Senators Allison and Dolliver, who have been conspicuous among the Senators that have favored a restrictive court review, undertook to explain why the words should be retained. Senator Allison asserted that they conferred discretion upon the Commission and limited the scope of the court review. Senator Dolliver concurred in considering the words useful for those purposes, and, to show their constitutionality, recalled that Senator Knox of Pennsylvania had commended them in a speech made at Pittsburg, and had employed them in a bill introduced by him in the Senate. Mr. Knox replied that in his opinion the words were useless, and, if allowed to remain, would probably render the bill unconstitutional. He admitted that he had used them in his Pittsburg speech, but this had been done, he said, without due consideration of their true import, and, although he had put them into his bill, for reasons which he recited, he maintained that the fact did not commit him in any way to approval of them. He had arrived, he added, at the conviction that the words would probably be construed to mean a delegation of legislative power to the Interstate Commerce Commission, and would therefore be regarded by the Supreme Court as making the law unconstitutional. He believed the words should be excised, and notified the Senate that he would not be held responsible for their presence in the bill. Senator Foraker concurred with Senator Knox in thinking that the words, "in its judgment," clearly constituted a delegation of legislative powers, for which reason both he and Senator Bailey denounced the bill as unconstitutional. The impression prevails that, ultimately, the phrase will be stricken out of the measure.

The bill, in its amended form, is, of course, far from being

what President Roosevelt and the Anti-Railroad Senators desire. They would have been satisfied originally with the enactment of the Hepburn Bill in the form which it bore when it left the House of Representatives; but, if it was to be amended at all, they desired the insertion of a clause, expressly limiting the powers of a United States Circuit Court to review the decision of the Commission, and especially the power to suspend by injunction the operation of a rate made by the Commission pending the adjudication of its validity. It soon became clear that to pass an amendment of that kind would require the votes of at least twenty-five Democratic Senators, as well as twenty of their Republican colleagues. In the hope of effecting such a combination, Senators Tillman and Bailey conferred with Attorney-General Moody, and an agreement was eventually reached by the three conferees as to the wording of an amendment intended to restrict a court's power of review. Whether such an amendment could have been passed under any circumstances will now never be known; but both Senator Tillman and Senator Bailey have expressed the belief that a bare majority could have been secured for it. President Roosevelt, however, evidently having arrived at the opposite conclusion, suddenly abandoned the attempt to effect a winning combination of Democrats and Anti-Railroad Republicans, and, without notifying Senator Tillman or Senator Bailey, or even, apparently, Attorney-General Moody, announced to a number of newspaper correspondents that he had decided to approve an amendment distinctly recognizing the powers of a United States Circuit Court to review rates made by the Commission, including the power to suspend a rate by injunction. The only material concessions made by the Railroad Senators were that a carrier's application for an injunction must be heard by three judges instead of one judge, and that there should be an expedited appeal from their decision to the Supreme Court. On this crucial point, therefore, about which there has been so much debate, it cannot be denied that the Railroad Senators have gained a decisive victory. Satisfied with this triumph, however, they seemed disposed to let their Anti-Railroad colleagues have their way with regard to many subsequent amendments of the Hepburn-Tillman measure, amendments by which the interests of railway companies and of the Standard Oil corporation have been sweepingly satisfied.

One of the most unpleasant incidents ever witnessed on the floor of the Senate followed a speech in which Senator Tillman recounted the efforts which had been made by Mr. Roosevelt to bring about a combination of Democratic Senators with Anti-Railroad Republican colleagues, and in which he expressed some resentment at the sudden abandonment of those efforts without notice to the Democratic Senators concerned in the negotiations. He plainly intimated that, in his opinion, the President had been guilty of an act of bad faith. In the course of his speech, Mr. Tillman had read from a memorandum made by ex-Senator Chandler the statement that, in conversation about the Hepburn-Tillman bill, Mr. Roosevelt had said that Senators Knox, Spooner and Foraker were trying, by ingenious constitutional arguments, to impair or defeat the bill. There was, on the face of it, nothing improper in such a remark on Mr. Roosevelt's part, and not one of the three Senators named would be likely to dispute its truth. Nevertheless, when Senator Lodge telephoned to the White House the statement that had been made by Senator Tillman on ex-Senator Chandler's authority, the President impulsively authorized him to denounce it on the floor of the Senate as "an unqualified and deliberate lie." This the Senator from Massachusetts proceeded to do, heedless of the fact that such language was shamefully out of place in a legislative body. A painful sensation was produced, not only in the Senate, but throughout the country, when people realized that the Chief Magistrate of the United States had arraigned an ex-Senator as the author, and a Senator as the endorser and sponsor, of a lie. It is universally recognized that Mr. Tillman, in his subsequent reply to the insulting arraignment, comported himself with admirable dignity and self-control. The temperate and manly letter, also, in which ex-Senator Chandler upheld the truth of the statement, contradicted so hastily and angrily by the President, was not only calculated, but qualified, to carry conviction to impartial readers. He riveted public attention on the fact that, not only was there a question of veracity between him and Mr. Roosevelt as to what had been uttered by the latter, but that another grave issue had been raised, to wit, whether the President, in his treatment of Senators Tillman and Bailey, had not been guilty of an act of perfidy. Subsequently, an attempt was made in two newspapers, published, respectively, in

Chicago and in New York, to defend Mr. Roosevelt from the charge of bad faith, on the ground that Mr. Chandler had told him that Senator Tillman suspected Senator Bailey of an inclination to cooperate with the Railroad Republican Senators in favor of giving the United States Circuit Courts large powers of review. This defence has by no means improved the President's position. The scrap of documentary evidence adduced in support of the assertion made by the two newspapers is, on the face of it, inadequate; and, when examined in the light of Mr. Chandler's testimony, is seen to be worthless. The indignation with which Senator Bailey repelled the imputation of bad faith was entirely justified, and he undoubtedly commands the sympathy of the Senate and of all fair-minded men in the community.

The other incident of great public interest which occurred in Washington during the first seventeen days of May was the report made by the Senate Committee on Interoceanic Canals. The report, which was adopted by a vote of 6 to 4, recommends to the Senate a bill providing for a sea-level canal across the Isthmus of Panama. The measure favored by the Committee directs the construction of a sea-level canal in accordance with a report and plan adopted by a majority of the Board of Consulting Engineers for the Panama Canal, created by an order of the President dated June 24th, 1905. The reasons why a majority of the Senate Committee prefer a sea-level type for the canal to the lock type (for which four of their colleagues voted) may be summed up as follows: the sea-level type is acknowledged, even by the advocates of a lock system, to be the ideal type for an international waterway, and the possibility of realizing it on the Isthmus of Panama was one of the chief arguments for selecting that route; secondly, a sea-level canal will be much more convenient than the lock type, and the maintenance of it will be easier and cheaper; then, again, its construction will be attended by no more, and probably less, hazard than that of a waterway requiring 170 feet of lockage and enormous earth dams resting on doubtful alluvial foundations; lastly, but a little longer time—the report estimates the excess at two years—will be consumed in its construction than would be required for one with locks of such unprecedented magnitude as are contemplated in the minority report. The decisive cause

of the adoption of the sea-level type by a majority of the Senate Committee is undoubtedly the San Francisco earthquake. But for that catastrophe, the attention of the Committee, and of the community at large, would probably not have been attracted to the indisputable fact that the immunity of the Isthmus of Panama from serious seismic disturbance cannot be taken for granted. Many destructive earthquakes have occurred in Central America and in Venezuela, and historical records show that the Isthmus itself has not been free from shock.

As regards the question of cost, which hitherto has seemed to constitute the most formidable obstacle to the acceptance of a sea-level type, the majority report of the Committee points out that, although nominally the difference in the cost of the two types is about $110,000,000, yet this amount is practically reduced by $40,000,000, representing the difference in the cost of maintenance—about $800,000 a year in favor of the sea-level type—which, if capitalized at two per cent., would yield the sum just named. The report adds $10,000,000 for the cost of the 118,000 acres that would be submerged by the lock plan, bringing the total cost of that type up to $190,000,000. The net difference in cost would, therefore, be only $60,000,000, which, though a large sum in itself, is considered by the Committee small, in view of the magnitude of the issues involved. It is understood, of course, that the sea-level canal recommended by the majority of the Board of Consulting Engineers, and now favored by the Senate Committee on Interoceanic Waterways, could not claim the title of the Straits of Panama, and differs from the Suez Canal in that it has tide-locks, and, also, a high dam at Gamboa, which is exposed to injury by earthquakes. Recognizing the last-named point of weakness, the majority report of the Committee points out that, whereas the locks provided for in the minority reports advocating the lock type would, for the most part, rest on alluvial foundations, extremely likely to crack in the event of seismic disturbance, the Gamboa dam is to rest upon solid rock reinforced by strong walls, and buttressed at either end by walls of rock. It seems a pity that, if the sea-level type is to be preferred, a precise counterpart of the Suez Canal cannot be secured, and a broad, lockless channel opened between the Atlantic and the Pacific.

COURT-HOUSE, LA CROSSE, WISCONSIN.

# LA CROSSE, THE SECOND CITY OF WISCONSIN.

THE rage for pre-eminence is not confined to individuals. Nations, states and cities have all claimed recognition for distinction in something or other; seven cities contended for the birthplace of Homer, and others are content with the claim that he would have been born there if he could.

The city of La Crosse is modest. It does not pose as the first; its people are content to be recognized as being the second city in population and industrial activity in the State of Wisconsin, and it is no small boast—that of being only second in that grand old state.

Wisconsin is a great state. "The key-notes of that greatness were struck in the guarantee of the inherent rights of life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness, of liberty of speech, of the covenant that 'The right of every man to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of his own conscience shall never be infringed nor shall any man be compelled to attend, erect or support any place of worship or to maintain any ministry against his consent'; and in the provision that 'The legislature shall provide by law for the establishment of district schools which shall be as nearly uniform as practicable; and such schools shall be free and without charge for tuition to all children between the ages of four and twenty years; and no sectarian instruction shall be allowed therein.'

"These wise enactments that embody within the fundamental law of the principle of freedom of action, of religious toleration, and of universal education, crystallize the results of a struggle that has been going on for thousands of years. Only in the nineteenth century, only in the United States of America, was such an event possible."

To be the second city in that state is no small distinction, and during a recent visit the writer obtained the impression that, while it may be second in many respects, it is pre-eminent in others which go to the making-up of a first-class city.

The first thing that attracts the attention of the stranger on arriving are its streets; in the business district they and even the alleys are paved with brick and kept scrupulously clean; in the residence district they are mostly macadamized and all are bordered with trees, which make each an avenue of surpassing beauty and led me to investigate the social and economic conditions underlying the pleasant surface. I had not time to inquire into the growth of the city and its causes, but some of them were self-evident, and others I had to take on trust or verify them by the results.

"That nature has done much for La Crosse is undeniable; located in a sheltered nook, with ample room for the population of some European margravines, it offers inviting facilities to the manufacturer and the army of skilled and unskilled workmen which carry out his projects; situated at a point on the western borders of the state through which all the products of the East must pass on their westward way, or else make a long and time-consuming détour, it naturally attracts the capital and enterprise which are associated in distributing the rich treasures of the earth among their consumers. Such are some of the natural advantages possessed by La Crosse, but these in themselves would be valueless; there is no more helpless object than a dead locomotive, and the mighty forces latent in the situation of the city might have lain dormant but for intelligent causes to rouse them into action.

"Such were found in the sagacity and faith in its future of the early settlers, and the industry, liberal policy, and untarnished reputation of those who from time to time have inherited their privileges and followed in their footsteps."

Less than a half-century ago La Crosse Prairie was a mere trading-post on an Indian trail; to-day it has 30,000 inhabitants and possesses thriving manufactories of boots and shoes, sash, doors and blinds, stoves, ploughs, agricultural implements, boilers and heavy machinery, extensive carriage-works, rubber mills, cracker and knitting factories, etc., large flour mills, pearl-button factories, steel and corrugated roofing-works, woollen mills, clothing of all kinds, a large tannery, mammoth cooperages, five large breweries, affording a market for 150,000 bushels of barley and 100,000 pounds of hops per annum; extensive cigar manufactories, and various other industries, turning out annually products to the value of sixteen millions of dollars and handling merchandise to the value of twenty-five millions.

For the distribution of these there are four trunk lines of railroads, reaching in all directions, and the great Mississippi aids in transportation and equalizing freight rates.

The city is cosmopolitan in its people; here are to be found the Saxon, German, Scandinavian, and the Hibernian in about equal proportions, and its present mayor is a Scotchman (once removed). This diversity of origin is, however, scarcely perceptible and all are intensely American. Commercial or business success is valueless without the means of rationally enjoying the fruits of labor, and these La Crosse affords to the fullest extent. Electric transit, lighting and heating are provided; a model police force, a full paid fire department and the best system of water-works in the Northwest insure peaceable and safe homes; a model common-school system, with text-books absolutely free to every pupil, provides elementary education, and its high-school carries its graduates well into the ordinary collegiate college course. Parochial schools are also conducted by Catholic and Lutheran societies, and several kindergartens are maintained.

There are four daily and six weekly newspapers published, all clean, newsy and readable.

There is a free public library, the gift of the late Hon. C. C. Washburn, which contains over 25,000 volumes, and it is largely patronized.

For recreation and amusement there are six public halls, and for spiritual nurture there are sixty-five churches, striving only to excel in good works.

The figures which I present were obtained from official sources and the conclusions were formed from personal and social intercourse. Pondering on them, I was led to ask: "What does man seek in a home?" and I found a fitting reply in the words of one of their citizens: "Man seeks in a home, first, a livelihood; then health; then a clean moral and social atmosphere; then education for his children, the pleasures of nature and art and all the advantages of science the locality can provide; in brief, he wants every rational good of life here and every fair prospect of what lies beyond."

Such, I believe, are to be found and enjoyed to the utmost by the citizens of La Crosse.

R. CALVERT,
Sec'y Board of Trade.

MODERN MEMPHIS.

# MODERN MEMPHIS.

On the east bank of the Mississippi River, midway between St. Louis and New Orleans, with the "Yazoo Delta" (the most fertile valley in North America) to the south, and the wonderful St. Francis Basin to the west, the former containing 4,500,000 acres and the latter 3,897,600 acres, and which, when cleared of the forests of hardwood lumber, will produce a bale of cotton to the acre, which at the present prices will average sixty dollars ($60.00) per bale.

Memphis is located on the "Chickasaw Bluffs," thirty (30) feet above the river at its highest stage. The Mississippi is open from Memphis to the Gulf of Mexico winter and summer. A railroad bridge spans the river at this point, thus making Memphis the great gateway for the products of the west and northwest to the south and southeast for local consumption, and through the Gulf ports to the West Indies and, in fact, to all foreign countries.

Eight (8) great systems of railway center at Memphis—the Illinois Central, Southern, Frisco, Iron Mountain, Louisville & Nashville, Rock Island, Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis, and the Cotton Belt—thus giving competition to Chicago, St. Louis, Kansas City, and the northwest; Louisville, Cincinnati, and the east; New Orleans, Mobile, Gulf Port, and Pensacola on the south; Atlanta, Savannah, Norfolk, and Charleston on the southeast; while three roads penetrate Arkansas, Oklahoma, Indian Territory, and Texas, and thence to California and Mexico. Memphis also has a Belt Line, upon which

is located many large manufacturing plants. This belt line is about thirty (30) miles long and connects all of the railroads with the river.

Many of the large corporations of the North, such as the American Steel and Wire Co., the Pittsburg Steel Co., and the International Harvester Co. of America, use Memphis as a distributing-point for their Southern business. And among our largest factories are to be found plants belonging to such corporations as the American Car and Foundry Co. (employing 1500 hands), American Fork and Hoe Co. Oil Well Supply Co., Interstate Cooperage Co., and many others. Among the eight hundred and fifty industries are numbered manufactories of all kinds. The products are shipped all over the world.

As a hardwood-lumber producing market, Memphis leads, handling 400,000,000 feet annually; and her cotton receipts, 985,000 bales last year, make her the largest inland market in the world. With eleven cotton-seed-oil mills, she is the largest producer of cotton-seed products in the world.

Her growth in the last five years has attracted the attention of the entire country. Her increase in population during that period has been about 100,000 people. Twelve thousand houses have been built since 1900, and it is difficult to secure a house to live in at this time.

Her financial growth has kept pace with her growth in manufactures. She has twenty-four banks and trust companies, with a capital and surplus of eight millions, and deposits of thirty-five millions. The clearings have increased from $146,981,045 in 1900 to $273,422,557 in 1905. The post-office receipts have grown from $229,906.82 in 1900 to $436,420.29 in 1905. Real-estate transfers, 1903, were $6,174,040; 1904, $7,825,650; 1905, $10,908,790.

The health of the city, owing to the artesian water (the largest system in the world) and a splendid sewer system, supplemented by crematories for the consumption of garbage, ranks first among cities of her size, with a death-rate among whites of only nine to the thousand.

While Memphis is strictly a Southern city, about one-third of her white population is from the North.

The building this year promises to surpass all other years. Among the improvements provided for can be found a $1,000,000 court-house, two theaters, a medical college, a hospital, three churches, two hotels, business blocks, office buildings, warehouses, two grain elevators, factory buildings, many fine residences, and a union passenger station to cost approximately five million dollars.

There is no doubt of there being 250,000 people here when the government census of 1910 is taken.

While the entire South is enjoying a degree of prosperity, Memphis is easily in the lead, and to-day is a great manufacturing, commercial, and financial center. Her park and boulevard system, under construction, is indicative of the wide-awake character of her people, and fifteen-story office buildings, fine hotels, race-tracks, club-houses, theaters, all speak volumes for the push and energy that is sending this Southern city to the front.

J. F. PETERS, COMMISSIONER.

# LUMBER INTERESTS.

Among the distinctions accredited to Memphis, that of being the largest hardwood-lumber center, not only of the United States, but of the entire world, is alone a feature that places her prominently among the leading commercial cities of our country.

While it is true that the manufacture of "hardwood" lumber is only a part of the general lumber business, it is an important part, and when we consider the magnitude of the industry (lumber, according to census reports, ranking fourth among the foremost of American industries in the value of products, being slightly exceeded in this respect by food products, textiles, and iron), the pre-eminence gained by Memphis in the hardwood-lumber business is an honor of which any city could feel justly proud.

There are many reasons why Memphis should attain her present position in this particular industry. Her geographical location makes tributary industry to her immense hardwood regions of the Mississippi Delta and the rich forests of Arkansas, while Tennessee, and even southeast Missouri, contribute portions of their forests, which are transported here in the shape of logs both by river and rail, to be sawed into lumber on the modern saw-mills with which Memphis abounds. Being also most favorably situated as the center of many lines of railway that place the consuming markets of the entire country within easy reach, and having favorable freight rates to foreign markets, through Southern and Eastern ports, the markets of the world represent the field in which Memphis can dispose of her lumber products.

Railroad facilities from the surrounding territory, combined with those reaching the consuming area, also make Memphis an ideal storing and distributing point for handling lumber manufactured at mills in the surrounding country for a radius of several hundred miles.

# MEMPHIS'S CONTROL OF TIMBER AND LUMBER.

To-day the whole United States is practically getting its supply of lumber from the forests of the South. The magnificent forests produce white and red oak, red-gum, cypress, ash, hickory, elm, pecan, white holly, hackberry, cotton-wood, sycamore, long and short leaf pine, persimmon, and maple; the Latin Americas contribute mahoganies, rosewoods, and redwood, besides the ordinary familiar woods obtainable here.

Owing to the earlier settlement and improvement of the northern and eastern portions of America, the natural forests have been used; hence the South now is the only source of supply for 90 per cent. of the building and manufacturing materials in the raw shape of wood—hard and soft.

Greater Memphis is the greatest hardwood-lumber market in the world. The city is destined to become, in fact, the greatest market in the world for all kinds of lumber. Situated at the threshold of the greatest timber preserves in the two American continents, this city affords the mediary or focal point at which the producer meets the consumer. The vast hardwood forests of Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas are traversed by railroads and rivers all of which give direct transportation to Memphis. The converging railroads afford quick services to the northwest, north, and east, and to the sea-coast, giving the Northern, Eastern, and foreign consumers the products of the Southern forests as though milled from home territory.

The mighty "Father of Waters" and its tributaries afford inland shipping to hundreds of cities and towns, and also, in connection with the oceanic and gulf water-ways, permits the delivery of the timber from the Central and Southern American forests, brought to Memphis for manufacture.

The gigantic and almost inexhaustible pine-timber supply is now all in the South. The interests of the manufacturers of soft-wood materials are interested in having a reliable and central market. With the great progress of the country commercial interests have centralized, concentrated, and combined; this is necessary to profit-making. The great interests in control of the hardwood markets made Memphis the central ground for operations; the pine men will do the same; the wooden-ware manufacturers are doing the same; the kindred interests of the lumber-trade will do the same.

Why? Because Memphis knows no North, no West, no South, no East. Locked in the forests of the South and the southern continent are the materials for the building of millions of homes, the manufacture of innumerable commodities, and Memphis holds the key to the situation. In this great city, by virtue of her present prominence as a lumber-market and wood-manufacturing city, thousands of factories will locate and secure their supply from the great, grand, glorious Southland.

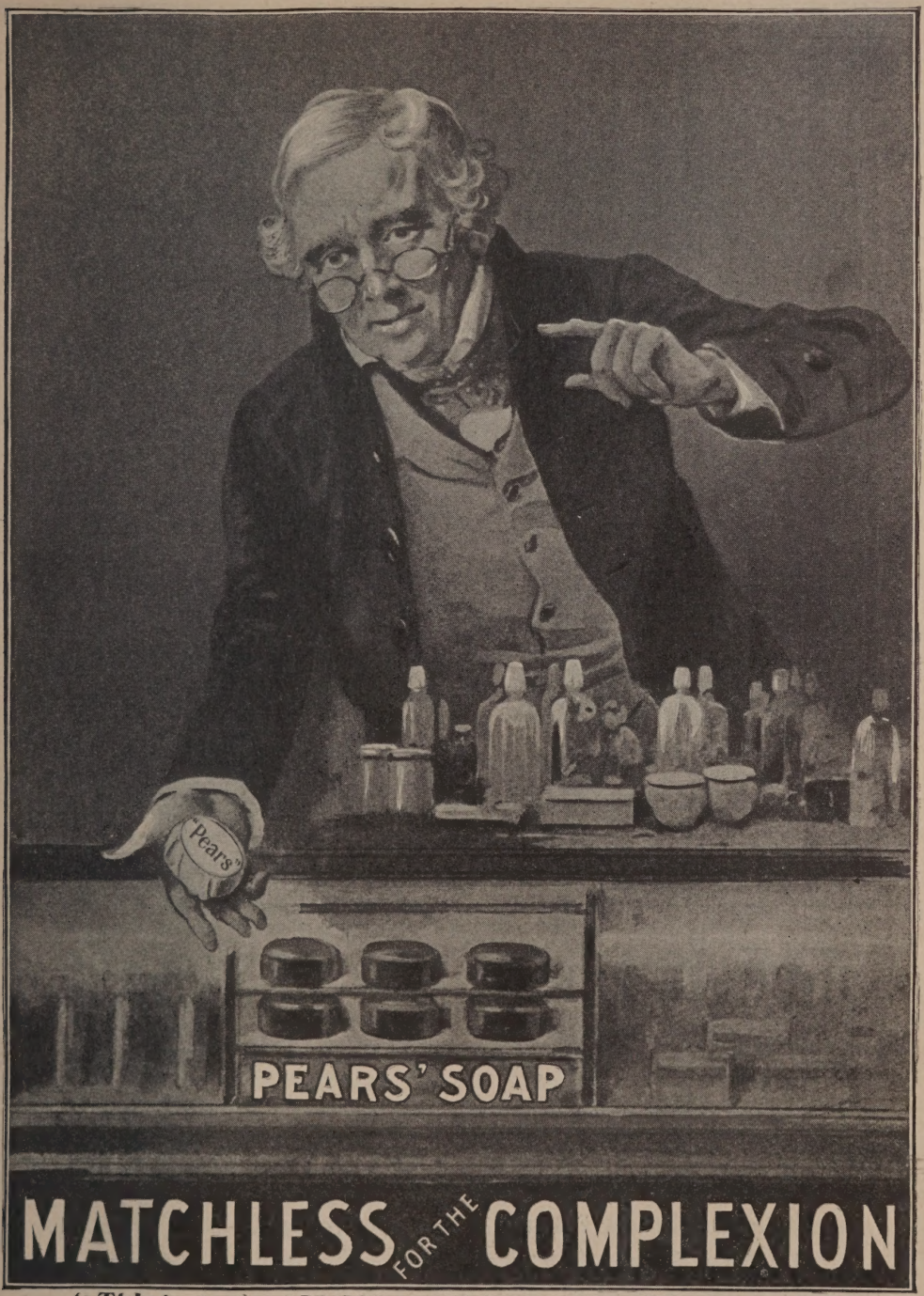
# REAL ESTATE.

To the man of affairs, no feature of a city's growth presents such unfailing interest as the gradual extension of the city and the absorption of forest and plain, woodland and meadow, into the living, breathing, bustling life of the city. It is this continuous growth of the city, with its natural concomitants of extending transportation facilities, sewers, water-works, gas-mains, electric subways, etc., which gives life and interest to the subject of real estate.

As Memphis is a distinctly Southern city, the real-estate question cannot be so readily solved by the introduction and rapid building of vast flat buildings, many-storied apartment houses, and magnificent family hotels. The long summer season makes the question of ventilation of immense importance. Memphis has, therefore, solved the residence situation along the lines of separate residences, each in its own grounds, with ample distance between the houses and generally with shaded lawns in front and gardens with fruit-trees in the back. This almost ideal condition affects the real-estate situation because it practically limits the number of separate houses to the acre to five. Every addition of one thousand population, therefore, means the addition to the city's occupied area of forty acres, allowing for the usual number of vacant properties which seem to be inseparable from city life under our present individual ownership system—the addition of more than fifty acres for each one thousand increase.

As Memphis has steadily increased in population for over a quarter of a century at the rate of nearly 10 per cent. per annum, there has been continual activity in the line of suburban subdivision operations. When to this great activity there is added the vast number of realty transfers in the business district, the factory districts, and the older residence districts, the real-estate business becomes almost kaleidoscopic in character. The entire absence of boom conditions and the dependable steadiness of the city's growth has made investments in real estate not only popular, but much safer in character than any other form of investment. Vast fortunes, not so great as have been made in New York or other cities of the millionaire class, to be sure, but probably more vast in relation to the size of the city, have been made out of comparatively small investments in Memphis real estate. A corner lot in the business district, that originally cost only a few dollars a hundred years ago, was finally sold, after being handed down in the family, for $340,000.00, and vast tracts of the city's property now worth from $30.00 to $100.00 per front foot originally cost the present owners only a dollar or two a front foot, and such marvellous increases have been made within ten years.

With rare foresight, the city of Memphis secured and set apart as public breathing places large wooded tracts in different parts of the city. These vast parks, comprising hundreds of acres each, are now being rapidly improved, and are being connected with each other and with the heart of the city by handsomely designed and expensively constructed parkways, ranging from one hundred to two hundred and fifty feet in width, including among the number a magnificent speedway so arranged as to furnish hard roadways for ordinary fashionable driving and elastic roadways for speeding purposes. Any investment in residence property adjacent to these great parks or to any of these broad parkways is almost absolutely certain to be a highly profitable one. Another investment which is being utilized by large numbers of out-of-town purchasers is in the line of farm property outside of the present range of subdivision development, but which is sure to be demanded for residence purposes within a few years. Much of this property, which can now be had at from $50.00 to $500.00 per acre, can be readily rented for market-garden purposes for much more than enough to pay for all the cost of carrying the property, and can be sold a few years from now for from ten to fifty times the present cost. So far as can be judged from the past history of the city, its location (geographically and commercially), and its prospects in an industrial way, Memphis offers the real-estate investor both safety and the certainty of large profit.




"*This* is genuine "PEARS" as sold for more than 100 years past! I have sold it all my life, and know how good it is.

"It has taken the highest award at every Exhibition, and won the *only* Grand Prix at Paris. As there is *no water* mixed with it, it is ALL SOAP and lasts longer than any other; so it is the CHEAPEST as well as the BEST.

"I could sell you an imitation at half the money and make more profit on it too, but I should be only swindling you if I did."

OF ALL SCENTED SOAPS PEARS' OTTO OF ROSE IS THE BEST

"*All rights secured.*"

# THE DEBTOR

*From "The Debtor"*

*by*

## Mary E. Wilkins Freeman

Mary E. Wilkins Freeman's new story takes unique rank among the books of the day as a novel thoroughly American and democratic. It is a searching study of character and also a well-told tale.

Not only the best thing the author has done, but one of the best American novels.—*N. Y. Globe.*

The literary world is greatly indebted to Mrs. Freeman for her clever writings, but it is doubtful if she has ever turned out a more interesting and entertaining book than "The Debtor."—*Philadelphia Public Ledger.*

Another novel that is going to excite attention because it deserves it. The best thing she has written in years.—*Cleveland Leader.*

*Illustrated. Price, $1.50*

# REBECCA MARY

## By Annie Hamilton Donnell

Here is something out of the ordinary—a book that is altogether a new thing in fiction, and is fast making for itself a wide popularity. No one can read this "heart-history of a little girl" without feeling that here is a new delight and a tale of surprising originality.

It bubbles with humor and the quaintest of conceits.—*Brooklyn Eagle.*

Of all small girls who have recently figured as heroines in fiction, Annie Hamilton Donnell's Rebecca Mary is at once the quaintest, most original, attractive, and sincere of the lot.—*N. Y. Globe.*

*Illustrated by Elizabeth Shippen Green. Price, $1.50*

HARPER & BROTHERS, PUBLISHERS, NEW YORK CITY

# The CONQUEST of CANAAN

by BOOTH TARKINGTON

BOOTH TARKINGTON

¶ Easily the biggest and best thing Booth Tarkington has done.—*Chicago Post.*

¶ A thoroughly entertaining and readable romance. It is not only the best piece of work from Booth Tarkington's pen, but it is one of the most enjoyable stories and stands out against the mass of fiction that is swamping us. It is the story of the triumph of the village ne'er-do-well in contrast to the downfall of the tyrannous local magnate. All are thoroughly American figures, drawn true to nature and vivid. The episodes are exciting and lifelike, and told with a skill that carries the reader along.—*New York Sun.*

¶ A great American novel. It will bring the author popularity far in excess of anything he has yet known.—*Book News.*

¶ It makes a wide and lasting appeal to those who love that rare inner circle of books which satisfy—books with a soul.—*N. Y. Times.*

*Illustrated. Price, $1.50*

HARPER & BROTHERS, PUBLISHERS, NEW YORK

**Bound to be the literary sensation of the hour.**
**—N. Y. Sun.**

KATHERINE CECIL THURSTON

**A great SECOND.**
**—Salt Lake Tribune.**

# THE GAMBLER

## By Katherine Cecil Thurston

*Author of "The Masquerader"*

THE GAMBLER is to the books of this season just what "The Masquerader" was to the books of last season—another stimulating and fascinating novel that is a good story from first to last.—HOLYOKE TRANSCRIPT.

MRS. THURSTON has again written THE novel of the year.—CLEVELAND LEADER.

FULLY as unique, as vivid in portrayal, as intense in interest as "The Masquerader."
—ST. LOUIS GLOBE-DEMOCRAT.

IT deserves a wider and more enthusiastic circle of readers than "The Masquerader." The reader is led from situation to situation with an unflagging eagerness to know "what next?"—N. Y. TIMES.

*Illustrated. Price, $1.50*

**HARPER & BROTHERS, PUBLISHERS, NEW YORK**

*The*

# Travelling Thirds

By GERTRUDE ATHERTON

The title is a bit puzzling and the story is piquantly so. A party of Americans travelling third-class in Spain find the tropic sunshine working a strange love-madness among them. What would have been a sedate romance at home here flourishes in a novel and startling way. It is a captivating tale throughout, sparkling with unusual situations, and capped by a climax that will bring the astounded reader to his feet. *Price, $1.25.*

*From "The Travelling Thirds"*

# Pole Baker

By WILL N. HARBEN

Better than "David Harum."—*Cleveland Leader.* Worthy of a place among the finest productions of genius.—*New York American.* A comprehensive and highly interesting story.—*New York Sun.* No more entertaining worthy ever stepped from the pages of a book.—*Boston Journal.* A spanking yarn. Read it!—*Pioneer Press.* Humor fairly exudes from him and lards the lean earth as he walks along.—*Charleston News.* *Price, $1.50.*

# The Trident and the Net

By the Author of

"THE MARTYRDOM OF AN EMPRESS"

One of the most striking novels of the year. The author's earlier writings contained nothing to arouse anticipations of such a work of genius as this.—*Chicago Daily Tribune.* A novel of unusual strength. It shows how outward influences and environment may conspire to ruin a naturally noble character.—*Boston Transcript.* A rare piece of literary art.—*Zion's Herald.* So dramatically is the story handled and so masterly are its incidents depicted that it holds the reader almost too strongly in its grasp.—*Boston Herald.* *Illustrated in color by the author. Price, $1.50 net.*

HARPER & BROTHERS, PUBLISHERS, NEW YORK

# LONDON FILMS

*From "London Films"*

*by*

## WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS

THIS new volume of English impressions is replete with interesting gossip and comment about London, and apt, illuminating comparisons with New York. Of special importance are Mr. Howells' chapters on historic London spots which are intimately connected with our own country's history—"American Origins"—which for the American reader or tourist must have a deep interest.

As delightful a piece of descriptive work as he has ever done.—*N. Y. Sun.*

He is so reasonable and sane and human; shakes you by the hand (in a literary sense) and links his arm in yours just as if you were the one friend he had been looking for, and away you go with him on a voyage of delightful discovery through the murky streets of London or the hazy landscape of rural England. There never was so pleasant a guide or one who made you see so clearly and feel so keenly all the queer and fascinating beauties of our great city.—(*London*) *Punch.*

The repeated contrasts between New York and London make the volume of special interest. Every one will find in it many a welcome, fresh point of view and most delightful reading.—*N. Y. Globe.*

*Illustrated. Crown 8vo, Gilt Top, Uncut Edges. Price, $2.25 net*

HARPER & BROTHERS, PUBLISHERS, NEW YORK

# THE LOS ANGELES LIMITED

Beginning Sunday, December 17th, this solid through electric lighted train between Chicago and Los Angeles will be placed in daily service via the

## Chicago, Union Pacific & North-Western Line

And the newly opened Salt Lake Route.

Leave Chicago 10.00 p.m. every day in the year.
Arrive Los Angeles 4.45 p.m. the third day.
68 hours en route.

The entire equipment new from the Pullman shops, includes all the latest innovations for the comfort and convenience of patrons.

Pullman standard drawing room and tourist sleeping cars, magnificent dining cars, (service a la carte); composite observation cars, with buffet-smoking apartment and Booklovers Library.

The train is brilliantly lighted throughout. Individual reading lamps in every berth and compartment.

## *The Best of Everything*

A new and desirable route for tourist travel to southern California. Variable route round-trip tickets permit return through the San Joaquin Valley or over the Coast Line to San Francisco and east on the famous Overland Limited.

Reservations of sleeping car space are now being made.

Booklets, maps, schedules and full particulars on application to any ticket agent.

LA.104.

# NEW BOOKS OF SPECIAL INTEREST

## A History of Our Own Times

By JUSTIN McCARTHY

In these new volumes (IV. and V.) Justin McCarthy carries his admirable history to completion, from Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee to the accession of Edward VII. The author, widely known as an historian and scholar, is especially happy in his portraiture of the various statesmen, reformers, authors, and scientists whose lives figure prominently in the times of which he writes. "This is one of the very few histories that deserve place also as literature."—*Pittsburg Press.*

*Vols. IV. and V. (Uniform with Vols. I.–III.). Illustrated. Price $1.40 net each.*

## American Diplomacy Its Spirit and Achievements

By JOHN BASSETT MOORE

"The author's skilful mode of treatment has given a continuity to the topics with which he deals, and has brought out, in a really surprising way, the marked success, the good faith, and the fine and high purposes which have marked the foreign policy of the United States. He is to be congratulated on the production of an accurate, impartial, and thoroughly readable book, which, I hope, will have the success it so entirely deserves."—Hon. GEORGE L. RIVES, formerly Assistant-Secretary of State.

*Illustrated. Price $2.00 net.*

## The German Struggle for Liberty

By POULTNEY BIGELOW

The concluding volume of this series narrates the stirring events in Germany during the years 1844–48. The history is now complete from the battle of Jena, in 1806, to the rebirth of the national spirit in 1848. The previous volumes have attracted wide attention as an important contribution to the history of modern Germany. *Vol. IV. (Uniform with Vols. I.–III.). Illustrated. Price $2.25 net.*

## The Principles of Money and Banking

By CHARLES A. CONANT

Mr. Conant, formerly Commissioner on the Currency of the Philippines, member of the Commission on Internal Exchange, and a well-known author of books on finance, here presents an exhaustive exposition of his subject. Money, its origin, evolution, distribution, and operation in every form—prehistoric, ancient, mediæval, and modern—in every system of activity, from the establishment of the first mint in ancient Rome down to our own Wall Street, is elaborately discussed. "A work of profound research, sound judgment, remarkable lucidity, and unique value on a subject of vast and obvious importance."—*New York Sun.*

*Two Volumes. In Box. Price, per set, $4.00 net.*

## The Reconstruction of Religious Belief

By W. H. MALLOCK

An interesting and timely volume on the great subject of the contradictions between science and religion. "Written by one of the most brilliant men of letters and clearest thinkers of our time, it strives to answer in a philosophic manner the very questions which must perplex all devout minds."—*London Mail.*

*Price $1.75 net.*

## Hernando Cortés

By FREDERICK A. OBER

The exploits of Cortés, the conqueror of Mexico, read like romance. How this adventurer, a bankrupt Cuban planter, with a band of five hundred untrained soldiers, fought and intrigued his way to absolute power is the story told in this volume. Mr. Ober is a well-known authority on Spanish and Mexican history.

*Illustrated. Price $1.00 net.*

## With Flash-light and Rifle

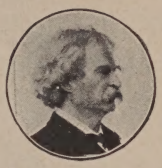
By C. G. SCHILLINGS

This book, now the literary sensation in Germany, is the work of a famous naturalist. It is the most remarkable study of the life of wild animals that has ever been made. It is profusely illustrated with flash-light photographs of wild animals taken at night in their native haunts in the African wilderness. Mr. Schillings' exploits read like fairy-tales.

*Illustrated. Price $2.00 net.*

*HARPER & BROTHERS, PUBLISHERS, NEW YORK*

# MARK TWAIN'S Complete Works



MESSRS. HARPER & BROTHERS take pleasure in announcing that, having acquired the exclusive rights of publication of all present and future books by Mark Twain, they have prepared a splendid edition of Mark Twain's works, complete in twenty-three volumes, uniformly and beautifully bound. Now in view of this exclusive arrangement they are able for the first time to offer Mark Twain's Complete Works **at a lower price** than ever before permitted.

The twenty-three volumes are beautifully bound in a handsome olive-green cloth with leather labels, and in half-leather with uncut edges and gilt tops. There are photogravure frontispieces and many other illustrations in each volume. The staff of illustrators engaged in this work includes such artists as Smedley, Du Mond, Kemble, Fogarty, Beard, Newell, Brown, and De Thulstrup. The edition is in every respect a model of artistic book-making. The volumes — twenty-three in all — make a handsome appearance upon the shelves of any library. This is the first time that the complete works of this great author have been offered at a moderate price.

***FREE—A photogravure portrait of Mark Twain.***

Cut out the attached coupon and mail it to us, and we will send you a photogravure portrait of Mark Twain, specimen pages, and full information concerning our special offer and the easy terms on which this set of books can be secured. Address

**HARPER & BROTHERS, Publishers**
**Franklin Square, New York City**

**HARPER & BROTHERS,**
**Publishers,**
**Franklin Square,**
**New York City.**

Please mail me, free of cost, a photogravure portrait of Mark Twain, together with a descriptive circular of your new edition of his complete works.

*Name* .....

*Address* .....

# DICKENS'
# Complete Works

*A NEW ILLUSTRATED EDITION IN THIRTY VOLUMES*

The entire set of 30 volumes will be sent you on receipt of ONE DOLLAR; payments thereafter to be $2.00 a month for fifteen months

## *FACTS*

1. *There are thirty volumes in the set.*
2. *The size of each volume is 8½ x 5½ inches.*
3. *They are printed from large, new type on specially made paper.*
4. *The pages are large, clear, and easy to read.*
5. *They are finely illustrated.*
6. *They are bound, permanently, in cloth, with gilt tops, gold cover decorations, untrimmed edges, and title-pages in colors.*

This is a great chance to secure a new and dignified set of Dickens on terms which make it a bargain. No more attractive volumes have ever been offered than these—they form an entire library in themselves, and, of course, no library is a library without Dickens.

*This Edition is also published bound in half-leather. Terms on application*

**OUR OFFER** We will send you the entire set of thirty volumes, all charges prepaid, on receipt of $1.00. If you do not like the books when they reach you, send them back at our expense, and we will return the $1.00. If you do like them, send us $2.00 every month for fifteen months. In order to keep you in touch with us during these months, on receipt of your request for these books we will enter you at once, at no additional cost, as a subscriber for one year to either HARPER'S MAGAZINE, HARPER'S WEEKLY, or HARPER'S BAZAR. In writing, please state which periodical you want. Address

HARPER & BROTHERS, PUBLISHERS, NEW YORK

# THE AMERICAN NATION

## A History

*From Original Sources by Associated Scholars*

*EDITED BY*

## Albert Bushnell Hart, Ph.D.

*Professor of History at Harvard University*

This work is the most important and complete history of America that has been undertaken. It will be complete in twenty-seven volumes, each the work of an acknowledged historical scholar who is a specialist in that period of our nation's history of which his volume treats. The names of these scholars are an assurance of the authority and permanence of the work. The narrative is chronological, the volumes following each other in close sequence, and its scope a critical, political, biographical account of all that has been vital in the making of our nation. Each volume forms a complete whole by itself.

### TEN VOLUMES NOW READY

*Vol. I.* *1300–1600* EUROPEAN BACKGROUND OF AMERICAN HISTORY. By Edward Potts Cheyney, A.M., Professor of History, University of Pennsylvania.

*Vol. II.* *1500–1900* BASIS OF AMERICAN HISTORY. By Livingston Farrand, A.M., Professor of Anthropology, Columbia University.

*Vol. III.* *1450–1580* SPAIN IN AMERICA. By Edward G. Bourne, Ph.D., Professor of History, Yale University.

*Vol. IV.* *1580–1652* ENGLAND IN AMERICA. By Lyon G. Tyler, LL.D., President of William and Mary College.

*Vol. V.* *1652–1689* COLONIAL SELF-GOVERNMENT. By Charles McLean Andrews, Ph.D., Professor of History, Bryn Mawr College.

*Vol. VI.* *1689–1752* PROVINCIAL AMERICA. By Evarts B. Greene, Ph.D., Professor of History, Illinois State University.

*Vol. VII.* *1497–1763* FRANCE IN AMERICA. By Reuben Gold Thwaites, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

*Vol. VIII.* *1763–1775* PRELIMINARIES OF THE REVOLUTION. By George Elliott Howard, Ph.D., Professor of History, University of Nebraska.

*Vol. IX.* *1776–1783* THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By Claude Halstead Van Tyne, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History, University of Michigan.

*Vol. X.* *1783–1789* THE CONFEDERATION AND THE CONSTITUTION. By Andrew Cunningham McLaughlin, A.M., Bureau of Historical Research, Carnegie Institution.

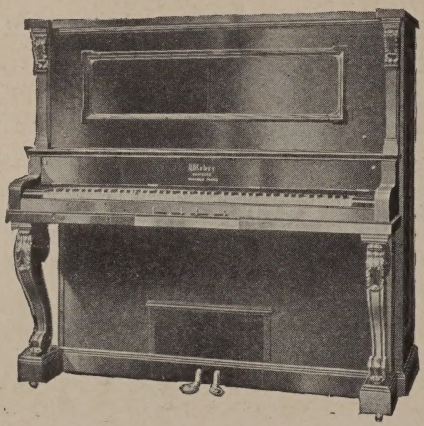
*Library Edition. Crown 8vo, Polished Buckram, Leather Labels, Gilt Tops, Uncut Edges, etc. Vols. I.-V., or VI.-X., in Box, $9.00 net*

*Single Volumes, $2.00 net. University Edition, Cloth, $2.00 net per Volume*

**HARPER & BROTHERS, PUBLISHERS, NEW YORK CITY**

# The Pianola Piano

## *A piano that will give you ten times more actual pleasure than any piano you have ever owned.*



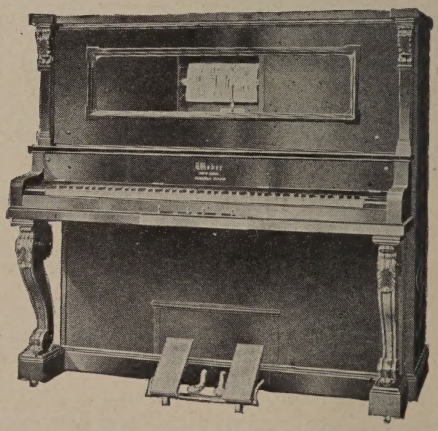
When ready for hand-playing

There are two accepted ways of playing the piano to-day:

1. By hand.
2. By the Pianola.

*Both* of these methods are united in the Pianola Piano. You can turn from one method to the other INSTANTANEOUSLY. The Pianola is built into the Piano itself, so that there is nothing to move up to or away from the keyboard. Both piano and Pianola are just as effective as though in separate instruments.

Never has a piano been presented to the public which has met with such a remarkable and enthusiastic reception as the Pianola Piano. Its great success was to be expected, for it represents the logical development of the piano. It enables every one to obtain from a piano ALL the musical enjoyment the instrument is capable of. In the light of this important improvement in piano-construction, all previous pianos seem incomplete. Hence the Pianola Piano has become universally known as "The First Complete Piano."



When ready for Pianola-playing

Pianos of all makes are being taken in exchange for the Pianola Piano. Grands and uprights in excellent condition and bearing the names of the highest grade manufacturers are every day being received in part payment. That people everywhere should part with instruments which they have hitherto valued highly is impressive evidence of the position that the Pianola Piano has attained among music-lovers. It is THE piano of the day.

If you have a piano from which you derive comparatively little musical enjoyment, why not exchange it for this new type of piano which will be a daily source of pleasure for every member of the family? Write for terms on which such exchange will be made. Ask for Pianola Piano Catalog. 14

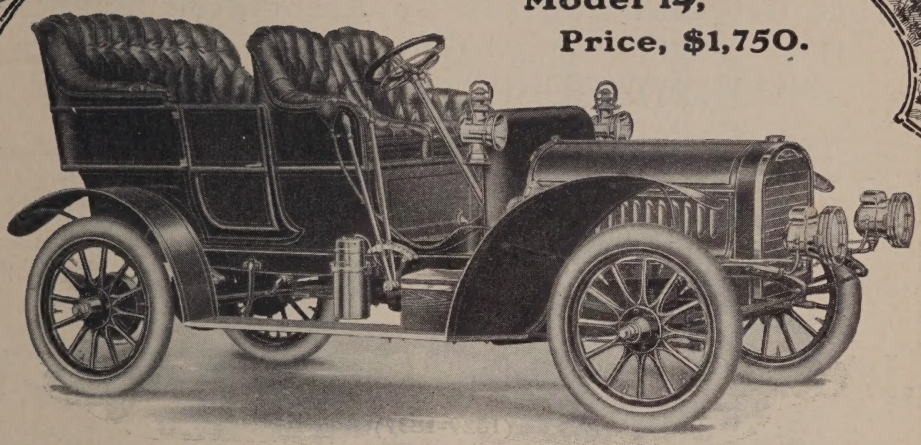
## The Aeolian Company

Aeolian Hall, 362 Fifth Avenue, near 34th Street, New York

124 East Fourth Street, Cincinnati — 114 Monument Place, Indianapolis

# Rambler

**Model 14,**
**Price, $1,750.**



# June Time Is Rambler Time

With the passing of alternate sunshine and storm, when the fair weather promise of today is fulfilled tomorrow, the call of nature becomes insistent and the paths of man lead to rural surroundings.

There is no better way of reaching the heart of nature than in an automobile, and no better automobile than the Rambler.

The pleasure of an afternoon trip or an extended tour is entirely dependent upon the reliability of the car, and there is no more positive way of insuring against marring incidents than the use of a Rambler.

The 1906 line comprises two types, in two and four-cylinder construction, designed to meet the requirements of the non-professional operator and the enthusiastic expert. We offer several models in each type and invite your early inspection. Catalogue free.

**Main Office and Factory, Kenosha, Wis., U. S. A.**

**Branches:**

Chicago, 302-304 Wabash Ave.
Boston, 145 Columbus Ave.
Milwaukee, 457-459 Broadway
Philadelphia, 242 No. Broad St.
San Francisco, 125-131 Golden Gate Avenue
New York Agency, 38-40 W. 62nd St.
Representatives in all leading cities.

**Thomas B. Jeffery & Company**

# THE AMERICAN NATION

## A HISTORY

### From Original Sources by Associated Scholars

*EDITED BY*

## ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, Ph.D.

**Professor of History at Harvard University**

This work is the most important and complete history of America that has been undertaken. It will be complete in twenty-seven volumes, each the work of an acknowledged historical scholar who is a specialist in that period of our nation's history of which his volume treats. The names of these scholars are an assurance of the authority and permanence of the work. The narrative is chronological, the volumes following each other in close sequence, and its scope a critical, political, biographical account of all that has been vital in the making of our nation. Each volume forms a complete whole by itself.

*NOW READY—VOLUME XV.*

## JACKSONIAN DEMOCRACY

**(1829-1837)**

### By WILLIAM MacDONALD, LL.D.

**Professor of History, Brown University**

The author discusses the great questions of national policy paramount during the years 1829–1837, and shows how the personality of Andrew Jackson dominated their solution. The volume presents a study of Jackson as president and man, and in reviewing his public service makes clear how he hammered out a group of political principles upon which a new Democratic party was founded.

**With Maps. Library Edition . . . . . net, $2.00**
**University Edition . . . . . 2.00**

### *VOLUMES ALREADY PUBLISHED*

*Volume I.—1300–1600.*
EUROPEAN BACKGROUND OF AMERICAN HISTORY. By Edward Potts Cheyney, A.M., Professor of History, University of Pennsylvania.

*Volume II.—1500–1900.*
BASIS OF AMERICAN HISTORY. By Livingston Farrand, A.M., Professor of Anthropology, Columbia University.

*Volume III.—1450–1580.*
SPAIN IN AMERICA. By Edward G. Bourne, Ph.D., Professor of History, Yale University.

*Volume IV.—1580–1652.*
ENGLAND IN AMERICA. By Lyon G. Tyler, LL.D., President of William and Mary College.

*Volume V.—1652–1689.*
COLONIAL SELF-GOVERNMENT. By Charles McLean Andrews, Ph.D., Professor of History, Bryn Mawr College.

*Volume VI.—1689–1752.*
PROVINCIAL AMERICA. By Evarts B. Greene, Ph.D., Professor of History, Illinois State University.

*Volume VII.—1497–1763.*
FRANCE IN AMERICA. By Reuben G. Thwaites, LL.D., Secretary of State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

*Volume VIII.—1763–1775.*
PRELIMINARIES OF THE REVOLUTION. By George Elliott Howard, Ph.D., Professor of History, University of Nebraska.

*Volume IX.—1776–1783.*
THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By Claude Halstead Van Tyne, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History, University of Michigan.

*Volume X.—1783–1789.*
THE CONFEDERATION AND THE CONSTITUTION. By Andrew Cunningham McLaughlin, A.M., Bureau of Historical Research, Carnegie Institution.

*Volume XI.—1789–1801.*
THE FEDERALIST SYSTEM. By John Spencer Bassett, Ph.D., Professor of History, Trinity College, N. C.

*Volume XII.—1801–1811.*
THE JEFFERSONIAN SYSTEM. By Edward Channing, Ph.D., Professor of History, Harvard University.

*Volume XIII.—1811–1819.*
RISE OF AMERICAN NATIONALITY. By Kendric Charles Babcock, Ph.D., President of the University of Arizona.

*Volume XIV.—1815–1830.*
RISE OF THE NEW WEST. By Frederick Jackson Turner, Ph.D., Professor of American History, University of Wisconsin.

**Library Edition. Crown 8vo, Polished Buckram, Leather Labels, Gilt Tops, Uncut Edges, etc. Vols. I.–V., or VI.–X., or XI.–XV., in Box . net, $9.00**
**Single Volumes . . . . . net, 2.00**
**University Edition, Cloth, per Volume . . . . . 2.00**

**HARPER & BROTHERS, PUBLISHERS, NEW YORK CITY**

*"There's never a law of God or man runs north of Fifty-three"*

# THE SPOILERS

## By Rex Beach

NOVELS are like men: strong personalities, virile emotions, energy and resource forge to the front and are quick to catch the public eye. This same magnetic force in "THE SPOILERS"—the work of a new writer—has immediately caught the reading world in its grip. They can't let go.

Copyright, 1906, by Harper & Brothers

A rugged recital that leaves you panting with eagerness for more.—*Philadelphia Item.*

Dumas might have created Cherry Malotte; Bret Harte rarely had a more human figure than Bronco Kid.—*Sunday Oregonian.*

Healthy and a good blood stirrer. The description of the fight between the two principals is worth reading the whole book for.—*N. Y. Evening Sun.*

A story of the hunger for gold digged out of the hills and the hunger of man for woman and for woman's love—a story that is true of all men and all real women since time began."—*Albany Journal.*

Not often does the reader come upon a story of this virile quality. It will grip the reader's attention until the last page is turned. No better romance of the life of civilized men, reverting under primitive conditions to the master passions of mankind, has been told. Mr. Rex Beach, the author, has scored a brilliant success.—*Brooklyn Eagle.*

*Illustrated by Clarence F. Underwood. Price, $1.50*

HARPER & BROTHERS, PUBLISHERS, NEW YORK

# A HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

## By Woodrow Wilson, LL.D.

*President of Princeton University*

**FIVE BEAUTIFULLY ILLUSTRATED VOLUMES AND "HARPER'S MAGAZINE" (One Year) FOR } $12.00**

*These books are not like the edition sold in all bookstores for $17.50 per set*

PRESIDENT WILSON has devoted the best years of his life to the preparation of this great work—from the earliest times to the accession of President Roosevelt. It is monumental in character and scope, represents the genius of the greatest historical writer of the present time, and is written in that delightfully flowing style which translates historical facts into the romance of a nation.

ALMOST every artist of distinction—Howard Pyle, Frederic Remington, H. C. Christy, Harry Fenn, Carlton T. Chapman, F. Luis Mora, C. S. Reinhart, F. C. Yohn, etc., etc.—has contributed to its pages, and remote historical archives, long-forgotten deeds, and governmental records, rare manuscripts, private picture-galleries, and exclusive libraries all over the world have been visited and searched by experts for pictorial contributions to this epoch-making work.

EVERY process known to modern methods for the perfect reproduction of paintings and prints has been employed. The frontispiece of the first volume is a photogravure portrait of President Wilson. Maps in color are a feature of each volume. The paper was carefully made for this work, and is a delight to the touch and the eye, and the binding is dark-blue cloth, lettered in gold, with trimmed edges, etc.

## OUR OFFER

We will send you the entire set of five volumes, charges prepaid, on receipt of $1.00. If you do not like the books when they reach you, send them back at our expense, and we will return the $1.00. If you do like them, send us $1.00 every month for eleven months. On receipt of this dollar, we will send you, without additional cost, a year's subscription to either HARPER'S MAGAZINE, HARPER'S WEEKLY, HARPER'S BAZAR, or THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. In writing, state which periodical you want. Address

**HARPER & BROTHERS, PUBLISHERS, NEW YORK**

# To COLORADO

## $30

**ROUND TRIP** From Chicago to Denver, Colorado Springs and Pueblo daily throughout the summer months; return limit October 31st. **$25.00** first and third Tuesday of each month; return limit 21 days, and daily July 10th to 15th, inclusive; return limit August 20th.

Only one night to Denver from Chicago and the Central States, via the handsomely equipped Colorado Special.

There are two trains daily to Colorado over the only double-track railway between Chicago and the Missouri River, via the

## Chicago, Union Pacific & North-Western Line

Send 4 cents in stamps for booklets, maps, hotel lists and full information.

CS203 **W. B. KNISKERN, P. T. M., Chicago & North-Western Ry., CHICAGO, ILL.**

# *The Elements of International Law*

*By GEO. B. DAVIS*

*Brigadier-General and Judge Advocate-General, U. S. A.*

NEW AND REVISED EDITION

A work sufficiently elementary in character to be within the reach of students, yet comprehensive and of wide scope. It gives essential information in regard to the law governing the relations of nations, duties of diplomatic representatives, rights of citizens, alliances, etc.

*$2.50*

*HARPER & BROTHERS, PUBLISHERS, FRANKLIN SQUARE, N. Y.*

THE Keeley Cure

# For Liquor and Drug Using

**A** scientific remedy which has been skillfully and successfully administered by medical specialists for the past 25 years

*AT THE FOLLOWING KEELEY INSTITUTES:*

**Birmingham, Ala.**
**Hot Springs, Ark.**
**San Francisco, Cal., 1190 Market St.**
**West Haven, Conn.**
**Washington, D. C., 211 N. Capitol St.**
**Dwight, Ill.**
**Marion, Ind.**
**Plainfield, Ind.**
**Des Moines, Ia.**
**Lexington, Mass.**
**Portland, Me.**
**St. Louis, Mo., 2803 Locust St.**
**North Conway, N. H.**
**Buffalo, N. Y.**
**White Plains, N. Y.**
**Columbus, O., 1087 N. Dennison Ave.**
**Philadelphia, Pa., 812 N. Broad St.**
**Harrisburg, Pa.**
**Pittsburg, Pa., 4246 Fifth Ave.**
**Providence, R. I.**
**Salt Lake City, Utah.**

# BOOKS FOR THE LIBRARY TABLE

## Guarding a Great City

By
**WILLIAM McADOO**
Formerly Commissioner of Police, New York City

The author describes in detail the inner workings of the New York police system and discusses the problems that grow out of the supervision of vice and crime in a great city, suggesting various reforms. The chapters devoted to the East Side, the Pool-Room Evil, and Chinatown are particularly interesting and portray picturesque phases of city life entirely unknown to the average citizen. The book is a valuable contribution to sociology and is certain to attract the attention of all interested in the vital problem of good government. *Price,* . . . . . *net* $2.00

## A Modern Slavery

By
**HENRY W. NEVINSON**

Mr. Nevinson travelled incognito into Africa to discover the true and startling facts of the tyrannical slave-trade secretly carried on by the Portuguese in spite of the Berlin Treaty of 1895. He has revealed to the world a valuable and appalling chapter in current history which cries to the whole world for redress. The volume is profusely illustrated from photographs. *Illustrated. Price,* . . . . . *net* $2.00

## Evolution the Master-Key

By
**C. W. SALEEBY, M.D., F.R.S.E.**

"It is a mine of popular information. There are few who will not gain from it information which opens their minds and adds to their understanding of the world on which they live—and it is as entertaining as a novel."—*Hartford Times.* "Easily the most important book of the year."—*Philadelphia Inquirer. Price,* . . . . *net* $2.00

## The Principles of Money and Banking

By
**CHARLES A. CONANT**

"I know of no other work in which these principles are more clearly set forth or more conveniently and logically arranged, and it is a real and valuable contribution to the literature on the subject to have such sound views presented in such a readable and convenient form for the student. I have a great many inquiries for literature on this subject, and for a list of the best books to read, by students of monetary science, and I should consider no list at all complete which does not include Mr. Conant's new work."—Hon. WM. BARRET RIDGELY, Comptroller of the Currency, Washington, D. C. *Two Volumes. Price, per set,* . . . . . *net* $4.00

## The Reconstruction of Religious Belief

By
**W. H. MALLOCK**

An interesting and timely volume on the great subject of the contradictions between science and religion. "Written by one of the most brilliant men of letters and clearest thinkers of our time, it strives to answer in a philosophic manner the very questions which must perplex all devout minds."—*London Mail. Price,* . . . *net* $1.75

## American Diplomacy Its Spirit and Achievements

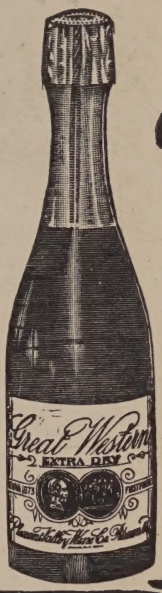
By
**JOHN BASSETT MOORE**

"The author's skilful mode of treatment has given a continuity to the topics with which he deals, and has brought out, in a really surprising way, the marked success, the good faith, and the fine and high purposes which have marked the foreign policy of the United States. He is to be congratulated on the production of an accurate, impartial, and thoroughly readable book, which, I hope, will have the success it so entirely deserves."—Hon. GEORGE L. RIVES, formerly Assistant-Secretary of State. *Illustrated. Price,* . . . . . *net* $2.00

THE real secret of fine Champagne is in the grape it's made from.

Skillful making and conscientious care in ageing are essential, but it's the grape that makes the flavor.

# Great Western
## Extra Dry
# Champagne




is made from grapes identical with those grown in the best Champagne districts of France.

This ideal quality of fruit, due to nearly one hundred years' cultivation of soil and vine in the old Great Western Vineyards—plus the Old World method of Champagne-making and five years ageing—gives you in Great Western an American Champagne with all the delicate flavor and bouquet of the costly foreign brands. And at half the price. Try Great Western.

The duty, not the quality, makes the difference in what you pay.

PLEASANT VALLEY WINE CO., Sole Makers, RHEIMS, N.Y.

Sold everywhere by dealers in fine wines. At Hotels, Restaurants and Cafes.

NEW YORK CENTRAL LINES

# The Great Central Railway System of America

## Operating more than 12,000 miles of railway east of Chicago, St. Louis and Cincinnati

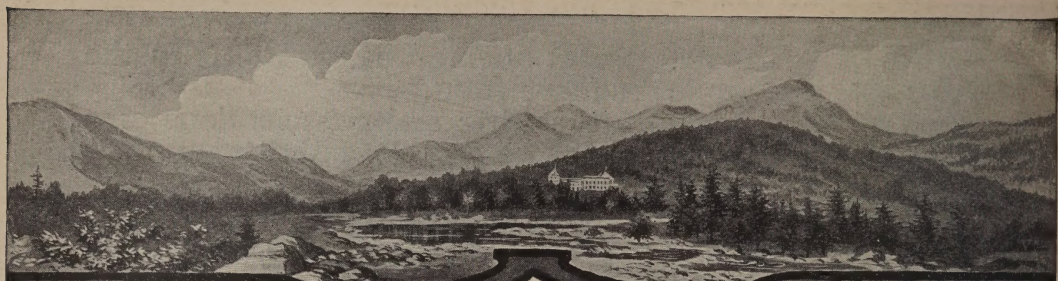
Comprising the

**New York Central & Hudson River**
**Lake Shore & Michigan Southern**
**Big Four Route**
**Michigan Central**
**Boston & Albany**
**Pittsburg & Lake Erie**
**Lake Erie & Western**
**Indiana, Illinois & Iowa**
**Lake Erie, Alliance & Wheeling**
**New York & Ottawa**
**and Rutland Railroads**

For a copy of "America's Summer Resorts," which is No. 3 of the New York Central Lines' "Four-Track Series," containing a map of the territory from Denver to New York, Boston, Montreal and Bar Harbor inclusive, send a two-cent stamp to George H. Daniels, Manager General Advertising Department, Room 34, Grand Central Station, New York.

C. F. DALY,
Passenger Traffic Manager,
NEW YORK

W. J. LYNCH,
Passenger Traffic Manager,
CHICAGO

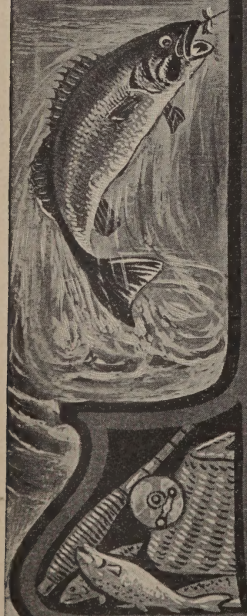


# SEASHORE LAKE AND MOUNTAIN

RESORTS of EASTERN & NORTHERN NEW ENGLAND and the MARITIME PROVINCES

REACHED BY THE

# BOSTON AND MAINE RAILROAD



ILLUSTRATED DESCRIPTIVE PAMPHLETS (CONTAINING COMPLETE MAPS) HAVE BEEN ISSUED UNDER THE FOLLOWING TITLES AND WILL BE MAILED UPON RECEIPT OF 2¢ IN STAMPS FOR EACH BOOK.

ALL ALONG SHORE · AMONG THE MOUNTAINS · LAKES AND STREAMS · TO THE FISH AND GAME COUNTRY OF NEW ENGLAND CANADA AND THE MARITIME PROVINCES · MERRIMACK VALLEY · LAKE SUNAPEE · VACATION DAYS IN SOUTHERN NEW HAMPSHIRE LAKE MEMPHREMAGOG

PORTFOLIOS

MOUNTAINS OF NEW ENGLAND
SEASHORE OF NEW ENGLAND
RIVERS OF NEW ENGLAND
LAKES OF NEW ENGLAND
PICTURESQUE NEW ENGLAND
HISTORIC MISCELLANEOUS
THE CHARLES RIVER TO THE HUDSON.

WILL BE SENT UPON RECEIPT OF 6 CENTS FOR EACH BOOK.

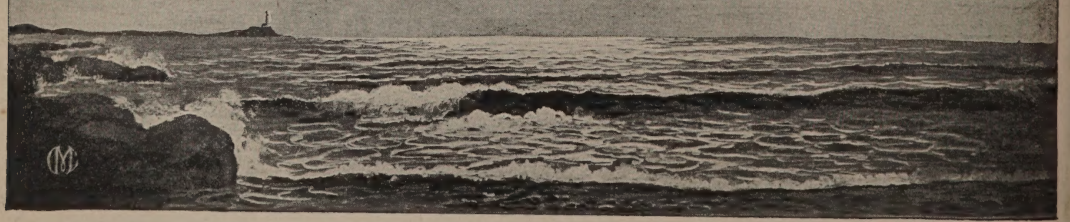
RESORTS FOR THE VACATIONIST Illustrated FREE

VACATION EXCURSION RATES AND TOURS FREE

COLORED BIRD'S EYE VIEW FROM MT. WASHINGTON
COLORED BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF LAKE WINNIPESAUKEE
SENT ON RECEIPT OF 6¢ FOR EACH.

20 POST CARDS OF NEW ENGLAND SCENERY
ON BOSTON AND MAINE SENT ON RECEIPT OF 30 CENTS IN STAMPS

FOR ALL PUBLICATIONS APPLY TO
PASSENGER DEPARTMENT B. & M. R.R. BOSTON MASS.
D. J. FLANDERS, GEN'L PASS'R & TICKET AGENT.



# HARPER'S WEEKLY

EDITED BY

## GEORGE HARVEY

THE scope of HARPER'S WEEKLY makes it the foremost publication of its kind in America.

Its widely quoted "Comment" is recognized as the most able, authoritative, and impartial editorial summary appearing in any journal in this country. In it are discussed the vital happenings of the day in every important field of human thought and activity.

It furnishes a valuable and interesting record of the progress of the world. Its illustrations present history with the unquestioned accuracy of photographs.

In fiction it offers the work of the best living writers: W. D. Howells, Mark Twain, Katherine Cecil Thurston, Mary E. Wilkins Freeman, Anthony Hope, Gilbert K. Chesterton, A. E. W. Mason, Justus Miles Forman, Hamlin Garland, Thomas A. Janvier, Will N. Harben, Roy Rolfe Gilson, George Ade.

It has correspondents in the leading capitals of the world, and is thereby enabled to present history in the making.

Price 10 Cents **FOR SALE BY ALL NEWSDEALERS** $4.00 Per Year

## Purify your Refrigerator!

Foods absorb foul odors. Prevent this and sickness by Keeping in your refrigerator a sponge sprinkled occasionally with Platts Chlorides. Wash the sponge twice a week!

Every housekeeper should have our book. It tells how to prevent sickness. Send for a free copy to Henry B. Platt, 42 Cliff Street, New York, sole manufacturer of

**Platt's Chlorides,**

**The Odorless Disinfectant.**

A colorless liquid: powerful, safe and economical. Instantly destroys foul odors and disease-breeding matter. Specially prepared for household use. Sold only in quart bottles, by druggists everywhere.

## Waterman's Ideal Fountain Pen

The pen with the Clip-Cap

## Commencement

IF you would be successful—save time. Waterman's Ideal Fountain Pen is one of the greatest time-savers of the period. It is a necessity to every one in a business or professional career. If you realize this, why not make a gift of Waterman's Ideal Fountain Pen to some graduating friend? Nothing is more acceptable, nothing more appropriate.

It is ultimately cheaper than steel pens and ink-bottles, and with proper care it will last a lifetime. Pens of our manufacture have been in use since first made, twenty-two years ago, and they are as good to-day as ever. They are more essential to success to-day than ever.

Pens purchased anywhere are exchangeable everywhere if in any degree unsatisfactory. Your pen should suit your hand, and there is a pen made for every one.

Stationers, druggists and jewelers almost everywhere carry varied assortments. Our own branch offices give particular attention to repairs. Write for a copy of our booklet, "Points for Penmen."

**L. E. Waterman Co., 173 Broadway, N.Y.**

209 STATE ST., CHICAGO 8 SCHOOL ST., BOSTON
961 BROADWAY, OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA
136 ST. JAMES ST., MONTREAL

## FISCHER PIANOS

IN TONE AND CASE-DESIGN THEY APPEAL TO EVERY ARTISTIC SENSE:-:

In the former you find a purity, power and richness that is unequaled and that will stand the test of time; in the latter, an art production of whose dignified and elegant presence you will never tire.

WRITE FOR CATALOGUE E

GRANDS AND UPRIGHTS

J. & C. FISCHER
164 FIFTH AVE. NEAR 22 ST.
& 65 WEST 125 TH ST.
N.Y.

## TEA

DRINK TEA- AND YOUR SYSTEM WILL GRADUALLY BE POISONED BY TANNIC ACID-

## COFFEE

DRINK COFFEE- AND YOU WILL BECOME A NERVOUS WRECK-

## COCOA

DRINK COCOA FOR BREAKFAST, LUNCH AND SUPPER AND YOU WILL ENJOY PERFECT HEALTH- COCOA IS A BUILDER OF STRENGTH & VITALITY

OF COURSE IT'S Huyler's YOU WANT, IT IS THE PUREST & BEST.

ALL GROCERS.

## VOSE PIANOS

have been established over **50 YEARS.** By our system of payments every family in moderate circumstances can own a VOSE piano. We take old instruments in exchange and deliver the new piano in your home free of expense. Write for Catalogue D and explanations.

VOSE & SONS PIANO CO., 160 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass.

JUL 14 1906